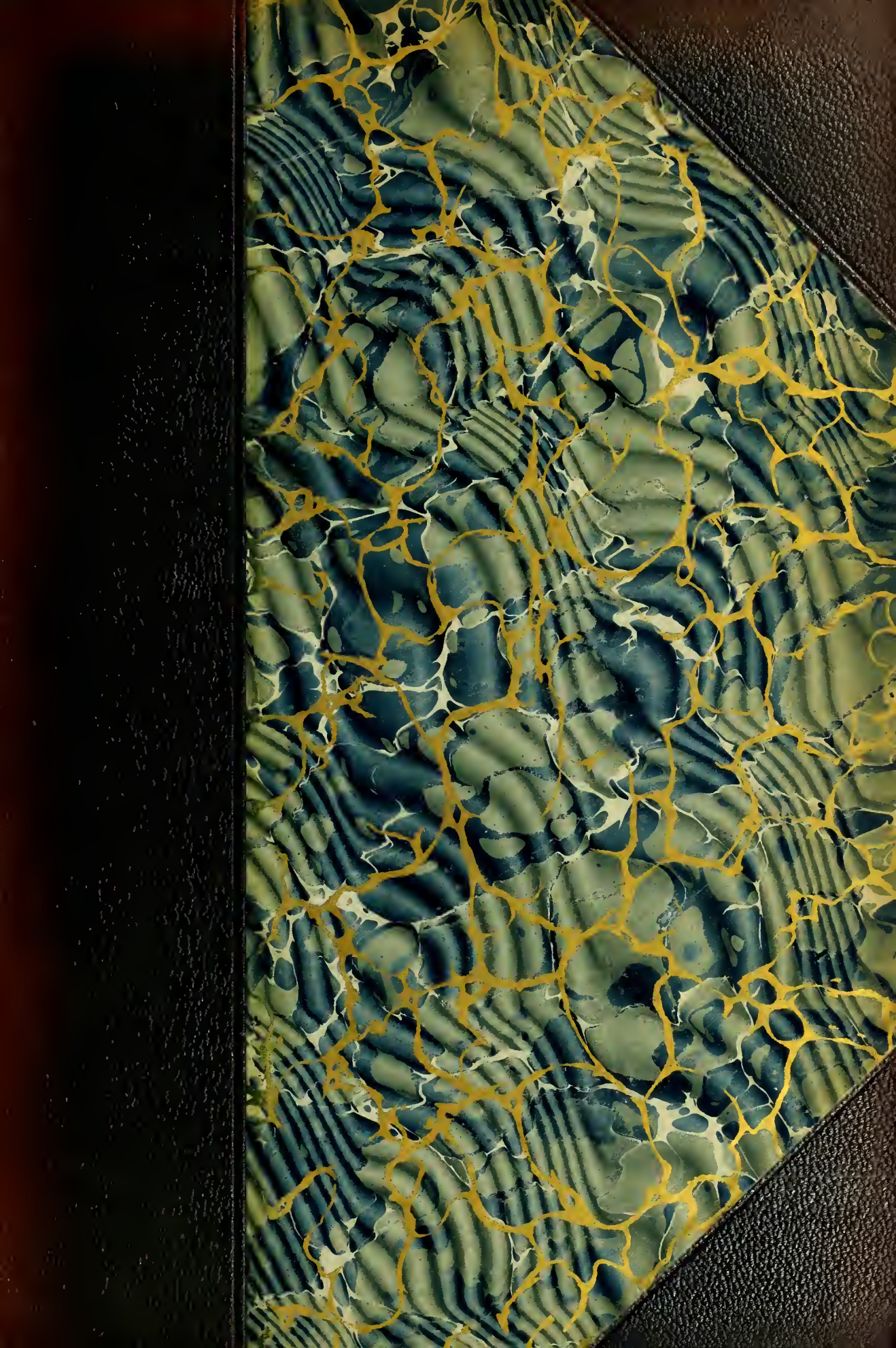




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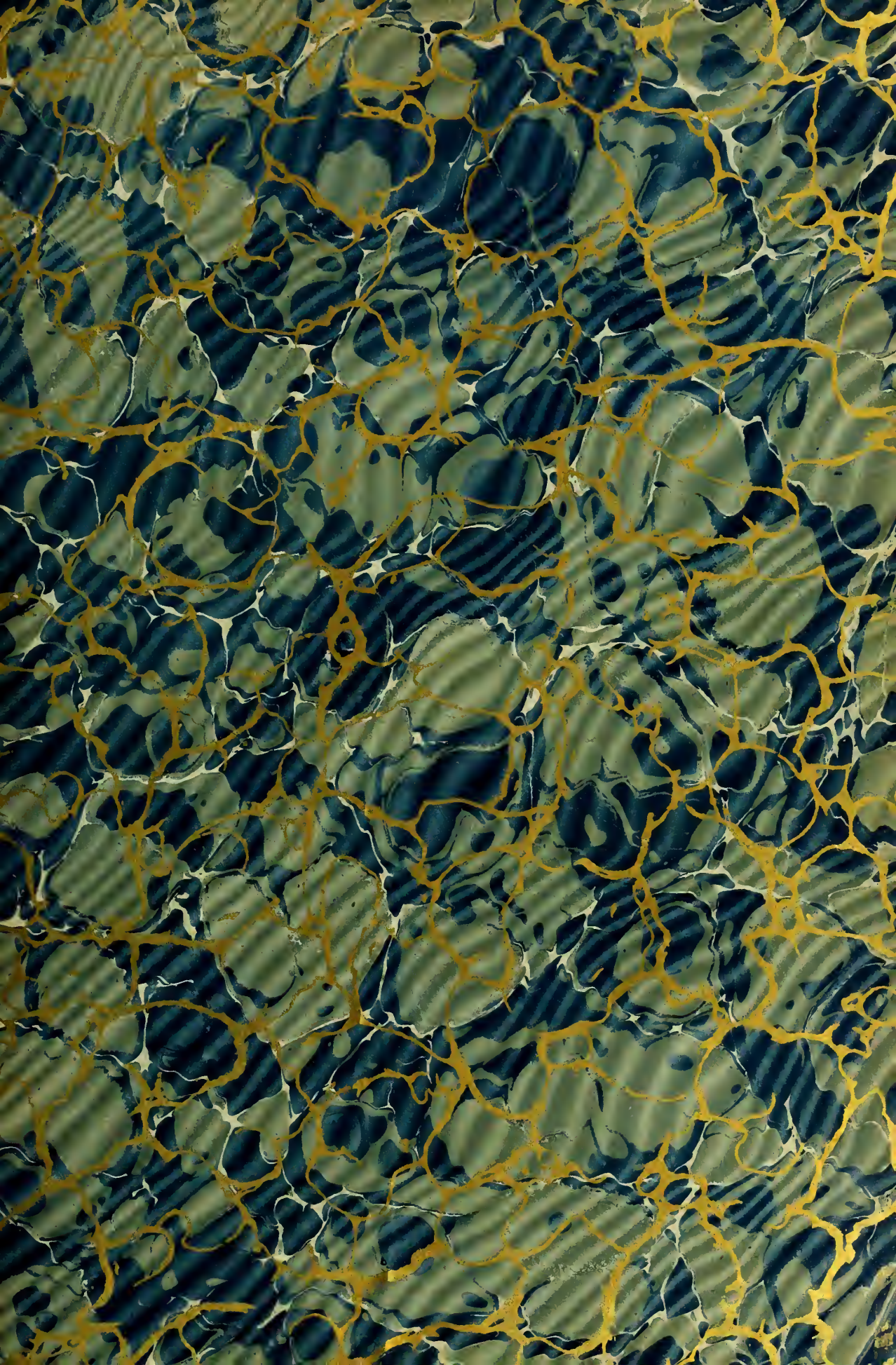
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In Memoriam

No

KATHARINE E. COMAN



 BATTLES AND
LEADERS OF THE
CIVIL WAR

VOLUME THREE



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BETWEEN THE LINES DURING A TRUCE.



BATTLES AND LEADERS OF THE CIVIL WAR

Grant-Lee Edition



PART I

BEING FOR THE MOST PART CONTRIBUTIONS
BY UNION AND CONFEDERATE OFFICERS.
BASED UPON "THE CENTURY WAR SERIES."
EDITED BY ROBERT UNDERWOOD JOHNSON
AND CLARENCE CLOUGH BUEL, OF THE EDI-
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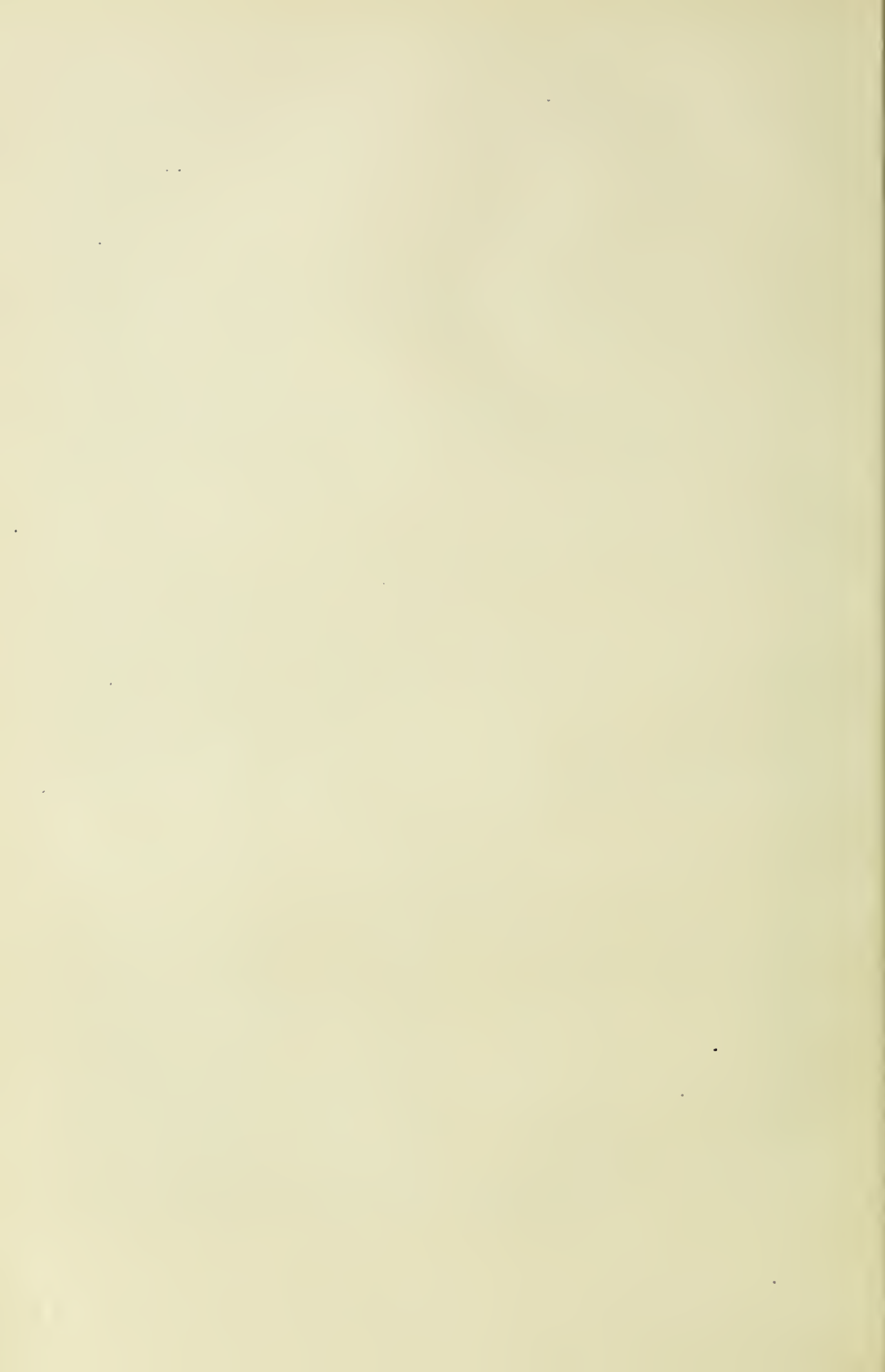
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IN THE VAN.

BRAGG'S INVASION OF KENTUCKY.

BY JOSEPH WHEELER, LIEUTENANT-GENERAL, C. S. A.

GENERAL BRAGG succeeded General Beauregard in command of the Confederate troops at Tupelo, Miss., about fifty miles south of Corinth, on June 27th, 1862. The field returns of June 9th, a week after our army reached Tupelo, reported it at 45,080.† This return included the Army of Mississippi, reinforced by the troops brought from Arkansas by Generals Price and Van Dorn, together with detachments gathered from various localities. About two thousand cavalry not included in this return also belonged to the army. This was the maximum force General Bragg could expect to concentrate at that point. General Halleck, immediately confronting Bragg with the armies of Grant, Pope, and Buell, had in and about Corinth a force of 128,315 men, of which the field return of June 1st showed 108,538 present for duty. A division reporting 8682 for duty, under the Federal General George W. Morgan, was at Cumberland Gap; a division with 6411 for duty, under General Ormsby M. Mitchel, was in north Alabama, and three brigades were located at Nashville, Murfreesboro', and other points in middle Tennessee. Buell soon started *en route* to north Alabama, General Halleck remaining at or near Corinth with seventy thousand men for duty, a force strong enough to hold Corinth and west Tennessee, while Buell could menace or even invade Alabama or north Georgia.

The changed condition of the opposing armies during four months should now be considered. In January, 1862, the Confederates had held all of

† To prevent misconception, and to avoid frequent repetitions, I will here state that throughout this paper when I mention the figures of field

returns of Confederate troops I shall always include all officers, all non-commissioned officers, and all privates who are reported present for duty.—J. W.

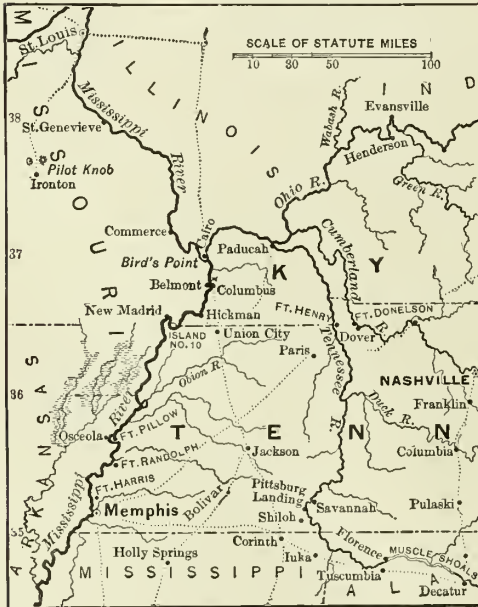
Tennessee and most of Kentucky, and the Mississippi River from Columbus to the delta. Now, after a series of Confederate reverses, both States were virtually under the control of the armies under General Halleck, and the Federal flotilla sailed unmolested from St. Louis to Vicksburg. The Federal right was thrown forward into Mississippi. Its center occupied north Alabama, and its left was pressing the Confederates to the southern border of east Tennessee.

The Confederate problem was to devise some plan to turn the tide of disaster and recover at least a portion of our lost territory. Our soldiers had expected a battle at Corinth, in which they felt confident of as decisive a victory as was won by them on the first day of Shiloh; and the withdrawal to Tupelo had at last forced upon them a conviction that the numerical preponderance of the enemy was such that they could not expect to cope successfully with the combined armies then commanded by General Halleck.

Already the army had suffered much from sickness, and we could hardly expect any improvement while it remained idle in the locality where it had halted after its retreat from Corinth. An advance into west Tennessee would not afford protection to Alabama or Georgia. An advance into middle Tennessee by crossing the river at Florence, Decatur, or any neighboring point, would have the disadvantage of placing the Confederates between the armies of Grant and Buell under circumstances enabling these two commanders to throw their forces simultaneously upon General Bragg, who could not, in this event, depend upon any material coöperation from the army in east Tennessee under General Kirby Smith. There was another line for an aggressive movement. A rapid march through Alabama to Chattanooga would save that city,

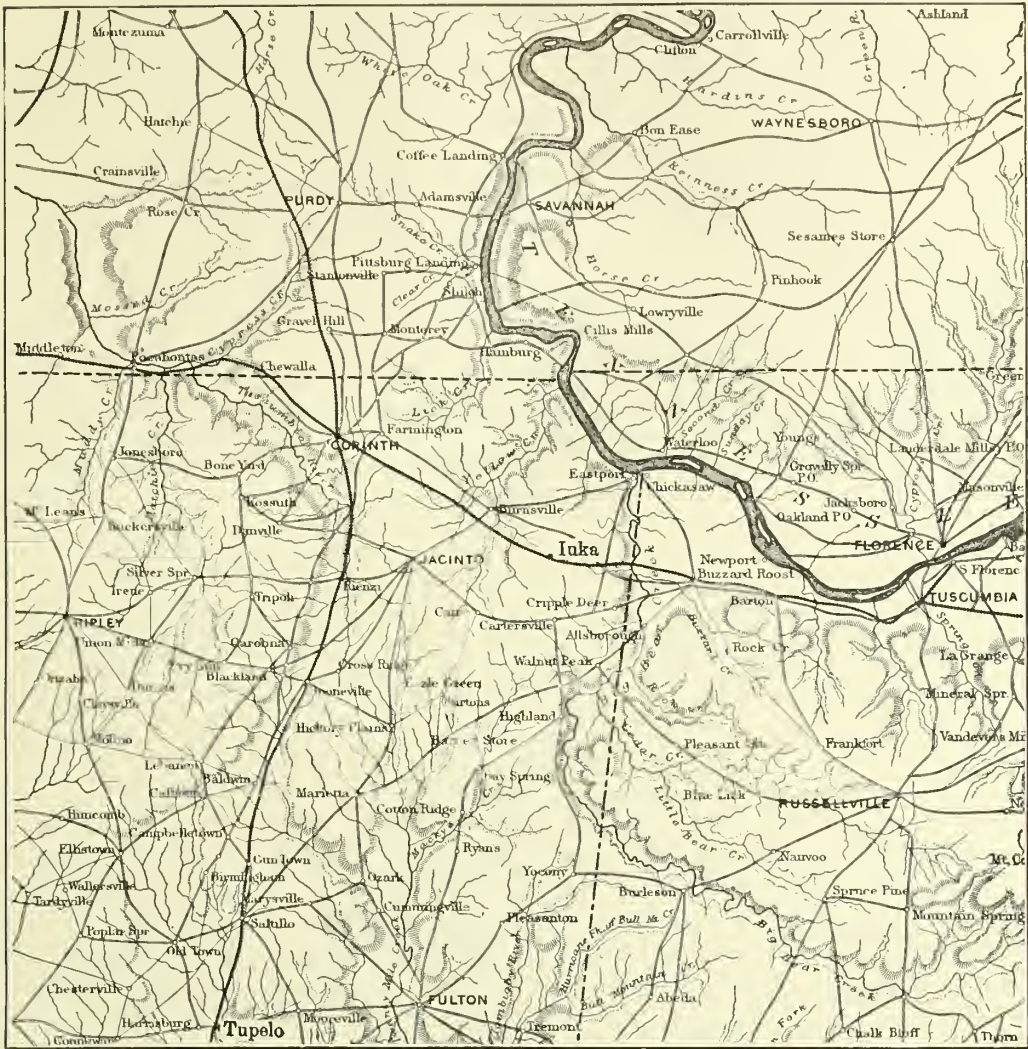
protect Georgia from invasion, and open the way into Tennessee and Kentucky, without the disadvantage of an intervening force between the column commanded by Bragg and that under the orders of General Kirby Smith. This movement was determined upon and resulted in what is called the Kentucky Campaign of 1862.

Major-General E. Kirby Smith had reached Knoxville March 8th, 1862, and assumed command of the Confederate troops in east Tennessee. The returns for June reported his entire force at 11,768 infantry, 1055 cavalry, [†] and 635 artillery. The occupation of Cumberland Gap, June 18th, by a Federal division, and the approach of Buell's forces toward Chattanooga seriously threatened his department.



MAP OF NORTH MISSISSIPPI AND WEST TENNESSEE.

[†] Not including Allston's brigade.—EDITORS.



MAP OF THE CORINTH AND IUKA REGION.

General Bragg recognized the inadequacy of General Smith's force, and on June 27th he transferred the division commanded by Major-General John P. McCown from Tupelo to Chattanooga. † Forrest and John H. Morgan had already been sent into middle Tennessee and Kentucky, and the operations of these enterprising officers materially lessened the pressure upon General Smith. Correspondence between Generals Bragg and Smith resulted in an order, dated July 21st, transferring the entire Army of Mississippi to Chattanooga. To mislead the enemy and to prevent an advance upon Tupelo, Bragg had, on the 19th, sent Colonel Joseph Wheeler with a brigade of cavalry into west Tennessee, and Brigadier-General Frank C. Armstrong with a like force into north Alabama. Wheeler's operations in west Tennessee may be briefly summarized as a rapid march from Holly Springs, Mississippi,

† General Kirby Smith, in a letter dated July 14th, 1862, estimated Stevenson's division at 10,000, Heth's and McCown's at 10,000, Morgan's cavalry 1300. "Official Records," Vol. XVI, Pt. II., p. 727.—EDITORS.

to Bolivar, Tennessee; an attack upon the outposts at that place; the destruction of bridges on the line of communications of the troops at Bolivar and Jackson; a number of slight affairs with the enemy's cavalry, and the burning of a quantity of cotton in transit to the North.

One week was thus occupied behind the enemy's lines, the main object of the movement being to create the impression of a general advance. On July 31st Bragg and Kirby Smith met at Chattanooga, and a joint movement into middle Tennessee was determined upon, Price and Van Dorn being left to confront Grant in northern Mississippi. On August 5th Bragg sent two of his brigades (Cleburne's and Preston Smith's) to General Smith at Knoxville. General C. L. Stevenson, with nearly nine thousand men, was ordered to watch the Federal General G. W. Morgan, who occupied Cumberland Gap. General Smith started on the 14th *en route* to Rogers's Gap, with 4 brigades, 6000 strong. The brigades of Preston Smith and B. J. Hill were commanded by General P. R. Cleburne, and the brigades of McCray and McNair were under command of General T. J. Churchill. General Henry Heth, with a force nearly 4000 strong, was ordered to march direct to Barbourville by way of Big Creek Gap, and the army was preceded by 900 cavalry under Colonel John S. Scott. General Smith had at first contemplated cutting off the supplies of the garrison at Cumberland Gap, but learning that they were well provisioned, and seeing the difficulty of supplying his own troops in the poor and barren region of south-eastern Kentucky, he determined to push rapidly on to the rich blue-grass country in the central part of the State. This determination had been communicated to General Bragg, and a march toward Lexington was commenced.

On the evening of the 29th, having reached Madison County, Kentucky, Colonel Scott found the enemy about half way between the small village of Kingston and the town of Richmond. The force displayed and resistance offered indicated that they were resolved to contest any farther advance of the Confederates. Although his troops were quite weary and General Heth was far to the rear, General Smith determined upon an immediate attack. He was in the heart of Kentucky, and the Confederate commander rightly judged that boldness was the surest road to victory.

Early on the 30th, General Cleburne, being in advance with his two brigades, found that the Federal force had moved forward and was in line of battle about a mile north of Kingston and probably five miles south of Richmond. The extreme advance-guard of the enemy, about six hundred yards in front of their main line, became engaged with Cleburne's leading brigade, commanded by Colonel Hill, but after a light brush retired upon the main body of the Federal army. Hill's brigade was soon formed in line behind the crest of a low ridge which was nearly parallel with and about five hundred yards south of the position occupied by the enemy. Cleburne also brought up Douglas's battery, which he placed in a favorable position near the center of his line. A fire of artillery and infantry commenced, and Captain Martin, with a second battery, having arrived, it was also brought into action, and for two hours both infantry and artillery were engaged from their respective positions.

General Mahlon D. Manson, who was in command of the Federal army before General Nelson arrived, and who commenced the battle, now pushed his left forward to turn our right. Cleburne met this with one regiment of Preston Smith's brigade, which had been formed behind a crest in his rear, but the persistence of the enemy in that quarter made it necessary to reinforce the right with all of the reserve brigade under Preston Smith.

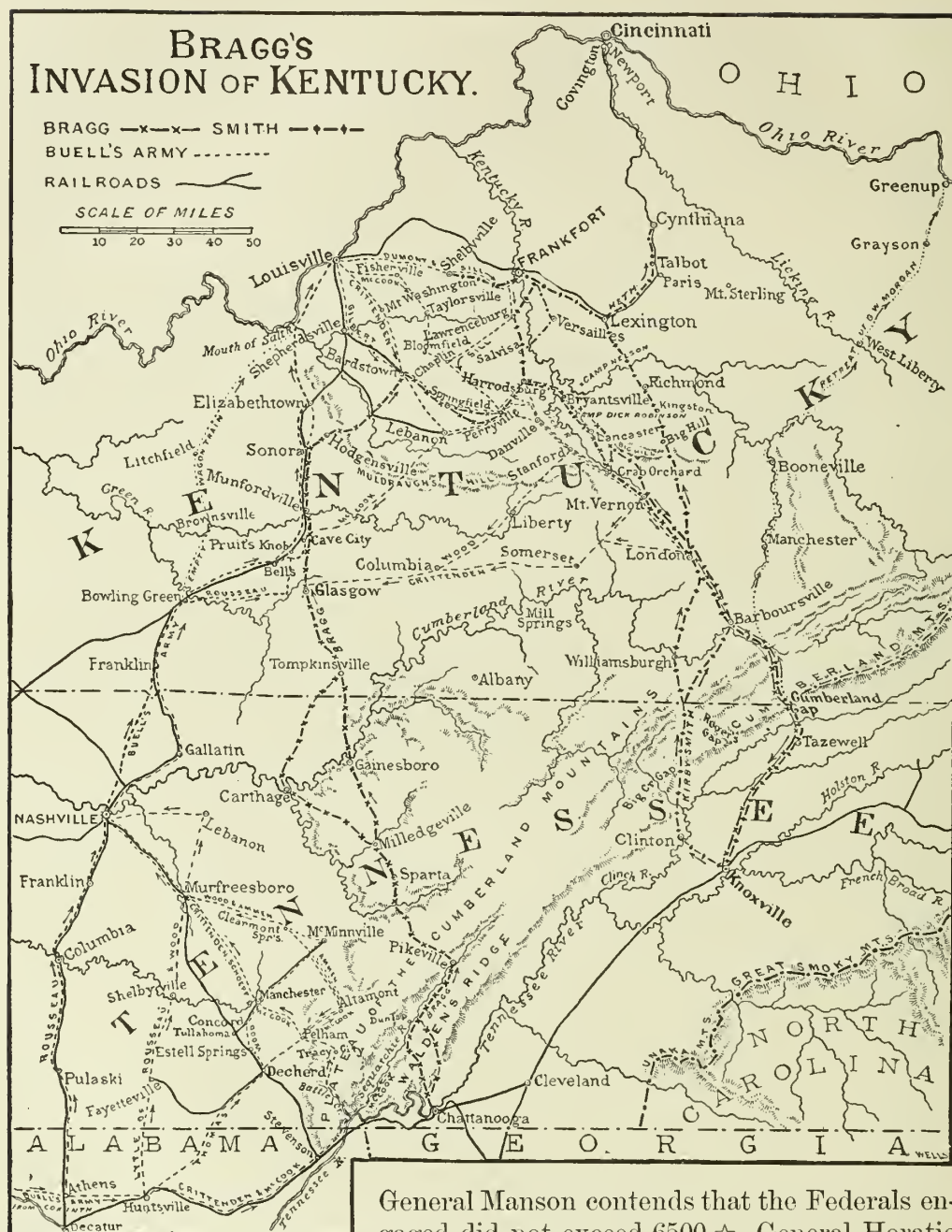
In the meantime General Kirby Smith had reached the field with the two brigades (McCray's and McNair's) forming General Churchill's division. He promptly dispatched that officer with one brigade to turn the enemy's right. The Federal commander, apparently disregarding this movement, still boldly advanced his own left to carry out his plan of turning the Confederate flank. This well-conceived manœuvre at first seemed to endanger the Confederate army, but Colonel Preston Smith with his brigade stood firm, and after a severe struggle checked and finally drove back the advancing enemy. General Cleburne, who up to this time had displayed both skill and gallantry, was severely wounded and left the field. General Churchill had now gained the enemy's right, and by a bold and determined charge threw the enemy into disorder.

Two miles farther north the Federal force made a stand, and McCray's gallant brigade, by a rapid march, struck their right, while Cleburne's division, now commanded by Colonel Preston Smith, moved to the attack in front. The celerity of McCray's movements brought him into action before the other troops reached the field, and he suffered from the concentration of a galling and destructive fire; but the approach of Preston Smith, with troops cheering as they advanced again, caused a rout of the Federal army, closely followed by our victorious soldiers. When in sight of the town of Richmond the enemy were seen forming for a final struggle upon a commanding ridge, which had been judiciously selected by the Federal commander, Major-General William Nelson, both of the enemy's flanks being protected by skirts of woods. General Smith promptly sent McNair's brigade again to turn the Federal flank, and with the remaining force attacked directly in front. A warm fusillade lasted a few moments, when the Federal army again retreated. Early in the morning Colonel Scott had been sent to gain the rear of the town. His arrival at this moment increased the dismay of the enemy, and assisted materially in securing prisoners. The reports of the division and brigade commanders show that General Smith's entire force was about five thousand. The enemy supposed it much greater, their estimate including General Heth, but his division did not join General Smith until the day after the battle. Kirby Smith's loss was 78 killed, 372 wounded, and 1 missing.

Nelson in his report speaks of his own command on the Kentucky River as 16,000 strong, and the official report of casualties is given as 206 killed, 844 wounded, and 4303 captured. The Federal official reports admit that nine pieces of artillery and all their wagon trains were captured by the Confederates.

¶ In a letter to General Bragg dated August 24th, 1862, General Kirby Smith says he will have with him, in his advance to Lexington, "about 12,000 effective men."—EDITORS.

¶ This is the total force spoken of by Nelson as being on the Confederate flank.—EDITORS.



General Manson contends that the Federals engaged did not exceed 6500.☆ General Horatio G. Wright, who commanded the department, in his report of Sept. 2d, says:

“The force engaged in the battle in front of Richmond was utterly broken up, and after all the exertions that could be made to collect the stragglers, only some 800 or 900 could be found. The remainder of the force were killed, captured, or scattered over the country.”

☆ According to the official reports the Union force engaged consisted of Manson's and Cruft's brigades, eight regiments and two detachments of infantry, one regiment and a battalion of cavalry and two batteries of artillery, *all new troops who had only been mustered into service a few days.* General Nelson says in his report that he had ordered General Manson not to fight, but to fall back, so as to concentrate on the Confederate flank. See the previous note.—EDITORS.

Elated with success, and reënforced by about four thousand troops just arrived under Heth, the victorious army moved forward to Lexington, and was designated by its commander as "The Army of Kentucky." During the month of September the greater portion of the army remained in that vicinity.

On September 4th Colonel Scott, with a brigade of cavalry, was ordered to push on as near as practicable to Louisville, and to destroy the Louisville and Nashville Railroad. Heth, with a division of infantry and a brigade of cavalry, marched north; some of his troops, on September 6th, reached the suburbs of Covington, but his instructions were not to make an attack upon the city. Smith used vigorous efforts to gather and concentrate supplies, arouse the people, and raise and organize troops for the Confederacy.

General George W. Morgan (Federal), who was left at Cumberland Gap with 8682 men, seeing these active movements in his rear, evacuated that position on September 17th and made his way through eastern Kentucky to the Ohio River at Greenupsburg, arriving there October 3d.

While these events were happening, Bragg had organized his army at Chattanooga into two wings. The right, commanded by General Polk, consisted of Cheatham's and Withers's divisions of infantry and Colonel Lay's brigade of cavalry. The left wing, commanded by General Hardee, consisted of Buckner's and Anderson's divisions of infantry and Wheeler's brigade of cavalry. This entire force, on August 27th, reported 27,816 officers and men for duty.† On the 28th the army was fairly in motion, but up to this time General Bragg had not positively determined upon his plan of campaign, and much depended upon the course pursued by the Federal army.

As early as the 22d General Buell had established his headquarters at Decherd, on the Nashville Railroad, thirty miles north-west of Stevenson, and had all the supplies at Stevenson transferred to that place.‡ Two parallel mountain ranges, running north-east and south-west, separated him from Chattanooga. A railroad, connecting McMinnville and Tullahoma, ran nearly parallel to the north-west slope of these mountain ranges. Already he had located General Thomas at McMinnville with Wood's and Ammen's divisions, while the divisions of Schoepf, McCook, and Thomas L. Crittenden were near the Nashville and Stevenson Railroad within easy call of headquarters at Decherd. Buell seemed impressed with the belief that Bragg's objective point was Nashville, and that he would take the short route over the mountain by way of Altamont, which movement, if made, would have placed Bragg between the force under Thomas and the rest of Buell's army. To prevent this Buell, on the 23d, ordered these five divisions to concentrate at Altamont. General Thomas reached his destination on the 25th, but, finding no enemy to confront him and learning that there was no enemy on the mountains, the nearest Confederates being at Dunlap's in the Sequatchie Valley, he reported

† This return reports a total of 431 officers and men in the cavalry. September 10th (O. R., XVI., 893) Colonel Joseph Wheeler reported his command on the march (apparently a part of it) as 700 strong, and (p. 890) part of Colonel Lay's brigade is mentioned as 550 strong, August 27th.—EDITORS.

‡ On August 6th, during this advance from Stevenson to Decherd, Brig.-Gen. Robert L. McCook (of Thomas's division; brother to Alex. McD. McCook), who, being ill, was riding in an ambulance, was mortally wounded by the enemy's scouts near New Market.—EDITORS.



BRIGADIER-GENERAL PRESTON SMITH, C. S. A.
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

these facts to Buell and returned to McMinnville. Crittenden's division halted near Pelham, and Schoepf at Hillsboro'. McCook pressed on and reached Altamont on the 29th, where, on the 30th, Wheeler attacked his outposts, and McCook retired down the mountain. The same day General Buell ordered his entire army to concentrate at Murfreesboro'.

By September 5th, the five divisions just mentioned had reached that place, together with all detachments from along the lines of railroad except Rousseau's division, which, being on the Nashville and Decatur Railroad, marched directly to Nashville. The strength of Buell's forces during the months of July, August, and September was estimated by witnesses before the Buell Commission, in 1863, at from 45,000 to 59,309. His own returns for June, deducting the force at Cumberland Gap, showed 56,706 present for duty, and his October returns, with

the same deduction, 66,595.† General Buell presented a paper to the Commission which does not question any of these statements regarding strength, but states that he could not have concentrated more than 31,000 men at McMinnville to strike the Confederate forces as they debouched from the mountains; and the same paper estimated Bragg's army at 60,000, while his returns on August 27th showed but 27,816 officers and men for duty.‡ These facts prove the large preponderance of the Federals.

At Murfreesboro' Buell heard of Nelson's defeat at Richmond, and without halting he marched to Nashville. On September 7th he intrusted General Thomas with the defense of that city with the divisions of Palmer, Negley, and Schoepf, while with the infantry divisions of McCook, Crittenden, Ammen, Wood, Rousseau, and R. B. Mitchell, and a cavalry division under Kennett, General Buell determined to race with Bragg for Louisville.

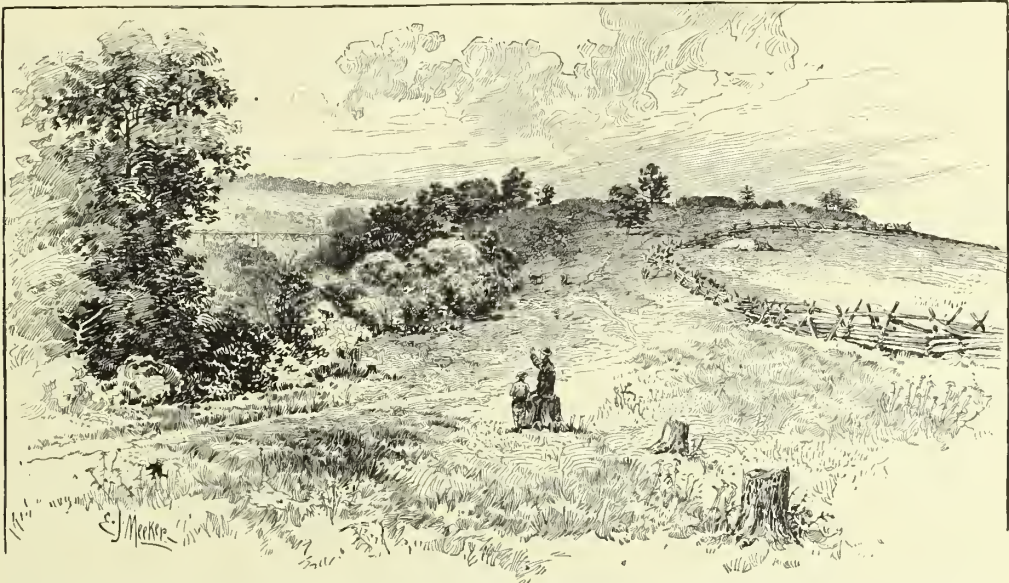
† The October returns include the heavy reinforcements, placed by General Buell at 22,000, that were added to Buell's army on its arrival at Louisville, at the end of September. — EDITORS.

‡ In his official report, dated November 4th, 1862, General Buell estimated his whole effective force on the 7th and 8th of October, at 58,000, including 22,500 raw troops, with little or no instruction. He also estimated the total Confederate force engaged in the invasion at from 55,000 to 65,000. In "The Army under Buell" (N. Y. :

D. Van Nostrand), General James B. Fry, Assistant Adjutant-General, Chief of Staff of the Army of the Ohio, after a careful study of all the data, estimates the force with which Buell moved against Bardstown (exclusive of Sill's division that moved against Frankfort) at 58,000; and Bragg's, including Kirby Smith's, at 68,000. By this estimate, when Sill joined the main body of Buell's army after the battle of Perryville, the armies were about equal in number.

EDITORS.

It was a fair race, as on that day most of Bragg's army was south of the Cumberland River, at Carthage and Greensboro'. Bragg was nearest to Louisville by some twenty-five miles, but Buell had the advantage of a bridge at Nashville and the assistance of the railroad to aid in his march. With seven hundred cavalry, I hastened to strike and break the railroad at points between Bowling Green and Nashville, and otherwise sought to retard the northern march of the Federal army. By the 12th it was evident to Buell that no attack would be made on Nashville, and he ordered General Thomas to join him with his own division, which had been commanded by General



UNION FORT AT MUNFORDVILLE, CAPTURED BY BRAGG, SEPTEMBER 17, 1862—THE GREEN RIVER BRIDGE ON THE LEFT. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN 1886.

Schoepf. Buell reached Bowling Green with his cavalry and two divisions of infantry on the 14th, and turned his column in the direction of Munfordville. I interposed my cavalry on the Munfordville road, and also on the roads leading to Glasgow, and reported Buell's movements to Bragg. General Chalmers, with Bragg's advance, reached Munfordville at daylight on the 14th and learned that Colonel Scott, with a cavalry brigade, had demanded the surrender on the night previous. Chalmers was misinformed regarding the strength of the garrison and the character of the defensive works. He attacked with vigor, but was repulsed. He reported his force at 1913 men, and his loss at 35 killed and 253 wounded. On the 14th all of Buell's six divisions had reached Bowling Green, and on the 16th he advanced vigorously to succor the garrison at Munfordville, the head of his column being opposed by cavalry. Bragg, hearing of Chalmers's attack and of Buell's movements, ordered his entire army, which had rested two days at Glasgow, to start early on the 15th *en route* for Munfordville. On the next day he reached that place, boldly displayed his army, and on the 17th at 2 P. M. the

¶ The post was commanded by Colonel J. T. Wilder (17th Indiana), whose force consisted of four regiments of infantry, a battery, and several detachments, aggregating about 4000 men.—EDITORS.

fort and garrison surrendered. The Federals reported their loss at 15 killed, 57 wounded, and 4076 prisoners. We also captured their armament, 10 pieces of artillery, and 5000 stand of small-arms. As might be expected, the Confederate army was much elated, and were eager to grapple with the dispirited army under General Buell.

Bragg placed his troops in a strong position south of the river, using the fort as a part of his line of defense. My command was thrown forward to meet and skirmish with the enemy, who, on the 19th, commenced preparations for an attack. On the 20th General Thomas joined the Federal army with his division. General Bragg, in referring to the situation of September 20th, wrote:

"With my effective force present reduced by sickness, exhaustion, and the recent affair before the intrenchments at Munfordville to half that of the enemy, I could not prudently afford to attack him there in his selected position."

If Kirby Smith's command had been ordered from Lexington to Munfordville even as late as the 12th, a battle with Buell could not have been other than a decided Confederate victory. Bragg at first had determined to fight with his four divisions, and no doubt would have done so had Buell advanced on the 17th, or 18th, or 19th. Early on the morning of the 18th, General Bragg sent for me and explained his plans. I never saw him more determined or more confident. The entire army was in the best of spirits. I met and talked with Generals Hardee, Polk, Cheatham, and Buckner; all were enthusiastic over our success, and our good luck in getting Buell where he would be compelled to fight us to such a disadvantage. It is true our back was to a river, but it was fordable at several places, and we felt that the objection to having it in our rear was fully compensated by the topographical features, which, with the aid of the fort, made our position a strong one for defense. So anxious was Bragg for a fight that he sent Buckner's division to the front in the hope that an engagement could thus be provoked; but after the arrival of General Thomas, Bragg did not deem it advisable to risk a battle with the force then under his command, believing that another opportunity would offer after being joined by Kirby Smith. He therefore withdrew to Bardstown, sending to me, who still confronted Buell, the following order, dated September 20th, through General Hardee:

"General Bragg directs that, if possible, the enemy be prevented from crossing Green River to-morrow, and General Hardee instructs me to say that he expects you will contest the passage of that river at Munfordville to that end."

Buell heard of Bragg's movements and pressed forward with determination. My small brigade of cavalry contested his advance on the 20th and 21st, in efforts to comply with the instructions from General Bragg. On the afternoon of the 21st, Buell's right approached the river above the town, and at the same time he pressed forward his line of battle so rapidly as almost to command the only ford by which I could cross Green River with both artillery and cavalry. Allen's 1st Alabama Regiment, being directly in front, was thrown into column and, charging gallantly, defeated the opposing cavalry and broke through their infantry. Among our killed was the noble

Lieutenant-Colonel T. B. Brown, but the charge sufficiently checked the advance to enable the command to cross the ford in good order. The following note, referring to this engagement, explains itself :

"HEADQUARTERS, SIXTH DIVISION, ARMY OF THE OHIO, September 22d, 1862. GENERAL WHEELER, Commanding Cavalry Brigade. GENERAL: I am directed by General Buell to say, in answer to your request to admit the brother of Lieutenant-Colonel Brown, killed in the affair of yesterday within our lines, he regrets he cannot, on account of the present state of the service, accede to your wishes. General Buell has referred your note to me to give you the desired information in regard to the fate of Colonel Brown. He was killed outright in the handsome cavalry charge executed by your troops yesterday afternoon. His body was taken to a neighboring house and cared for. He will be interred to-day, and doubtless in the vicinity. His watch was taken charge of by an officer of rank in our service, and I will make it a point to have it forwarded to you. I am not now informed whether there were any other valuables on the person of Colonel Brown. I am, General, very respectfully, your obedient servant, TH. J. WOOD, Brigadier-General of Volunteers, Commanding."

The watch was subsequently sent to Colonel Brown's daughter.

On the 22d, with a clear road to Louisville, Buell moved with celerity in that direction. My cavalry contested his advance, but the country was too open to allow of effective opposition with so small a force. On the 25th the leading Federal column reached the city, and the seven divisions were all up on the 27th. Bragg, Polk, and Hardee had been kept thoroughly informed of Buell's march and of the exposure of his flank, which presented an inviting opportunity for attack, but so worn and wearied was the condition of our army that these officers did not feel justified in attempting an aggressive movement. On the 28th Bragg left Bardstown with his staff to confer with Kirby Smith at Lexington, and then proceeded to Frankfort, where, on the 4th of October, a day was occupied in the installation of the Hon. Richard Hawes as Confederate Provisional Governor of the Commonwealth.

While these events were happening Buell was making active preparations for an aggressive campaign. On the 26th Major-General Wright, commanding the Department of the Ohio, went from Cincinnati to Louisville to confer with him, and on the 27th General Halleck issued an order placing Buell in command of the troops of both departments, then in Louisville. There has been much controversy as to the "strength of the opposing armies." After the most careful study of Federal and Confederate official statements, I have reached the following conclusions :

FEDERAL FORCES AVAILABLE TO MEET BRAGG. ☆

Collected at Cincinnati.....	45,000
Collected at Louisville.....	30,000
Carried to Louisville by Buell, September 25th to 29th.....	54,198
Morgan's Seventh Division.....	8,084

Total under Buell's and Wright's command..... 137,282 †

☆ It will be contended, with some force, that a portion of these troops was necessary to guard Cincinnati and Louisville. But on the other hand it may be insisted, just as strenuously, that the

most meager guard would have sufficed to protect those cities had the main body moved vigorously against the Confederates.—J. W.

† But see other estimates, p. 31.—EDITORS.

To these we might with propriety add the 26,351 men which General Wright could have drawn from his command in West Virginia.

These stupendous armies did not include the 12,397 troops left at Nashville, which would make the entire force subject to Buell's and Wright's orders 176,030.

MAXIMUM CONFEDERATE FORCES.

General E. Kirby Smith's column taken to Kentucky.....	10,000
Humphrey Marshall, from West Virginia.....	2,160
Stevenson, joining after Perryville.....	7,500
John H. Morgan.....	1,300
Bragg's largest force before crossing Tennessee River—officers and men, for duty.....	27,816
Bragg, Smith, and Marshall.....	48,776 ‡

The above was the reported strength of the Confederate troops when the campaign began, but to make sure and to compensate for any omitted cavalry let us add 1000, making the entire force 49,776. The losses at Richmond and Munfordsville were very slight, compared to the daily depletion caused by dropping out along the route. Some were allowed to organize in squads and make their way back to east Tennessee; some sought shelter among the kind and hospitable people; some struggled along with the ambulance trains, and some were left at temporarily established hospitals, one of which, containing two hundred inmates, was captured by the enemy at Glasgow.

This character of loss always attends a rapidly moving army, and its extent can be realized when we see that Hardee's wing left Chattanooga 12,825 strong, was reënforced by Cleburne's brigade early in October; yet, even with Cleburne included, Hardee, in stating officially the force with which he fought at Perryville, says: "Thinned by battle and long and arduous service, my effective force did not exceed 10,000 men." It will be seen, therefore, that these causes reduced the Confederate ranks in much greater proportion than they were increased by enlistments and other accretions, and General Bragg in his official report of the campaign asserts that we were able "at no time to put more than forty thousand men of all arms and at all places in battle." This included Bragg's, Smith's, and Marshall's columns, and although it is probably true that their aggregate strength in August was 48,776, it would have been as difficult for Bragg and Smith to have concentrated that number as it would have been for Buell and Wright to have concentrated the 163,633 which they commanded. Even with such a force available to drive 40,000 men out of Kentucky, General Wright on the 16th appealed to the governors of Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan for additional troops. What troops came in answer to these calls I would not venture to say; but leaving these and the troops in West Virginia under General Wright out of the calculation, our strength, even after Stevenson joined us, was less than half, and but little more than one-third that of the enemy, and that powerful enemy was directly on its base of supplies, with unlimited commissary and

‡ But see other estimates, p. 31.—EDITORS.

ordnance stores, while the Confederate army had no base, was living off the country, and had no possibility of replenishing ammunition. Bragg felt very keenly the misfortune caused by his inability to concentrate and gain a victory over Buell before he should reach the reënforcements which awaited him at Louisville.

In writing to the Government, September 25th, Bragg says:

"I regret to say we are sadly disappointed in the want of action by our friends in Kentucky. We have so far received no accession to this army. General Smith has secured about a brigade — not half our losses by casualties of different kinds. Unless a change occurs soon we must abandon the garden spot of Kentucky. . . ."

On September 18th, Kirby Smith writes to General Bragg:

"The Kentuckians are slow and backward in rallying to our standard. Their hearts are evidently with us, but their blue-grass and fat-grass are against us. Several regiments are in process of organization, and if we remain long enough recruits will be found for all the disposable arms in our possession."

These letters illustrated why a victory over Buell was necessary.

Although Kentucky maintained her neutrality as long as it was possible, the chivalric spirit of her gallant sons was fully manifested at the earliest opportunity — each obeying only the dictates of his own convictions of duty. While thousands united their fortunes with the South, other and more thousands flocked to the standard of the North.

The proud old families — descendants of the pioneers of the Commonwealth — each sent sons to do battle in the opposing armies. Friends, neighbors, kinsmen, and even brothers bade each other adieu — one to the Northern army, the other to the Confederate. † Wherever daring courage, rare intelligence, extraordinary fertility of resource, or fortitude under privation and suffering were displayed, Kentuckians were conspicuous; and when the fight was over and the battle-rent banner of the vanquished Con-



LIEUTENANT-GENERAL E. KIRBY SMITH, C. S. A.
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

† The remarkable division of sentiment, upon the issue presented by the secession of the South, that existed in Kentucky is clearly illustrated by the course of some of her leading families: The three most prominent families in the State were the Breckinridges, the Clays, and the Crittendens, and each of them had representatives in both armies. Major-General Thomas L. Crittenden and Colonel Eugene W. Crittenden served in the army of the North, while their brother, Major-General George B. Crittenden, served in the army of the South. Of Henry Clay's grandchildren, I recall three who espoused the Federal cause, and four who joined the Southern army. Vice-President Breckinridge and three sons adhered to the South,

while his two distinguished cousins, the eminent Presbyterian divines, were uncompromising in their devotion to the Union. The elder, and perhaps more famous of these cousins, Dr. Robert J. Breckinridge, had two sons in the Confederate and two in the Federal army; one of whom (Colonel J. C. Breckinridge, now [1888] of the regular army), in the fierce battle at Atlanta, July 22d, 1864, became a prisoner to his brother, W. C. P. Breckinridge, the present member of Congress, who made as brilliant a record as a soldier as he has since made as a statesman. They passed the night following that sanguinary battle with as much warmth of fraternal affection as though visiting each other from neighboring armies engaged in the same cause. — J. W.

federacy furl'd about its shattered staff was buried in that grave from which a resurrection is no less unwished for than impossible, the survivors of the contest from that State returned to their homes with no feelings of animosity, no brooding hopes of vengeance to be wreaked upon their late opponents.

On October 1st Buell commenced his march from Louisville upon Bragg at Bardstown. On September 29th General Thomas had been assigned by President Lincoln to the command of the army, but at Thomas's request the order was revoked, and he was announced in orders as second in command.

Buell organized his infantry into three army corps, of three divisions each. The First Corps on the left, under Major-General McCook, marched through Taylorsville. The Second Corps, under Major-General Crittenden, marched through Mount Washington, and the Third Corps, under Major-General Gilbert, which formed the Federal right, took the route by way of Shepherdsville. General Sill, of McCook's corps, reënforced by Dumont's independent division, marched direct to Frankfort to threaten Kirby Smith.

Buell, in his official report, says :

"Skirmishing with the enemy's cavalry and artillery marked the movement of each column from within a few miles of Louisville. It was more stubborn and formidable near Bardstown, but the rear of the enemy's infantry retired from that place eight hours before our arrival, when his rear-guard of cavalry and artillery retreated after a sharp engagement with my cavalry. The pursuit and skirmishing with the enemy's rear-guard continued toward Springfield."

General Smith prepared to meet Sill and Dumont, and on October 2d Bragg ordered General Polk to move the entire army from Bardstown via Bloomfield toward Frankfort, and to strike Sill's column in flank while Smith met it in front. For reasons which were afterward explained that order was not complied with, but, on the approach of Buell, Polk marched via Perryville toward Harrodsburg, where he expected the entire army would be concentrated. ¶ General Smith, confronted by Sill and Dumont near Frankfort, had several times on the 6th and 7th called upon Bragg for reënforcements, and Withers's division of Polk's corps was ordered to him. Reports reached Bragg exaggerating the strength of the movement upon Frankfort. He was thus led to believe that the force behind Polk was not so heavy as represented, and on the evening of October 7th he directed him to form the cavalry and the divisions of Cheatham, Buckner, and Patton Anderson at Perryville, and vigorously attack the pursuing column. Since October 1st our cavalry had persistently engaged the two most advanced of Buell's columns.

The reader should now observe, by the map [p. 6], that McCook's corps approached Perryville by the road through Bloomfield, Chaplin, and Mackville, its general direction being nearly south-east. General Gilbert's corps approached by the road from Springfield, its general direction being east, but bearing north-east as it approached the town. Crittenden's corps, accompanied by General Thomas and preceded by cavalry, having crossed Gilbert's line of march, was on a road which runs due east from Lebanon to Danville.

¶ General Polk, finding his own front threatened, availed himself of previous instructions as to how he should handle his force in certain contingencies, and retired slowly.—EDITORS.

At a point about five miles south-west of Perryville this road has a branch which turns north-east to that place. Now remember that our stores and supplies were at Bryantsville and Camp Dick Robinson about eighteen miles east of Perryville, and that Kirby Smith was at McCown's Ferry, on the Kentucky River, *en route* for Versailles, menaced by two divisions under General Sill. Also observe the important feature that McCook was at Mackville during the night of the 7th, at which place a road forks, running east to Harrodsburg and thence to our depot at Bryantsville; and also consider that Mackville was as near Bryantsville as were our troops in front of Perryville.

On the 7th our cavalry fought with considerable tenacity, particularly in the evening, when the enemy sought to get possession of the only accessible supply of water. General Buell, in his report, says:

"The advanced guard, consisting of cavalry and artillery, supported toward evening by two regiments of infantry, pressed successfully upon the enemy's rear-guard to within two miles of the town, against a somewhat stubborn opposition."

After dark, at General Hardee's request, I went to his bivouac and discussed the plans for the following day. I explained to him the topography of the country and the location of Buell's columns. I understood from him that the attack would be made very early the next morning, and I endeavored to impress upon him the great advantage which must follow an early commencement of the action. An early attack on the 8th would have met only the advance of Gilbert's corps on the Springfield road, which was four or five miles nearer to Perryville than any other Federal troops, and their overthrow could have been accomplished with little loss, while every hour of delay was bringing the rear divisions of the enemy nearer to the front, besides bringing the corps of McCook and Crittenden upon the field. I explained, also, that Thomas and Crittenden on the Lebanon and Danville road could easily gain our rear, while all our forces were engaged with McCook and Gilbert. For instance, if Crittenden turned toward Perryville at the fork five miles from that place, he would march directly in the rear of our troops engaged with Gilbert's corps. If he kept on toward Danville and Camp Dick Robinson, our position would be turned, and a rapid retreat to our depot of supplies, closely followed by McCook and Gilbert, would be the inevitable result. With equal ease, McCook, by marching from Mackville to Harrodsburg, could reach our depot, thus turning our right flank.

The reader will plainly see that Perryville was not a proper place for sixteen thousand men to form and await the choice of time and manner of attack by Buell, with his tremendous army, and that every moment's delay after daylight was lessening the probabilities of advantage to the Confederates. The cavalry under my command was pressed forward at dawn on the 8th, and skirmished with the outposts of the enemy, until, on the approach of a Federal brigade of cavalry supported by a line of infantry, we charged, dispersing the cavalry, and, breaking through both infantry and artillery, drove the enemy from their guns and took 140 prisoners.

The Federal army was now being placed in line: McCook's corps on the left, Gilbert's in the center, and Crittenden's corps, which reached the field



LIEUTENANT-GENERAL JOSEPH WHEELER, C. S. A.
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

at 11 o'clock, \ on the right, its flank being covered by Edward M. McCook's brigade of cavalry. The management of the Federal right wing was under the supervision of General Thomas.

General Bragg reached Perryville about 10 o'clock. General Liddell's brigade, of Buckner's division, had been advanced with his left near the Springfield road, and his skirmish line became engaged. The cavalry on the Confederate left apparently being able to hold their own against the enemy upon that part of the field, Cheatham's division, composed of Donelson's, Stewart's, and Maney's brigades, was ordered to the right, where, between 1 and 2 o'clock, with its right supported by cavalry, it moved forward to the attack. Generals Hardee and Buckner, seeing Cheatham fairly in action, ordered General Bushrod Johnson's and Cleburne's brigades

forward. There being considerable space between Cheatham's left and Buckner's right, General John C. Brown's and Colonel Jones's brigades, of Anderson's division, and General S. A. M. Wood's, of Buckner's division, had been placed in position to fill the vacancy. Adams's and Powell's brigades, of Anderson's division, were to the left of Buckner, and the line thus arranged with cavalry on both flanks gallantly advanced upon the enemy. Cheatham was first in action and was almost immediately exposed to a murderous fire of infantry and artillery, which soon spread to the left of our line.

Our artillery, handled with great skill, told fearfully on the enemy, who sought, when practicable, to take shelter behind stone walls and fences. Fortunately we were enabled to enfilade many of their temporary shelters with a well-directed fire from our batteries, and this, added to our musketry, was so effective that first one regiment, then another, and finally the entire Federal line, gave way before the determined onset of our troops.

\ Crittenden testified before the Buell Commission that his leading division "was in line of battle between 10 and 11." This line was formed on the Lebanon pike about three miles from the battlefield.—EDITORS.

At one time Cleburne and Johnson seemed checked for a moment, as they assailed a very strong position, the fire from which cut down our men and severely wounded General Cleburne. But encouraged by the steady advance on both right and left, these troops recovered from the shock, and with increased speed the entire line overran the enemy, capturing three batteries and a number of prisoners. Among the dead and wounded Federals lay one who, the prisoners told us, was General James S. Jackson, the commander of one of McCook's divisions. General Liddell, who had been placed in reserve, followed the movement, and when the contest became warmest was sent to reinforce Cheatham, where he did valiant service.

During this sanguinary struggle, our line had advanced nearly a mile. Prisoners, guns, colors, and the field of battle were ours; not a step which had been gained was yielded. The enemy, though strongly reënforced, was still broken and disordered. He held his ground mainly because our troops were too exhausted for further effort. At one point just at dusk we captured a disorganized body, including a number of brigade and division staff-officers. Soon darkness came on and we rested on the field thus bravely won.

Our entire force engaged, infantry, cavalry and artillery, was but 16,000 men. Our loss was 510 killed, 2635 wounded, and 251 missing. Generals S. A. M. Wood and Cleburne were disabled, and a large proportion of higher officers were killed or wounded. Three of General Wood's staff were among the killed.

General Buell lost 916 killed, 2943 wounded, and 489 captured by the Confederates. General Jackson, commanding a division, and General Terrill and Colonel Webster, commanding brigades, were among the Federal killed, and Colonel Lytle was among the wounded.

At every point of battle the Confederates had been victorious. We had engaged three corps of the Federal army; ☆ one of these, McCook's, to use Buell's language, was "very much crippled," one division, again to use his language, "having in fact almost entirely disappeared as a body."

After darkness had closed a battle, it was a custom to send messengers or notes to the nearest generals, detailing results, telling of this or that one who had fallen, and asking information from other portions of the field. Resting quietly on the ground, the army expected, and would gladly have welcomed, a renewal of the fight on the next day, but the accumulation of Buell's forces was such as not to justify further conflict in that locality. Kirby Smith was near Lawrenceburg with his own troops and Withers's division, and after full consultation it was determined to march to Harrodsburg, where it was hoped the entire Confederate force in Kentucky might be concentrated. I was directed with the cavalry to prevent an advance on the road leading to Danville. At midnight the troops withdrew to Perryville, and at sunrise continued the march. It was long after this when the Federal pickets began to reconnoiter, and it was fully 10 o'clock when, standing on the edge of the town, I saw the advance of the skirmish line of Buell's army. Bragg prepared

☆ Only a small part of Crittenden's corps was in action; see p. 31.—EDITORS.

for battle on the Harrodsburg road, only eight miles from Perryville, and awaited Buell's advance.

Two days elapsed, and the Federal army evinced no disposition to attack. A division of infantry and a brigade of cavalry fought me back to near Danville, and at the same time Buell formed with his right within four miles of that place, making a feint in Bragg's immediate front on the road leading from Perryville to Harrodsburg. Buell, no doubt, hoped to cut him off from the crossing of the Dick River near Camp Dick Robinson.

I sent General Bragg information of Buell's dispositions, whereupon he issued orders to his army and wrote me as follows:

"HARRODSBURG, KY., October 10th, 1862. COLONEL WHEELER. DEAR COLONEL: I opened your dispatch to General Polk regarding the enemy's movements. The information you furnish is very important. It is just what I needed and I thank you for it. This information leaves no doubt as to the proper course for me to pursue. Hold the enemy firmly till to-morrow. Yours, etc., BRAXTON BRAGG."

Bragg had now determined to retreat to Knoxville by the way of Cumberland Gap. It was evident that Buell's large army would enable him to select his own time and position for battle unless Bragg chose to attack. Bragg already had 1500 sick and over 3000 wounded. A severe battle would certainly have increased the wounded to 4000 or 5000 more. The care of such a number of wounded would have embarrassed, possibly controlled, our movements.

Hardee states that he had but 10,000 men before the battle of Perryville, and Bragg said that the three divisions which fought that battle had but 14,500. If that was correct they had now but 11,000.

It was too hazardous to guard our depot of supplies and contend with the Federal forces within easy march. Our wagon trains were immense, and our artillery large in proportion to other arms.

The enemy pushed up close to Danville on the night of the 10th, but we easily held him in check until all our army had crossed Dick River. On the 11th we contended against a force of infantry, which finally pressed us so warmly that we were compelled to retire east of Danville. Here the enemy was again driven back, and we held our position near the town.

Before day on the 13th I received the following appointment and instructions in a special order from General Bragg, dated Bryantsville:

"Colonel Wheeler is hereby appointed chief of cavalry, and is authorized to give orders in the name of the commanding general. He is charged under Major-General Smith with covering the rear of the army and holding the enemy in check. All cavalry will report to him and receive his orders."

Compliance with the above of course involved considerable fighting, but by using the cavalry to the best advantage, and adopting available expedients, the movement of our infantry and trains in retreat was unmolested. These engagements were constant, and were often warmly and bitterly contested.

The large trains of captured stores made the progress of our infantry very slow, and the corps commanders sent frequent admonitions to me urging the

importance of persistent resistance to Buell's advance. In crossing Big Hill, and at other points, the trains hardly averaged five miles a day, and General Kirby Smith at one time regarded it as impossible for the cavalry to save them. In his letter to Bragg, on the 14th, he says: "I have no hope of saving the whole of my train"; and in his letter on the 15th he says: "I have little hope of saving any of the trains, and fear much of the artillery will be lost." But fortunately nothing was lost. Our cavalry at times dismounted and fought behind stone fences and hastily erected rail breastworks, and when opportunity offered charged the advancing enemy. Each expedient was adopted several times each day, and when practicable the road was obstructed by felling timber. These devices were continually resorted to until the 22d, when the enemy ceased the pursuit, and early in November the cavalry force, which covered the retreat from Kentucky, reached middle Tennessee and was close to the enemy, less than ten miles south of Nashville.

The campaign was over. Buell was deprived of his command for not having defeated Bragg, who, in turn, was censured by the Southern people for his failure to destroy the Federal army commanded by Buell.

This campaign was made at a time when the opposing Governments hoped for more from their generals and armies than could reasonably be accomplished. The people of the South were misinformed regarding the resources at the disposal of Generals Bragg and Kirby Smith, and our first successes aroused expectations and hopes that the Kentucky movement would result in the defeat, or at least the discomfiture, of Buell's army, the possible invasion of the North, and certainly the recovery of Confederate power in the central and eastern portions of Kentucky and Tennessee. They were sorely disappointed when they heard of General Bragg's withdrawal through Cumberland Gap, and could not easily be convinced of the necessity of such a movement immediately following the battle of Perryville, which they regarded as a decisive victory. The censure which fell upon Bragg was therefore severe and almost universal. It somewhat abated after the prompt advance of the army to Murfreesboro'; but to this day there are many who contend that Bragg should have defeated Buell and maintained himself in the rich and productive plains of Kentucky. On the other hand the Federal Government was, if possible, more severe in denunciation of General Buell, and held that, far from allowing General Bragg to cross the Tennessee River and the mountains into middle Tennessee, Buell should have anticipated these movements, occupied Chattanooga, and, as some even contended, marched



MAJOR-GENERAL B. F. CHEATHAM, C. S. A.
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

his army toward Atlanta. The Government was convinced that he could easily have met and halted Bragg as he debouched from the mountains before entering middle Tennessee. It was emphatic in its assertion that ordinary celerity on the part of General Buell would have saved Munfordville and its garrison of 4200 men; that proper concentration would have destroyed the Confederate forces at Perryville, and that the plainest principles of strategy presented the opportunity of throwing forward a column to cut off Bragg's retreat via Camp Dick Robinson, or that at least after the commencement of the conflict at Perryville he should have pressed close to his antagonist and forced Bragg to continuous battle, contending, as they did, that superior numbers and proximity to his base gave the Federal commander advantages that, if properly improved, would have resulted in the destruction of the Confederate army.

Buell's strategy and tactics were the subject of Congressional investigation and inquiry by a military commission. With regard to the adverse criticisms on Bragg's campaign it must be admitted that there were opportunities, had they been improved, to cripple, if not to defeat, the Federal army.

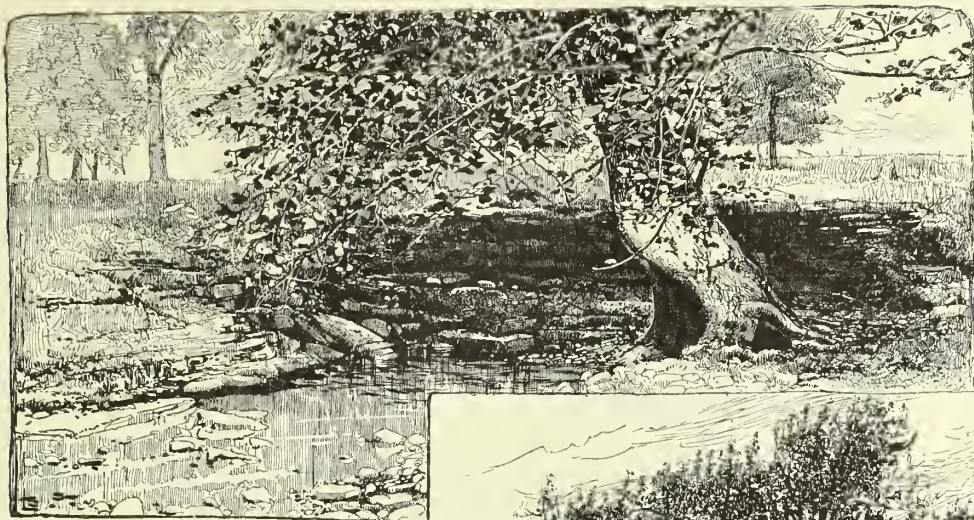
The failure to "concentrate and attack" tells the story of the campaign. The first opportunity was on September 18th, when we caught Buell south of Munfordville. Bragg could not have attacked at Altamont, because it will be remembered that on August 30th, at the first appearance of our cavalry, the Federal force retreated from that place down the mountain. Neither could he have overtaken Buell's troops at McMinnville, because, fully three days before Bragg could have reached that place, Buell had ordered all his army to Murfreesboro'.

Those who contend that Bragg should have followed Buell to Nashville do not consider that he would have found him in a good position, strengthened by fortifications, and defended by 9 divisions of infantry and 1 of cavalry; his available force for duty then being 66,595.

After the surrender of the Federal fort at Munfordville, it became painfully apparent that a single mind should control the Confederate troops in Kentucky, and concentrate our entire force and attack the divided enemy; but a condition existed which has been repeated in military operations for four thousand years, and always with disastrous results. The troops in Kentucky had two commanders. The troops of two different departments were expected to coöperate.

Both Kirby Smith and Bragg were brave and skillful generals. The devotion of each to the cause in which they were enlisted was absolute, and their only ambition was to contribute to its success. In their characters the pettiness of personal rivalry could find no place, and either would willingly have relinquished to the other the honor of being the victor, if the victory could only have been won.

It will be remembered how promptly, in the preceding June, General Bragg had weakened his own army and strengthened Smith's by sending McCown's division from Tupelo to Chattanooga, and again in August by sending the brigades of Cleburne and Preston Smith from Chattanooga to Knoxville;



SPRING NEAR PERRYVILLE, WHICH HELPED TO RELIEVE BRAGG'S PARCHED ARMY. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN 1885.

and again, when Smith was pressed at Frankfort, that Bragg reënforced him promptly with one of his best divisions. That Kirby Smith would, at any time, have been as ready and prompt to give Bragg any part or all of his army there can be no doubt, but when the decisive moment came, the two independent armies were more than one

hundred miles apart, and neither commander could be informed of the other's necessities. Bragg and Smith conferred together, but neither commanded the other. If all the troops had belonged to one army, Bragg would have ordered, and not conferred or requested.

To aggravate the difficulties inherent in the system of independent commands and divided responsibility, Brigadier-General Marshall, who had commanded in West Virginia, appeared upon the field of active operations with 2150 men. He was an able and distinguished man and determined in his devotion to the Confederacy. He wished to do his full duty, but he appeared to feel that he could render more efficient service with a separate command than if trammelled by subordination to a superior commander; and his aversion to having any intervening power between himself and the President was apparent.

While General Smith was anxious to coöperate, he nevertheless, in reply to Bragg's request for coöperation, wrote indicating very forcibly that he thought other plans were more important; and, in fact, the only coöperative action during the campaign was Bragg's compliance with Smith's request to



PEAR-TREE, ONE HUNDRED YEARS OLD, AT THE LEFT OF ROUSSEAU'S POSITION, PERRYVILLE. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN 1885.

transfer to him two brigades on August 5th, and to transfer Withers's division to him on October 7th.

In reply to the question as to what one supreme commander could have done, I confidently assert he could have concentrated and attacked and beaten Buell on September 18th south of Munfordville. He could then have turned and marched to Louisville and taken that city. If it should be argued that this plan involved unnecessary marching on the part of Kirby Smith, who was then at Lexington, a supreme commander could have adopted the one which was contemplated by Bragg early in the campaign. ¶

After the surrender of Munfordville he could by September 21st have reached Louisville with all the force in Kentucky, taken the city, and then risked its being held by a small garrison, while making another concentration and attack upon Buell.

As an evidence of how easily we could have taken Louisville, it must be observed that on September 22d Buell sent Major-General Nelson orders containing these words:

"If you have only the force you speak of it would not, I should say, be advisable for you to attempt a defense of Louisville unless you are strongly intrenched; under no circumstances should you make a fight with his whole or main force. The alternative would be to cross the river or march on this side to the mouth of Salt River and bridge it so as to form a junction with me. . . ."

Nelson seemed to concur with Buell, and it was not until that officer was but a day's march from Louisville that Nelson telegraphed the fact to General Wright, saying, "Louisville is now safe; 'God and Liberty.'"

In further corroboration of this, "Harper's History," p. 311, says:

"Just before the Federal army entered Louisville, on the 25th of September, the panic there had reached its height. In twenty-four hours more Nelson would have abandoned the city."

But suppose neither plan had been adopted, the next chance for a supreme commander of the Kentucky forces was to "concentrate and attack" Buell's flank while his army was strung out *en route* to Louisville. Elizabethtown would have been a good place, and had it been done with vigor about September 23d it certainly would have resulted in victory. But at this time General Smith's forces were all moving to Mount Sterling, 130 miles to the east of that place (Elizabethtown), and General Smith was asking, not ordering, General Marshall to coöperate with him. The next field upon which a supreme commander had an opportunity to concentrate and attack was at Perryville. Three hundred cavalry could have played with Generals Sill and Dumont around Frankfort, and every other soldier, except a few

¶ On the 1st of August General Bragg wrote from Chattanooga to Richmond: "As some ten days or two weeks must elapse before my means of transportation will reach here to such extent as to enable me to take the field with my main force, it has been determined that General Smith shall move at once against General [G. W.] Morgan in front of Cumberland Gap. Should he be successful, and our well-grounded hopes fulfilled, our entire force will be thrown into middle Tennessee with

the fairest prospect of cutting off General Buell." On the 12th Bragg wrote to Smith, at Knoxville, as follows: "On Friday I shall probably commence crossing the river [Tennessee], by which I shall draw their attention from you. . . . I shall not desire to hold you longer in check than will enable me to get in motion to support you, for it would be too great a risk to allow Buell, by rapid railroad movements, to get in your front. In the meantime I hope you will bring Morgan to terms."—EDITORS.

scouts, could then have struck Gilbert's corps as day dawned on the 8th of October.

Since, in the final result, we neither defeated Buell nor took Louisville, it is now evident that it was unfortunate Bragg did not foresee the end immediately after his victory at Munfordsville. He could certainly have crippled Buell to some extent as he attempted his hazardous flank movement *en route* to Louisville, and then, by a rapid march, he could have reached and captured Nashville and returned and established himself at Bowling Green.

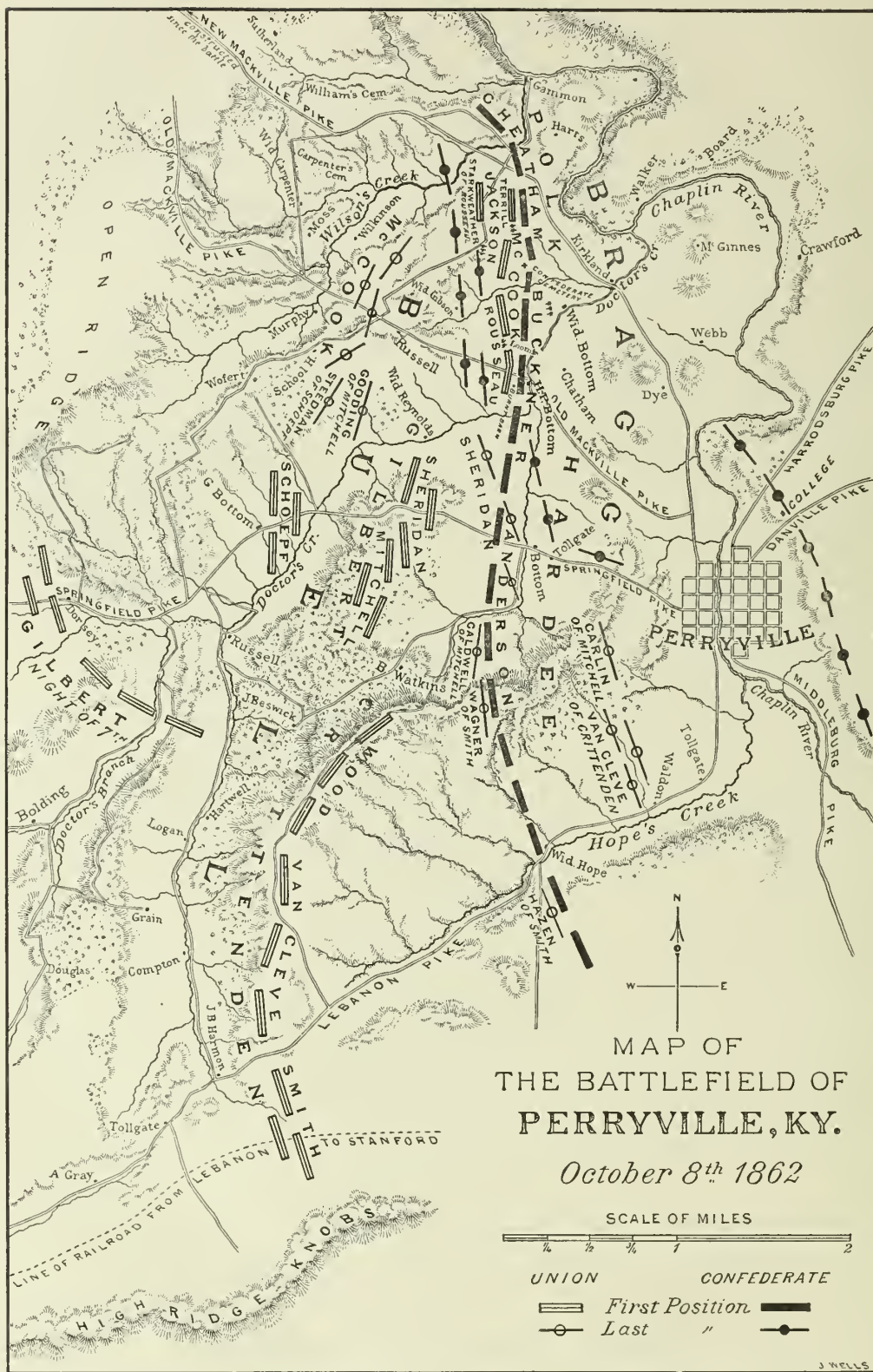
I have pointed out these lost opportunities as an additional proof of the adage, as old as war itself, "that one bad general is better than two good ones." The very fact that both the generals are good intensifies the evil; each, full of confidence in himself and determined to attain what he has in view, is unwilling to yield to any one; but if both are weak the natural indisposition of such men to exertion, their anxiety to avoid responsibility, and their desire in a great crisis to lean on some one, will frequently bring about the junction of two independent armies without any deliberately planned concert of action between the commanders. Both Bragg and Kirby Smith were men who had, to an eminent degree, those qualities that make good generals, and, once together with their armies upon the same field, victory would have been certain. Both fully appreciated the fact that, when an adversary is not intrenched, a determined attack is the beginning of victory. By this means Smith had been victorious at Manassas and at Richmond, Ky., and by vigorous attack Albert Sidney Johnston and Bragg had won at every point of battle at Shiloh, on the 6th of April. Later, the Confederate points of attack were Bragg's scene of victory the first day at Murfreesboro', and the boldness of his onset gave Bragg his great triumph at Chickamauga. Nothing was therefore wanting in Kentucky but absolute authority in one responsible commander. Coöperation of the most cordial character is a poor substitute. The word coöperation should be stricken from military phraseology.

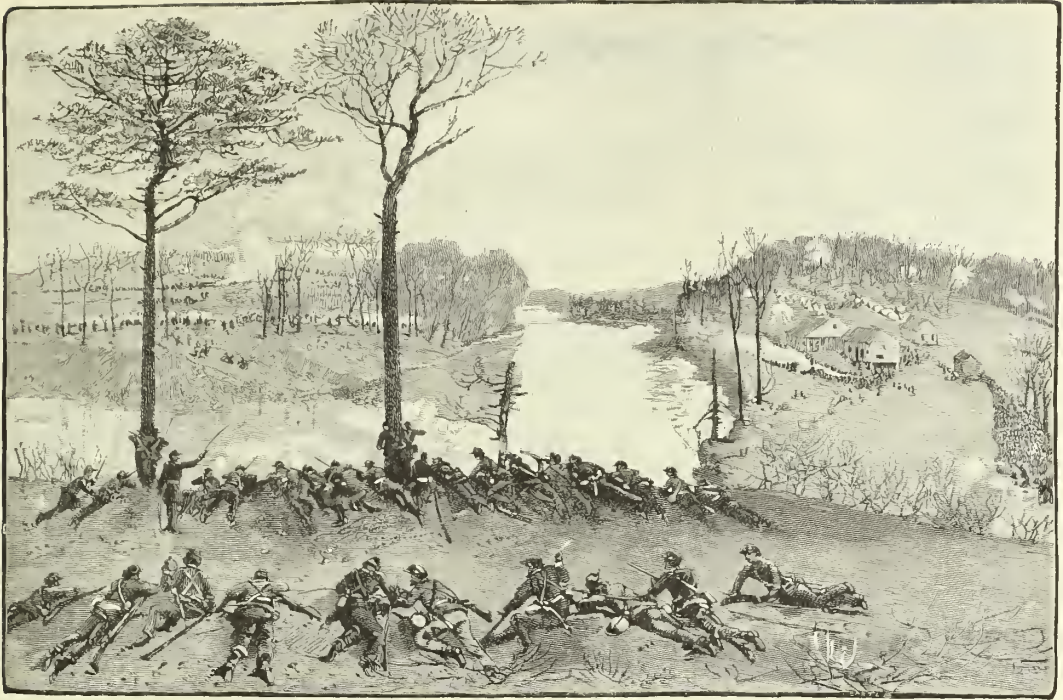
In writing to the Government on August 1st, after he had met General Smith, General Bragg says: "We have arranged measures for mutual sup-



CORNER OF THE CONFEDERATE CEMETERY AT PERRYVILLE.
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN 1886.

The cemetery is situated on a knoll a few rods south-east of the hill on which General J. S. Jackson was killed. After the battle Squire Henry P. Bottom offered the friends of the Confederates any plot of ground they might choose on his farm for a burial spot. They chose this knoll because their dead lay thickest near its eastern slope. In the autumn of 1886 a fragment of a lime-stone wall was visible above the weeds. At that time Squire Bottom said that 435 Confederates were buried here, of whom about 100 were identified. Only one headstone was to be found, and that bore the name of Samuel H. Ransom, of the 1st Tenn., and was placed there by his wife. Several officers were buried with the unidentified dead.—EDITORS.





DEFENSE OF CAGE'S FORD, ON THE CUMBERLAND RIVER, NEAR GALLATIN, NOVEMBER 21, 1862.
FROM A LITHOGRAPH.

According to a note on the lithograph, a detachment of Morgan's cavalry, and of infantry, approached Cage's Ford at daybreak of November 21, 1862, hoping to surprise the 31st Ohio regiment, which had been encamped on the south side of the Cumberland. Finding that the Union troops had changed their camp to the

north side, the Confederates threw shells from two 12-pounder howitzers until their cannoneers were driven from the pieces by the musketry fire of the Ohioans, under Lieutenant-Colonel Lister, three of whom were wounded. The Confederates made no serious attempt to cross, and soon withdrew.—EDITORS.

port and effective coöperation." On August 8th Bragg writes to Smith: "I find myself in your department; without explanation this might seem an unjustifiable intrusion." While it is no doubt true that General Smith was at all times willing to yield to the authority of General Bragg, yet the fact that Smith was the commander of an independent department, receiving orders from and reporting directly to the President, made him primarily responsible to the Executive, and this limited the authority of General Bragg. Nevertheless the Kentucky campaign was attended with great results to the Confederacy. Two months of marches and battle by the armies of Bragg and Smith had cost the Federals a loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners of 26,530. We had captured 35 cannon, 16,000 stand of arms, millions of rounds of ammunition, 1700 mules, 300 wagons loaded with military stores, and 2000 horses. We had recovered Cumberland Gap and redeemed middle Tennessee and north Alabama. Yet expectations had been excited that were not realized, and hopes had been cherished that were disappointed; and therefore this campaign of repeated triumphs, without a single reverse, has never received—save from the thoughtful, intelligent, and impartial minority—any proper recognition.

MORGAN'S CAVALRY DURING THE BRAGG INVASION.

BY BASIL W. DUKE, BRIGADIER-GENERAL, C. S. A.

WHILE Bragg was concentrating at Chattanooga, in August, 1862, preparatory to his march into Kentucky, Colonel John H. Morgan, with his cavalry command, numbering some nine hundred effectives, was actively engaged in middle Tennessee, operating chiefly against the Federal garrisons in the vicinity of Nashville, and the detachments employed immediately north and to the east of that city. All of these were successively captured or dispersed, and on the 21st of August Morgan defeated and completely routed a select body of cavalry, twelve hundred strong, sent under command of General R. W. Johnson to drive him out of Tennessee. Of this force 164 were killed and wounded, and a much larger number, including Johnson and his staff, were made prisoners.

Morgan had been notified of the intended invasion of Kentucky, and part of his duty was the destruction of the railroad track and bridges between Nashville and Bowling Green, for the purpose of retarding Buell's movements when the latter should begin his retreat to Louisville.

On the 28th of August Bragg crossed the Tennessee River at Chattanooga, and pushed northward. General Kirby Smith had previously entered Kentucky, and had ordered Morgan to report to him at Lexington, in the blue-grass region. Morgan marched from Hartsville, Tenn., on the 29th of August, and on the 4th of September reached Lexington, already occupied by General Smith. His command consisted of the 2d Kentucky Cavalry C. S. A., about 700 strong, and Gano's squadron, of 2 companies of Texan cavalry, about 150 strong. It was very largely recruited, however, during the occupation of Kentucky. A small detachment of the 2d Kentucky, leaving Lexington on the same day, made a rapid march of some 90 miles, and captured the garrison, 150 strong, of the stockade fort erected for the protection of the railroad bridge over Salt River, 17 miles south of Louisville. The bridge was burned in pursuance of the programme to destroy rail communication between Bowling Green and Louisville. By order of General Smith, the command was then divided for separate service. I was ordered to proceed with 600 men of the 2d Kentucky to the vicinity of Covington, whence General Heth, who had threatened Cincinnati, was then retiring. Colonel Morgan was ordered, with the remainder of the regiment, Gano's squadron, and all the cavalry recruits then organized, to march to the assistance of General Marshall in the mountains of eastern Kentucky. The Federal general, George W. Morgan, had evacuated Cumberland Gap, and followed by Stevenson, who had been instructed to observe and pursue him if he moved, was making his way to the Ohio. It was intended that Marshall and Morgan should intercept and arrest his march until Stevenson could overtake him and attack him in rear.

The detachment under my command became

immediately very actively engaged with the enemy, who, in considerable numbers, had crossed the river and advanced to Walton, twenty-five miles south of Covington. For several days, skirmishing went on constantly, and I was steadily driven back, until I became convinced that it was an advance in force. Discovering, however, by careful reconnoissance that the entire Federal strength consisted of only 7000 or 8000 infantry, about 1000 cavalry, and 8 pieces of artillery, and that troops were being transported in large numbers by the river from Cincinnati, I became satisfied that the movement was intended to cover and divert attention from the real concentration at Louisville, and was not meant as a serious movement on Lexington, and I so reported to General Smith. Reports from my scouts and from citizens, to the effect that these troops were quite raw and inexperienced, and that, on account of the omission to scout or reconnoiter, the encampment at Walton, where the enemy had halted, could be easily approached, induced me to attack the camp. By a quick dash upon it, just after daybreak, I secured 90 or 100 prisoners, with very little loss on my part; but found that no effort by a force numerically so inferior could compel the enemy to retire.

It was important, however, that his column should be forced to fall back and not remain as a menace to Lexington, whence it was distant only two or three days' march. I learned that a regiment was organized for the Federal army out of some "home guard" companies at Augusta, a small town on the Ohio, about forty miles above Covington. I was also informed that at that season of year, when the river was at a very low stage of water, it was fordable immediately below this place. Leaving the greater part of my command in front of the enemy at Walton to observe and follow him if he retreated, I marched rapidly with 250 men to Augusta, believing that the recruits there could be captured or dispersed with ease, and without loss on my part, and that I could cross the river into Ohio, enter the suburbs of Cincinnati, and induce such consternation that the troops at Walton would be recalled. On the 27th of September I attacked, meeting, however, with fierce resistance. Two small river steamers were there, unmarked with bales of hay, and each carrying a 12-pounder howitzer. On these boats were about one hundred infantry. The "Home Guards," 400 or 500 strong, were ensconced in the houses of the little town. I planted two small howitzers attached to my command on a hill overlooking the village, and within a half-mile range of the river. After the exchange of a few shots on each side, the boats, with the troops upon them, steamed off in disgraceful panic. I thought then that the affair was over, but when I entered the town I found nearly every house a fortress, and was met with severe volleys which did much damage. Before I could overcome the resistance of the inmates, I was forced to burn some of

the houses, storm many others, and even double-shot the small field-pieces and fire them point-blank from the street into some whose defenders were unusually stubborn. The hand-to-hand fighting in this little skirmish was the fiercest I ever saw. In many instances when the firing from the windows was stopped by the volleys poured into them from the streets, the inmates still refused to surrender, and the details of my men who broke down the doors and entered were compelled to kill all they found inside. Captain S. D. Morgan killed seven men with his own hand, and was himself killed before the house he entered was taken. In some houses I saw blood dripping down the stairways.

My loss was 21 men killed and 18 wounded. A very much larger number of the "Home Guards" was killed, and I carried off between 300 and 400 prisoners. The combat lasted not more than fifteen minutes after I entered the town; but my loss, the number of prisoners, and especially the fact that I had nearly exhausted my ammunition, decided me not to cross the Ohio and carry out the movement on Cincinnati I had contemplated. I knew, also, that 500 or 600 Federal troops at Maysville, not far distant, would be ordered immediately to Augusta, and that my return by that point would be intercepted. On the next morning I was attacked at Brookville by these troops, under Lieutenant-Colonel H. B. Wilson, nine miles from Augusta; but the affair was trifling, the loss on either side slight, and I carried off my prisoners. Four or five days afterward I was ordered to return to Lexington.

Col. John H. Morgan had been sent to eastern Kentucky, as I have said, to intercept the retreat of the Federal general, George W. Morgan. He did not find Marshall in the vicinity where he was instructed to seek him, nor, indeed, at all. Learning that the Federal column was moving from Manchester via Booneville to Mount Sterling, doubtless to reach the Ohio at Maysville, Colonel Morgan expected to strike the enemy between Booneville and Mount Sterling. But General Morgan concentrated at Irvine on the 21st, and moved toward Proctor. The Confederate cavalry then moved as rapidly as the mountainous country permitted, and receiving further information that the enemy had turned to the right and was at Campton, in Wolfe County, succeeded in getting directly in his front near Hazel Green. From the 25th of September until the 1st of October every effort was made to arrest or delay the Federal retreat. The roads were barricaded, the column was attacked in front and flank, and the skirmishing was continuous. During that time the enemy progressed only thirty miles; nevertheless, John Morgan received no aid as promised him, nor did Stevenson overtake the Federal commander and force him to battle. At noon, October the 1st, Colonel Morgan received orders to withdraw from the enemy's front, and rejoin General Smith "at Lexington, or *wherever he might be.*" He reached Lexington on the 4th of October. I reported to him there the next day. The town was about to be evacuated, and General Smith's entire army, Stevenson having arrived, was marching to effect a junction with Bragg. We

left Lexington on the 6th, and until the 10th were employed in preventing the debouchment of Sill's and Dumont's divisions (Federal) from the rough country west of Frankfort, where they were demonstrating to induce Bragg to believe that Buell's attack would be delivered from that direction when the latter had in reality marched to Perryville.

After General Bragg had moved from Munfordsville to Bardstown, the entire Confederate strategic line, including the disposition of the forces under General Smith, may be described as extending from Bardstown on the left flank, via Lexington, to Mount Sterling on the extreme right. It was one admirably adapted for defense. However threatened, the troops could be marched to the point menaced by excellent interior roads, and favorable ground for battle was available wherever attack was probable. The base at Bryantsville was secure, and was an exceedingly strong natural position. The aggregate strength of the Confederate armies was little, if any, less than 61,000 men.

On October 1st Buell moved out of Louisville with 58,000 effective men, of whom 22,000 were raw troops.

Under the impression that Buell was about to throw his entire army upon Smith at Frankfort, Bragg, on the 2d, ordered Polk to march with the Army of the Mississippi from Bardstown via Bloomfield toward Frankfort in order that he might strike the enemy in rear, while Kirby Smith should assail him in front. Until the 7th he remained apparently under the impression that Buell was advancing to attack Smith. But on the evening of the 7th, Gilbert, in command of Buell's center, came in contact with Hardee near Perryville, and compelled him to prepare for action. Hardee called for reinforcements, and Cheatham's division was sent him, while the remainder of Polk's corps continued its march toward Versailles with the view of joining the forces under General Smith.

It thus happened that General Bragg, completely misled by the mere demonstration upon Frankfort, kept more than two-thirds of the entire force under his control idly manœuvring in a quarter where nothing could possibly be accomplished, and permitted less than 20,000 men to become engaged upon a field where more than 45,000 of the enemy could have been hurled upon them. Buell's whole army (with the exception of the divisions of Sill and Dumont — together 10,000 or 12,000 strong) was concentrated at Perryville on the 8th, and but for the unaccountable circumstance that McCook had been fighting several hours before Buell was informed that a battle was in progress, the Confederate line would have been overwhelmed by an attack in force. If such had been the result at Perryville on the 8th, and Buell had then gotten between the scattered remnants of the troops that opposed him there, as he would almost surely have done, he would have been master of the situation, and nothing but disaster could have befallen the Confederates. For on the 9th Sill and Dumont were marching to rejoin the main body, and in another day Buell could have had his entire 58,000 — minus the loss sustained in the battle — well in hand.

After Perryville, Morgan was ordered to rejoin the army, when everything was concentrated at Harrodsburg, as if for a battle which General Bragg could have won but never meant to fight. When the army, leaving Harrodsburg, without battle, began its retreat to Tennessee, Morgan, assisted by Col. Henry Ashby with a small brigade of cavalry, was employed in covering its rear. This rear-guard was engaged very ardently, and almost constantly, in contact with Buell's advance regiments until the 17th. At that date Morgan received permission to retrace his march, capture Lexington, which was, of course, in the hands of the enemy, and then move southward, directly across Buell's rear, doing the latter all possible damage. Marching rapidly for twenty-four hours, he reached Lexington at dawn of the following morning, and immediately attacked the 4th Ohio Cavalry, which was encamped at Ashland—once the residence of Henry Clay—about two miles from the city. The enemy was defeated after a short combat, and nearly six hundred were made prisoners. The loss in killed and wounded on either side was slight. Resuming his march at noon that day, Morgan encamped on the following night at Shryock's ferry on the Kentucky River. At midnight he was attacked by Dumont, and fearing that he would be surrounded and entrapped in the rugged hills of that region, he marched with all speed for Lawrenceburg, four miles distant, reaching and passing through that little town just as a heavy Federal column, sent to intercept him there, was entering it upon the Frankfort turnpike. Passing around Bardstown on the next day, we encamped between that place and Elizabethtown. We were now directly in Buell's rear, and during the next twenty-four hours captured many laggards, and several wagon trains—one quite large and richly laden.

From the 20th to the 25th of October Morgan continued to march in a south-western direction, reaching Hopkinsville on the 25th. Here he had entirely passed beyond the zone of Federal garrisons in middle Kentucky, but still had arduous work before him in Tennessee and in front of Nashville, whither Buell, having turned aside from pursuit of Bragg through the mountains of south-eastern Kentucky, was now directing his course. After a short sojourn at Hopkinsville for much-needed rest, Colonel Morgan moved directly to Gallatin, Tennessee, with a view of completing the destruction of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad in that vicinity, and to that extent impeding the transportation of troops and supplies to Nashville. While engaged in this work he received orders from General John C. Breckinridge, who was stationed with a small infantry force at Murfreesboro', to cooperate with Forrest in a movement intended to effect the destruction of the rolling-stock of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad Company collected at Edgefield, on the bank of the Cumberland River, opposite Nashville. It was planned that Forrest should make such a demonstration south of Nash-

ville that the attention of the garrison would be attracted, while Morgan should dash into Edgefield and burn the cars, several hundred in number.

Leaving Gallatin on the night of November the 4th, Morgan entered Edgefield at daybreak the next morning, and immediately attacked the 16th Illinois and part of another regiment stationed there. After a sharp fight he drove this force back and obtained possession of the cars it was intended he should destroy. We heard Forrest's artillery at the same moment on the other side of the river. But Nashville was so strongly fortified on that side, and perhaps, also, the inadequacy of the small force under Forrest to make any serious attempt upon the place was so apparent, that although he advanced resolutely upon the works, the movement failed: a large portion of the garrison was dispatched to reinforce the detachment we had attacked; and before the work of demolition was fairly commenced, a column of infantry streamed at the double-quick over the pontoon-bridge, and reinforced the troops with which we were already engaged. The fight grew too hot to be maintained so near to yet stronger hostile forces, and under the heavy batteries which commanded the ground on which we stood. Morgan accordingly withdrew, followed a short distance by the enemy. Our loss in killed and wounded was not so heavy as the enemy's, and we carried off a few prisoners. Only a small number of the railroad cars were burned, and the expedition was a failure. Rosecrans's army ☆ was now close at hand, marching upon three or four roads leading into Nashville, and we were immediately in its path. Crittenden's corps was in advance, the major part of it marching on the Louisville and Nashville turnpike. Morgan sent strong detachments to harass these troops, and, if possible, delay their march. The leading division was ambuscaded near Tyree Springs, and a volley delivered at seventy-five yards' range inflicted some loss. Similar attacks were kept up all day on the 8th, but of course the efforts of so small a body against more than twenty thousand men were merely annoying. Early on the morning of the 9th Wood's and Van Cleve's divisions moved into and on either flank of Gallatin, nearly surrounding our people, who incautiously resisted the advance of the central column too long, thus necessitating brisk movement as well as sharp fighting to effect an escape. That afternoon Morgan crossed the Cumberland and encamped in a safe position between Lebanon and Murfreesboro'. Morgan's loss during the entire campaign, in killed and wounded, was not more than one hundred. He had inflicted a much greater loss on the enemy, and had captured nearly twelve hundred prisoners. He had entered Kentucky with less than 900 effectives; his command when he returned to Tennessee was nearly 2000 strong. It was admirably mounted, and well armed, and the recruits were fully the equals of the original "Morgan Men," in spirit, intelligence, and capacity to endure.

☆ General Buell was succeeded in the command of the troops of the Army of the Ohio by General W. S. Rosecrans on the 30th day of October. Under General

Orders of October 24th the Department of the Cumberland was created, and the troops within it were designated the Fourteenth Army Corps.—EDITORS.

THE OPPOSING FORCES AT PERRYVILLE, KY.,

October 8th, 1862.

The composition, losses, and strength of each army as here stated give the gist of all the data obtainable in the Official Records. K stands for killed; w for wounded; m w for mortally wounded; m for captured or missing; c for captured.

THE UNION FORCES.

ARMY OF THE OHIO.—Maj.-Gen. Don Carlos Buell; Maj.-Gen. George H. Thomas, second in command.

Escort: Anderson (Pa.) Troop, Lieut. Thomas S. Maple; 4th U. S. Cav. (6 co's), Lieut.-Col. James Oakes. *Escort loss:* m, 1. *Unattached:* 7th Pa. Cav. (4 co's), Maj. John E. Wynkoop. *Loss:* w, 4; m, 3=7.

FIRST ARMY CORPS, Maj.-Gen. Alexander McD. McCook.

THIRD DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. Lovell H. Rousseau. *Staff loss:* m, 1.

Ninth Brigade, Col. Leonard A. Harris: 38th Ind., Col. Benjamin F. Scribner; 2d Ohio, Lieut.-Col. John Kell; 33d Ohio, Lieut.-Col. Oscar F. Moore (w and c), Maj. Frederick J. Lock; 94th Ohio, Col. Joseph W. Frizell; 10th Wis., Col. Alfred R. Chapin; 5th Ind. Battery, Capt. Peter Simonson. *Brigade loss:* k, 121; w, 419; m, 51=591. *Seventeenth Brigade,* Col. William H. Lytle (w and c), Col. Curran Pope (m w): 42d Ind., Col. James G. Jones; 88th Ind., Col. George Humphrey; 15th Ky., Col. Curran Pope; 3d Ohio, Col. John Beatty; 10th Ohio, Lieut.-Col. Joseph W. Burke; 1st Mich. Battery, Capt. Cyrus O. Loomis. *Brigade loss:* k, 193; w, 606; m, 23=822. *Twenty-eighth Brigade,* Col. John C. Starkweather: 24th Ill., Capt. August Mauff; 79th Pa., Col. Henry A. Hambricht; 1st Wis., Lieut.-Col. George B. Bingham; 21st Wis., Col. Benjamin J. Sweet; 4th Ind. Battery, Capt. Asahel K. Bush; 1st Ky. Battery, Capt. David C. Stone. *Brigade loss:* k, 170; w, 477; m, 109=756. *Unattached:* 2d Ky. Cav. (6 co's), Col. Buckner Board; A, C, and H, 1st Mich., Eng's and Mech's, Maj. Enos Hopkins. *Unattached loss:* w, 18; m, 4=22.

TENTH DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. James S. Jackson (k). *Staff loss:* k, 1.

Thirty-third Brigade, Brig.-Gen. William R. Terrill (k), Col. Albert S. Hall: 80th Ill., Col. Thomas G. Allen; 123d Ill., Col. James Monroe; Detachments 7th and 32d Ky. and 3d Tenn., Col. Theophilus T. Garrard; 105th Ohio, Col. Albert S. Hall; Parsons's (improvised) Battery, Lieut. Charles C. Parsons. *Brigade loss:* k, 100; w, 336; m, 91=527. *Thirty-fourth Brigade,* Col. George Webster (k): 80th Ind., Lieut.-Col. Lewis Brooks; 50th Ohio, Col. Jonah R. Taylor, Lieut.-Col. Silas A. Strickland; 98th Ohio, Lieut.-Col. Christian L. Poorman; 121st Ohio, Col. William P. Reid; 19th Ind. Battery, Capt. Samuel J. Harris. *Brigade loss:* k, 87; w, 346; m, 146=579.

SECOND ARMY CORPS, ¹ Maj.-Gen. Thomas L. Crittenden.

FOURTH DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. William S. Smith.

Tenth Brigade, Col. William Grose: 84th Ill., Col. Louis H. Waters; 36th Ind., Lieut.-Col. O. H. P. Carey; 23d Ky., Lieut.-Col. J. P. Jackson; 6th Ohio, Lieut.-Col. Nicholas L. Anderson; 24th Ohio, Lieut.-Col. Frederick C. Jones; H, 4th U. S. Art'y, Lieut. Samuel Canby; M, 4th U. S. Art'y, Capt. John Mendenhall. *Nineteenth Brigade,* Col. William B. Hazen: 110th Ill., Col. Thomas S. Casey; 9th Ind., Col. William H. Blake; 6th Ky., Col. Walter C. Whitaker; 27th Ky., Col. C. D. Pennebaker; 41st Ohio, Lieut.-Col. George S. Mygatt; F, 1st Ohio Art'y, Capt. Daniel T. Cockerill. *Twenty-second Brigade,* Brig.-Gen. Charles Cruft: 31st Ind., Lieut.-Col. John Osborn; 1st Ky., Lieut.-Col. David A. Enyart; 2d Ky., Col. Thomas D. Sedgwick; 20th Ky., Lieut.-Col. Charles S. Hanson; 90th Ohio, Col. Isaac N. Ross; B, 1st Ohio Art'y, Capt. William E. Standart. *Cavalry:* 2d Ky. (4 co's), Lieut.-Col. Thomas B. Cochran.

FIFTH DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. Horatio P. Van Cleve.

Eleventh Brigade, Col. Samuel Beatty: 79th Ind., Col.

Frederick Kuefler; 9th Ky., Lieut.-Col. George H. Cran; 13th Ky., Lieut.-Col. J. B. Carlile; 19th Ohio, Lieut.-Col. E. W. Hollinsworth; 59th Ohio, Col. James P. Fyffe. *Fourteenth Brigade,* Col. Pierce B. Hawkins: 44th Ind., Col. Hugh B. Reed; 86th Ind., Col. Orville S. Hamilton; 11th Ky., Lieut.-Col. S. P. Love; 23th Ky., Col. Cicero Maxwell; 13th Ohio, Col. Joseph G. Hawkins. *Twenty-third Brigade,* Col. Stanley Matthews: 35th Ind., Col. Bernard F. Mullen; 8th Ky., Col. Sidney M. Barnes; 21st Ky., Col. S. Woodson Price; 51st Ohio, Lieut.-Col. Richard W. McClain; 99th Ohio, Lieut.-Col. John E. Cummins. *Artillery:* 7th Ind., Capt. George R. Swallow; B, Pa., Lieut. Alanson J. Stevens; 3d Wis., Capt. Lucius H. Drury.

SIXTH DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. Thomas J. Wood.

Fifteenth Brigade, Brig.-Gen. Milo S. Hascall: 100th Ill., Col. Frederick A. Bartleson; 17th Ind., Lieut.-Col. George W. Gorman; 58th Ind., Col. George P. Buell; 3d Ky., Lieut.-Col. William T. Scott; 26th Ohio, Maj. Chris. M. Degenfield; 8th Ind. Battery, Lieut. George Estep. *Twentieth Brigade,* Col. Charles G. Harker: 51st Ind., Col. Abel D. Streight; 73d Ind., Col. Gilbert Hathaway; 13th Mich., Lieut.-Col. Frederick W. Worden; 64th Ohio, Col. John Ferguson; 65th Ohio, Lieut.-Col. William H. Young; 6th Ohio Battery, Capt. Cullen Bradley. *Twenty-first Brigade,* Col. George D. Wagner: 15th Ind., Lieut.-Col. Gustavus A. Wood; 40th Ind., Col. John W. Blake; 57th Ind., Col. Cyrus C. Hines; 24th Ky., Col. Louis B. Grigsby; 97th Ohio, Col. John Q. Lane; 10th Ind. Battery, Capt. Jerome B. Cox. *Brigade loss (40th Ind.):* w, 2. *Unattached:* B, E, I, and K, 1st Mich., Eng's and Mech's, Col. William P. Innes; 1st Ohio Cav. (detachment), Maj. James Laughlin.

THIRD ARMY CORPS, Maj.-Gen. Charles C. Gilbert. FIRST DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. Albin Schoepf.

First Brigade, Col. Moses B. Walker: 82d Ind., Col. Morton C. Hunter; 12th Ky., Col. William A. Hoskins; 17th Ohio, Col. John M. Connell; 31st Ohio, Lieut.-Col. Frederick W. Lister; 38th Ohio, Lieut.-Col. William A. Choate. *Second Brigade,* Brig.-Gen. Speed S. Fry: 10th Ind., Col. William C. Kise; 74th Ind., Col. Charles W. Chapman; 4th Ky., Col. John T. Croxton; 10th Ky., Lieut.-Col. William H. Hays; 14th Ohio, Lieut.-Col. George P. Este. *Brigade loss:* k, 4; w, 7=11. *Third Brigade,* Brig.-Gen. James B. Steedman: 87th Ind., Col. Kline G. Shryock; 2d Minn., Col. James George; 9th Ohio, Lieut.-Col. Charles Joseph; 35th Ohio, Col. Ferdinand Van Derveer; 18th U. S., Maj. Frederick Townsend. *Brigade loss:* w, 6; m, 8=14. *Artillery:* 4th Mich., Capt. Josiah W. Church; C, 1st Ohio, Capt. Daniel K. Southwick; I, 4th U. S., Lieut. Frank G. Smith. *Artillery loss:* w, 1. *Cavalry:* 1st Ohio (detachment), Col. Minor Milliken.

NINTH DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. Robert B. Mitchell.

Thirtieth Brigade, Col. Michael Gooding: 59th Ill., Maj. Joshua C. Winters; 74th Ill., Lieut.-Col. James B. Kerr; 75th Ill., Lieut.-Col. John E. Bennett; 22d Ind., Lieut.-Col. Squire I. Keith (k); 5th Wis. Battery, Capt. Oscar F. Pinney. *Brigade loss:* k, 121; w, 314; m, 64=499. *Thirty-first Brigade,* Col. William P. Carlin: 21st Ill., Col. John W. S. Alexander; 38th Ill., Maj. Daniel H. Gilmer; 101st Ohio, Col. Leander Stem; 15th Wis., Col. Hans C. Heg; 2d Minn. Battery, Capt. William A. Hotchkiss. *Brigade loss:* w, 10. *Thirty-second Brigade,* Col. William W. Caldwell: 25th Ill., Lieut.-Col. James S. McClelland; 35th Ill., Lieut.-Col. William P. Chandler; 81st Ind.,

¹ Of the operations of this corps General Buell says, in his official report: "The corps of General Crittenden closed in, and Wagner's brigade, of Wood's division, became engaged and did good service on the right of Mitchell's division, but knowing nothing of the severity of the fight on the extreme left the rest of the corps did not get into action."—EDITORS.

Lieut.-Col. John Timberlake; 8th Kan. (battalion), Lieut.-Col. John A. Martin; 8th Wis. Battery, Capt. Stephen J. Carpenter. *Cavalry*: B, 36th Ill., Capt. Samuel B. Sherer.

ELEVENTH DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. Philip H. Sheridan.

Thirty-fifth Brigade, Lieut.-Col. Bernard Lailboldt: 44th Ill., Capt. Wallace W. Barrett; 73d Ill., Col. James F. Jaquess; 2d Mo., Capt. Walter Hoppe (k); 15th Mo., Maj. John Weber. Brigade loss: k, 22; w, 102; m, 1 = 125. *Thirty-sixth Brigade*, Col. Daniel McCook: 85th Ill., Col. Robert S. Moore; 86th Ill., Col. David D. Irons; 125th Ill., Col. Osear F. Harmon; 52d Ohio, Lieut.-Col. D. D. T. Cowen. Brigade loss: k, 7; w, 63; m, 9 = 79. *Thirty-seventh Brigade*, Col. Nicholas Grensell: 36th Ill., Capt. Silas Miller; 88th Ill., Col. Francis T. Sherman; 21st Mich., Col. Ambrose A. Stevens; 24th Wis., Col. Charles H. Larrabee. Brigade loss: k, 15; w, 124; m, 4 = 143. *Artillery*: I, 2d Ill., Capt. Charles M. Barnett; G, 1st Mo., Capt. Henry Heacock. Artillery loss: w, 3.

CAVALRY: Third Brigade, Capt. Ebenezer Gay: 9th Ky. (detachment), Lieut.-Col. John Boyle; 2d Mich., Lieut.-Col. Archibald P. Campbell; 9th Pa., Lieut.-Col. Thomas C. James. Cavalry loss: k, 4; w, 13 = 17.

† In March, 1888, General D. C. Buell wrote to the editors: "Adopting this estimate and adding Sill's Division, say 7000, which moved on the Frankfort road and did not join until after the battle (*i. e.*, on the 11th), will make the entire army 61,000 before the battle and 57,000 after. The corps

Total Union loss: killed, 845; wounded, 2851; captured or missing, 515 = 4211.

The most definite information afforded by the "Official Records" relative to the strength of the Union forces is contained in the testimony given before the Buell Commission by Major J. M. Wright, assistant adjutant-general at Buell's headquarters. On page 660, Vol. XVI., Part I., he says: "After the battle I do not think there were more than fifty thousand of the army which appeared in front of Perryville." Adding to this number the 4000 casualties sustained in the battle, would make the entire army at and about Perryville 54,000 strong. ‡ Perhaps not over one-half of these were actually engaged. General McCook, commanding the First Corps (which bore the brunt of the fight), says that "Ronsseau had present on the field 7000; Jackson, 5500; the brigade of Gooding [from Mitchell's division of Gilbert's corps] amounting to about 1500." The strength of Crittenden's (Second) and Gilbert's (Third) Corps is not anywhere officially stated. Crittenden did not reach the field of action until the conflict was practically ended, and only parts of Wagner's and Hazen's brigades of his corps became slightly engaged.

were of about equal strength. Gilbert told me recently that he estimated his corps at about 18,000 before the battle. About one-third of the whole were raw troops. Jackson's division was composed almost entirely of raw regiments."—EDITORS.

THE CONFEDERATE FORCES.

General Braxton Bragg.

ARMY OF THE MISSISSIPPI: Major-General Leonidas Polk. RIGHT WING, Maj.-Gen. Benjamin F. Cheatham. CHEATHAM'S DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. Daniel S. Donelson.

First Brigade, Col. John H. Savage: 8th Tenn., Col. W. L. Moore; 15th Tenn., Col. R. C. Tyler; 16th Tenn., Lieut.-Col. D. M. Donnell; 38th Tenn., Col. John C. Carter; 51st Tenn., Col. John Chester; Tenn. Battery, Capt. W. W. Carnes. Brigade loss: k, 68; w, 272; m, 7 = 347. *Second Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. A. P. Stewart: 4th Tenn., Col. O. F. Strahl; 5th Tenn., Col. C. D. Venable; 24th Tenn., Lieut.-Col. H. L. W. Bratton; 31st Tenn., Col. E. E. Tansil; 33d Tenn., Col. W. P. Jones; Miss. Battery, Capt. T. J. Stanford. Brigade loss: k, 62; w, 340; m, 26 = 428. *Third Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. George Maney: 41st Ga., Col. Charles A. McDaniel (w), Maj. John Knight; 1st Tenn., Col. H. R. Field; 6th Tenn., Col. George C. Porter; 9th Tenn., Lieut.-Col. John W. Buford (w), Major George W. Kelseo; 27th Tenn., Lieut.-Col. W. Frickson (w), Major A. C. Allen; Miss. Battery, Lieut. William B. Turner. Brigade loss: k, 136; w, 517; m, 34 = 687.

CAVALRY BRIGADE, Col. John A. Wharton: 1st Ky. (3 co's), —; † 4th Tenn., —; 8th Tex., —. Brigade loss (not separately reported).

LEFT WING, Maj.-Gen. William J. Hardee.

SECOND DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. J. Patton Anderson.

First Brigade, Brig.-Gen. John C. Brown (w), Col. William Miller: 1st Fla., Col. William Miller; 3d Fla., —; 41st Miss., —; Palmer's Battery, —. Brigade loss (not separately reported). *Second Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. Daniel W. Adams: 13th La., Col. R. L. Gibson; 16th La., Col. D. C. Gober; 20th La., Col. Aug. Reichard, Lieut.-Col. Leon von Zinken; 25th La., Col. S. W. Fisk; 14th Battalion La. Sharpshooters, Major J. E. Austin; 5th Co. Washington (La.) Art'y, Capt. C. H. Slocumb. Brigade loss: k, 6; w, 78; m, 68 = 152. *Third Brigade*, Col. Samuel Powell: 45th Ala., —; 1st Ark., —; 24th Miss., Col. William F. Dowd; 29th

Tenn., —; Mo. Battery, Capt. Overton W. Barret. Brigade loss (not separately reported). *Fourth Brigade*, Col. Thomas M. Jones: 27th Miss., —; 30th Miss., —; 37th Miss., —; Ala. Battery (Lumsden's). Brigade loss (not separately reported).

THIRD DIVISION, Maj.-Gen. Simon B. Buckner.

First Brigade, Brig.-Gen. St. John R. Liddell: 2d Ark., —; 5th Ark., Col. L. Featherston; 6th Ark., —; 7th Ark., Col. D. A. Gillespie; 8th Ark., Col. John H. Kelly; Miss. Battery (Swett's). Brigade loss: k, w, and m, 71. *Second Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. P. R. Cleburne (w): 13th Ark., —; 15th Ark., —; 2d Tenn., —; Ark. Battery (Calvert's). Brigade loss (not separately reported). *Third Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. Bushrod R. Johnson: 5th Confederate, Col. J. A. Smith; 17th Tenn., Col. A. S. Marks; 23d Tenn., Lieut.-Col. R. H. Keeble; 25th Tenn., Col. John M. Hughs; 37th Tenn., Col. Moses White; 44th Tenn., Col. John S. Fulton; Miss. Battery (Jefferson Art'y), Capt. Put. Darden. Brigade loss: k, 30; w, 165; m, 9 = 204. *Fourth Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. S. A. M. Wood (w): 16th Ala., —; 33d Ala., —; 3d Confederate, —; 45th Miss., —; 15th Battalion Miss. Sharpshooters, —; Ala. Battery, Capt. Henry C. Semple. Brigade loss (not separately reported).

CAVALRY BRIGADE, Col. Joseph Wheeler: 1st Ala., Col. William W. Allen; 3d Ala., Col. James Hagan; 6th Confederate, Lieut.-Col. James A. Pell; 2d Ga. (battalion), Maj. C. A. Whaley; 3d Ga., Col. Martin J. Crawford; 1st Ky. (6 co's), Maj. J. W. Caldwell. Brigade loss (not separately reported).

Total Confederate loss: killed, 510; wounded, 2635; missing, 251 = 3396.

General Bragg reports ("Official Records," Vol. XVI., Pt. I., p. 1092) that "our forces . . . consisted of three divisions of infantry (about 14,500) and two small brigades of cavalry (about 1500)." General Polk reports (p. 1110): "The whole of our force, including all arms, did not exceed 15,000." †

"However, the important question is as to the force that Bragg had in the field in Kentucky, for that was the force that was to be expected in a great battle. That question is not fully determined by official reports, but a careful study of the published records seems to place it at not less than 68,000 men."—EDITORS.

† The dash indicates that the name of the commanding officer has not been found in the "Official Records."—EDITORS.

‡ In March, 1888, General Buell wrote to the editors: "This probably did not include the cavalry. It is scarcely credible that the three divisions of infantry contained only 13,500.



ON THE SKIRMISH LINE.

EAST TENNESSEE AND THE CAMPAIGN OF PERRYVILLE.

BY DON CARLOS BUELL, MAJOR-GENERAL, U. S. V.

THE invasion of Kentucky in the summer of 1862 by the Confederate forces under General Bragg was one of the most prominent incidents of the war; and both the officer who conducted it and the one who repelled it were the objects of much popular displeasure on their respective sides. On the one side there was severe condemnation of the withdrawal, and on the other unmeasured dissatisfaction that the invaders had not been captured in a body. Of course, there were in both cases numerous specifications to the general matter of complaint. With reference to the result, it must follow that the critics were wrong on one side or the other. It may even be that in the main, whatever may have been the incidental blunders, they were wrong on both sides: that is, that an invasion for a permanent occupation which lacked the support of the population, and was opposed by an army able and ready to contest the object, was wisely abandoned without further resistance; and that the contestant, in the presence of a skillful and not inferior adversary, wisely took his measures to make the result reasonably certain. The rashness of revolutionary ends might reject the former, but no rule of loyalty to the public welfare would condemn the latter.

In giving here a brief review of the subject—which properly includes the project for my advance into east Tennessee in the early summer—I shall undertake no more than a simple outline of the essential facts, and an exposition of the circumstances which controlled events.

The period immediately following the evacuation of Corinth, and lasting through the summer, found the Western armies in a less satisfactory state than at the first glance would be supposed. The early delusion of a ninety-days' campaign had not so completely passed away as not to give rise to disappointment in the ranks and among the people, at finding no signs in the

South of reconciliation or submission, after the signal successes which the Union cause had achieved; and it could hardly fail to happen that the disappointment would for a while act injuriously upon the temper and efficiency of unseasoned troops. It resulted, in fact, that the desire to get back to friends, or to find relief for a time from the hardships and restraints of service, caused large numbers to get away from the front on every possible pretext — on leave granted with or without proper authority, upon authority exercised too loosely, and even without any authority; and when once away their return was very difficult. Appeals were of little avail, and the recourse of sending officers to recall the absentees was attended with poor results.

But absence from the colors was not the worst form of the evil. Duty of every sort was performed with a sluggishness which greatly retarded every sort of work, of which there was much that had to be done, and the service of escorts and road guards was executed in very many cases with a fatal laxity. An idea grew up that a soldier on parole was virtually released from all restraint; and there was good reason to believe that large numbers of stragglers were quite willing to find themselves for a moment in the hands of the enemy, and that even the vigilance and resoluteness of escorts and guards were materially affected by the idea that captivity meant liberty and relaxation. †

Even in the routine of camp life, the weariness and impatience manifested themselves in some manner, actively or passively, in a protest against the interior demands and the exterior restraints of discipline. The thousands of letters which poured from the camps into the soldiers' homes and the public press were mediums for these manifestations, which put upon the general in

†To this rule there were of course honorable exceptions. The following orders concerning absentees and paroles were published in view of these evils, which were seriously impairing the strength and efficiency of the army:

"HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF THE OHIO,

"IN CAMP, NEAR FLORENCE, ALA., June 24th, 1862.

"GENERAL ORDERS, No. 26: There are 14,000 officers and soldiers absent from their duty with the various divisions of this army, *i. e.*, the five divisions south of the Tennessee River. Some of them have gone off without any authority; others with the permission of officers not authorized to grant it. In general, sickness is given as the cause of absence, but in very many cases that cause has notoriously ceased to exist, and men remain away, drawing the same pay as their comrades who are faithfully performing their duty. To correct this abuse it is ordered —

"(4th.) All absent officers and soldiers who do not join their companies and regiments or are not satisfactorily accounted for as above by the 10th of July next, will be reported on their muster-roll as deserters, dating from the time that they may have been absent without authority. By act of Congress every deserter forfeits all claim on the Government for pay and allowances, besides being liable to arrest and trial by court-martial. Any person who apprehends and returns a deserter to the commanding officer of a military post is entitled to a reward of \$5. By command of MAJOR-GENERAL BUELL. JAMES B. FRY, Assistant Adjutant-General, Chief-of-Staff."

"HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF THE OHIO,

"IN CAMP, HUNTSVILLE, ALA., August 8th, 1862.

"GENERAL ORDERS, No. 41: The system of paroles practiced in this army has run into an intolerable abuse. Hereafter no officer or soldier belonging to the forces in this district will give his parole not to take up arms, for the purpose of leaving the enemy's lines without the sanction of the general commanding this army, except when, by reason of wounds or disease, he could not be removed without endangering his life.

"Any parole given in violation of this order will not be recognized, and the person giving it will be required to perform military duty and take the risks prescribed by the laws of war.

"Any officer or soldier of this command, being in the hands of the enemy and desiring to be released on parole for the purpose of leaving the enemy's lines, will make application to the general commanding this army, inclosing in duplicate the parole which he proposes to give, and await its approval.

"The sanction of the officer commanding the forces by which he is held, being necessary to effect the arrangement, should be forwarded with the application. No such application will be approved when the capture has resulted from neglect or misbehavior on the part of the prisoner or of the command to which he belonged.

"The evidence of a lawful parole will be the parole itself, bearing the approval of the commanding general.

"The same rule will be observed by this army in paroling prisoners taken from the enemy. If they cannot be held until the sanction of such officer as the general commanding the enemy's forces may designate for that purpose is obtained, they will be released. By command of MAJOR-GENERAL BUELL. JAMES B. FRY, Colonel and Chief-of-Staff."

command the burthen of every complaint, and the responsibility of every miscarriage. If a command started upon a march, every soldier would be anxious to know how his haversack was to be replenished, but it never occurred to him that there was a question as to how the depots were to be supplied.

The Government, also, seemed to drop suddenly into a similar state of disappointment, discontent, and inaction. It had not apparently been imagined that the depletion which would unavoidably go on rapidly in the ranks must be replaced, and when at length the work of repair was taken up it was done by creating new regiments instead of replenishing the old ones. A vast waste of time, and material, and efficiency was caused by this plan of throwing large numbers of raw troops suddenly into service in distinct bodies. Moreover, party politics, which at first, under a spontaneous burst of patriotism, had put aside all party distinctions, began now to resume its old organization. That, of course, meant old ambitions and opposing policies with reference to means, however united men might be in motive upon the one great object of preserving the Union. No doubt all of these causes worked to the same end. At all events it resulted that during the summer of 1862, after the withdrawal of the Confederates from Corinth, the armies were weaker numerically than they had been or ever were afterward, and that the tone of the troops, though always loyal, was in some respects seriously defective.

It was exactly the reverse on the other side. To the South the result of the battle of Shiloh was the disappointment of a great hope almost consummated, rather than a discouragement. The first depressing effect of the retreat from Corinth was more than compensated for by the splendid successes which were considered to have been gained in Virginia. Their Government acted vigorously. Their armies were speedily recruited, and never again entered the field in as great relative strength and as high spirit as in that summer. The army at Tupelo, no longer threatened, and under a new commander of established reputation for nerve and ability, paused for a moment to discover an opening for attack or a call for defense, and the disposition of the now unoccupied force under General Halleck soon pointed the way.



BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL JAMES B. FRY, CHIEF-OF-STAFF
TO GENERAL BUELL; AFTERWARD PROVOST-MAR-
SHAL-GENERAL. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

As soon as the expulsion of the Confederates from the line of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad was consummated by the definitive retreat of the Corinth army, the large Federal force that had been called together for the operations on that line was redistributed for ulterior objects. About 65,000 men were retained under General Halleck's immediate command to occupy the line from the Tennessee River to Memphis; the Army of the Ohio was restored to its original departmental territory, to advance into east Tennessee, perhaps even to penetrate Georgia; and the remainder of the force was sent to strengthen General Curtis in Arkansas. Thus the Army of the Ohio was the only army in the West that was assigned to an aggressive campaign.

The occupation of east Tennessee had from the first been a favorite measure with the President, apparently more from political than from military considerations. It had at one time been enjoined upon my predecessors in specific orders, and was urged upon my attention by General McClellan in the instructions with which I came to Kentucky. Some abortive steps had been taken in that direction by General Sherman before my arrival, but various causes, which need not here be enumerated, compelled its postponement then and afterward,—especially the inexpediency of the attempt upon military grounds under the circumstances, and finally the drift of events, which carried the bulk of the army to Shiloh and Corinth. A general view of the theater of war, and a consideration of the geography of east Tennessee, will show the importance of the lodgment that was now to be undertaken, and indicate the opposition it was sure to encounter, unless seconded by operations of a decisive character in other quarters.

East Tennessee is an elevated valley of great salubrity and considerable agricultural capacity, practically inclosed, though with some natural openings, by a mountainous and rugged belt of country in which rise the sources of the Tennessee River. The surplus of food products during the war was not large, but was not without value to the South at first, when so much of the country was absorbed in the growth of cotton. The railroad passing east and west through the valley afforded the most direct and convenient communication between Richmond and the Mississippi, while abreast of it, from Chattanooga, a branching railroad penetrated the Atlantic and Gulf States to the coast, affording a valuable system of internal communication for supply or defense, and an equally effective line for external invasion. On the northern side, the valley had a strong defensive line in the difficult, though not impracticable mountains, which, farther to the north, assume an expanse and ruggedness that present what might be considered practically a secure barrier between Kentucky and Virginia. East Tennessee might therefore be regarded as a doorway to the rear of Richmond, and a commanding rendezvous which looked down with a menacing adaptability upon the Gulf and Atlantic States. In the latter light, more than as a means of defense, its preservation was of vital moment to the Confederacy. The occupation of it by the Federal force would be like the last stage in a regular siege, when the glacis is crowned and batteries are established for breaching the walls and

delivering the final assault. But the fact that it was the home of all that was loyal to the Union in the States in rebellion, seemed to blind the Government to the considerations which insured that it would be defended with all the energy of self-preservation. The powerful force and desperate battles that were finally found necessary to secure the object, afforded a vindication, to which nothing need be added, against the fatuity which demanded that the Army of the Ohio, without supplies and with severed communications, should accomplish it in the summer of 1862 with a movable force of 31,000 men against more than 60,000 that barred the way. [See maps, pp. 3 and 6.]

I was following the movements of the enemy retreating from Corinth, when, on the 9th of June, I received notice from General Halleck that my army was to resume its separate action, and advance into east Tennessee. My divisions started in the new direction the next day, and on the 11th I received my instructions verbally from General Halleck. I was to move as diligently as possible to the object specified, but I was to repair the Memphis and Charleston Railroad as I proceeded, guard it, and draw my supplies from it. The inexpediency of these conditions, as I had pointed out, was realized before the repairs were completed. The road, running along the enemy's front, was peculiarly exposed to attack—was in fact attacked while we were working on it and afterward; it was not supplied with rolling stock, and we derived no benefit from it, though the repairs detained us until the last of June. Foreseeing these embarrassments, I had given orders for the repair of the roads south from Nashville, and for the accumulation of supplies at that point. I desired also the option of making the advance through McMinnville and Kingston, which I imagined might be found to present decided advantages. It would avoid the heavy work on the railroads to the Tennessee River, the bridging of the river, and the extremely difficult ground that must at first be overcome by wagon transportation after crossing. It would establish a junction promptly with the force under G. W. Morgan operating against Cumberland Gap, and give actual possession of east Tennessee, which the mere occupation of Chattanooga would not. Halleck at first assented to my proposition, but a day or two afterward withdrew his consent, and enjoined that the movement should be made directly upon Chattanooga.

We crossed the Tennessee by extemporized ferries—three divisions at Florence, arriving at Athens on the Nashville and Decatur Railroad on the 28th of June, and one division between the 1st and 6th of July, by a very inefficient ferry prepared by General Mitchel at Decatur.

General Thomas with his division was still detained on the Corinth road under General Halleck's orders, and did not join at Huntsville until the last of July; so that the available effective force for an advance when I reached Huntsville on the 29th of June was between 24,000 and 25,000 men. The 16,000 already in middle Tennessee and north Alabama would still be required to guard Nashville and keep open the communications. But there was much to be done before an advance could be possible. We found ourselves already at the very limit of our means of transportation. Nothing had been accomplished in the way of repairing the railroads, and it required every wagon to

haul supplies enough for the daily consumption. Much of the time thereafter the troops were on half rations. We could gather some forage from the country, but not enough for the animals.

Before my arrival General Mitchel had urgently reported demonstrations of the enemy from the direction of Chattanooga. To the Secretary of War he said, June 21st: "I am with difficulty maintaining my position in front of Chattanooga. I will endeavor to hold my position until reënforcements arrive." His nearest position was in fact at Battle Creek, twenty miles below Chattanooga, with the Tennessee River and a mountain range intervening. To me he telegraphed, June 21st: "I think everything depends on celerity of movement. If we should be driven from Stevenson (the junction of the Nashville and Chattanooga and the Memphis and Charleston railroads), or even from the position we now occupy (at Battle Creek, nine miles above Bridgeport), I should deem it a great misfortune." Partly therefore to oppose this supposed danger, and especially to place a strong working force on the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad, McCook's and Crittenden's divisions were sent to Stevenson and Battle Creek. Nelson's and Wood's divisions were for the present kept on the Nashville and Decatur road; and the repairs by means of the troops and by experienced hired hands were urged energetically. At the same time mills were put to work to get out lumber, and the building of boats for a bridge was commenced. We had no pontoon train, and the Tennessee was a formidable river, requiring a bridge 1400 yards long.

The depredations of the small bands that had harassed Mitchel before my arrival were continued afterward, and soon demonstrated the necessity of defensive works for bridges and other vulnerable points. An inclosed earth-work of considerable strength, large enough for a regiment, was constructed at Stevenson for the protection of the depot to be established there for the advance; and a specific plan and instructions for small block-houses, or, more properly speaking, picket-houses, at the less important points were prescribed. An officer was specially assigned to the direction of these works, and the supervision of the guards. Iron-clad dummy cars were provided for such purposes and for express service. Much of the road-repairing and other engineering work was done and supervised by a splendid regiment of mechanics and engineers from Michigan, under Colonel William P. Innes.

These, from among the thousand other details, are mentioned, because they were infinitely important to our existence, and absolutely necessary for the first step in advance. Clearly the means of transportation, which were barely sufficient to provide us with a precarious subsistence where we were, would be insufficient to carry us at least thirty miles farther away, across a broad river and a mountainous country, into the presence of the enemy. The records show that laborious and unceasing efforts were used to bring about the necessary conditions for a forward movement, and that every officer employed in command or in staff positions was stimulated to the utmost by advice and instructions for the object before us. We had been engaged in this earnest manner just nine days from the time of my arrival at Huntsville [June 29th], when I received a dispatch from Halleck, saying that my progress was not

satisfactory to the President. I was so astonished at the message that I made no reply until three days afterward, when I was called on for explanations. †

The road from Nashville to Stevenson was completed on the 12th of July, and a train was started the next morning with supplies for the depot at Stevenson. My attention had been attracted to the importance of McMinnville as an outpost. It was at the foot of the mountain on the direct wagon road between Nashville and Chattanooga, and was the terminus of a branch railroad, twenty miles east of the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad. I had just organized a new brigade at Murfreesboro' to occupy McMinnville. On the morning of the 13th Forrest, with a large body of cavalry, surprised the brigade, killed and wounded some and captured the rest, damaged the railroad seriously, and produced alarm in Nashville, where the force was not large. ‡

† "Official Records," Vol. XVI., Part II., pp. 104, 122.

‡ The following orders were published with reference to this and similar affairs. It is proper to add that a Court of Inquiry, instituted by General Rosecrans, at the request of General T. T. Crittenden, the commander of the brigade, after his exchange, acquitted the commander of blame, on the ground that he had only arrived the day before the attack, and had shown commendable energy in his new position. Colonel Duffield had also just arrived. He appeared to have behaved well in the attack, and was severely wounded:

"HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF THE OHIO,
"IN CAMP, HUNTSVILLE, ALA., July 21st, 1862.

"GENERAL ORDERS, No. 32: On the 13th instant the force at Murfreesborough, under command of Brigadier-General T. T. Crittenden, late colonel of the 6th Indiana Regiment, and consisting of 6 companies of the 9th Michigan, 9 companies of the 3d Minnesota, 2 sections of Hewitt's (Kentucky) battery, 4 companies of the 4th Kentucky Cavalry, and 3 companies of the 7th Pennsylvania Cavalry, was captured at that place by a force of the enemy's cavalry variously estimated at from 1800 to 3500. It appears from the best information that can be obtained, that Brigadier-General Crittenden and Colonel Duffield of the 9th Michigan, with the six companies of that regiment and all of the cavalry, were surprised and captured early in the morning in the houses and streets of the town, or in their camp near by, with but slight resistance and without any timely warning of the presence of the enemy. The rest of the force, consisting of the 3d Minnesota and the artillery under Col. Lester, left its camp and took another position, which it maintained with but few casualties against the feeble attacks of the enemy until about 3 o'clock, when it was surrendered and marched into captivity.

"Take it in all its features, few more disgraceful examples of neglect of duty and lack of good conduct can be found in the history of wars. It fully merits the extreme penalty which the law provides for such misconduct. The force was more than sufficient to repel the attack effectually. The mortification which the army will feel at the result is poorly compensated by the exertion made by some — perhaps many — of the officers to retrieve the disgrace of the surprise. The action fit to be adopted with reference to those who are blamable, especially the officers highest in command, cannot be determined without further investigation.

"In contrast to this shameful affair, the general commanding takes pleasure in making honorable mention of the conduct of a detachment of twenty-two men of Companies I and II, 10th Wisconsin Regiment, under the command of Sergeants W. Nelson and A. H. Makinson.

The detachment was on duty guarding a bridge east of Huntsville, when it was attacked on April 28th by a force of some 200 or 300 cavalry, which it fought for two hours and repulsed in the most signal manner. Such is the conduct that duty and honor demand of every soldier; and this example is worthy of imitation by higher officers and larger commands. By command of MAJOR-GENERAL BUELL. JAMES B. FRY, Col. and Chief-of-Staff.

"HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF THE OHIO,
"IN CAMP, HUNTSVILLE, ALA., August 1st, 1862.

"GENERAL ORDERS, No. 37: The major-general commanding has to announce other instances of disgraceful neglect and contrast them with another of gallantry:

"The guard at Courtland Bridge, consisting of companies A and H, 10th Kentucky, under the command of Captain Davidson, and a part of Captain Eggleston's company, 1st Ohio Cavalry, was completely surprised and captured with but trifling loss on the morning of the 25th ultimo, by a force of irregular cavalry. On the same day the companies of Captains Boyl and Gobin, 10th Indiana, which were ordered to protect two bridges on the same road, respectively six and twelve miles east of Courtland, deemed it wiser to bring in an empty train which came up than to defend their posts, threatened with an attack from the same irregular cavalry; and so put themselves on the train and arrived safely at Decatur, a few miles distant, without the loss or injury of a man. On the same day, and on the same road, eight miles from Decatur, a guard, consisting of twenty-four men of Company E, 31st Ohio, under the command of Lieutenant Harman, were suddenly attacked by a greatly superior force of the same cavalry. They defended themselves gallantly, however, and repulsed the enemy, killing several of the number. Lient. Harman and eleven of his men were wounded, himself in two places, and two of his men were killed.

"The general submits these examples to the reflection of the troops. He reminds them that neglect and bad conduct on the part of guards brings dishonor upon them and may even jeopardize the safety of an army. If these appeals to their personal and professional pride should fail of their object, he warns them that the extreme penalty of the law must intervene to punish the guilty and save the army from the jeopardy in which they place it. The duty of guarding the communications of the army is among the most important with which an officer and his troops can be intrusted. Vigilance, determination, and the preparation of suitable defenses in the way of intrenchments or stockades will prevent such attacks, or enable a small force to repel a greatly superior one. Had the order for bridge-guards to fortify their posts been promptly executed and proper vigilance been observed, the attacks referred to, if made at all, would have had very different results. This order and General Orders, No. 32, will be read at the head of every company and detachment. By command of MAJOR-GENERAL BUELL. JAMES B. FRY, Colonel and Chief-of-Staff."

This was the first appearance of any large body of the enemy in our rear south of the Cumberland, though Morgan was at the same time engaged in a formidable raid in Kentucky. Nelson was immediately ordered to occupy Murfreesboro' and McMinnville with his division, himself and one brigade going by railroad. He had just reached Murfreesboro' with a portion of his troops when Forrest, on the 18th, appeared again on the railroad between him and Nashville, captured guards, and destroyed two more bridges. Work was immediately commenced to repair the damage. It was completed on the 28th of July, and the shipment of supplies for the depot at Stevenson was resumed.

As soon as my designs upon east Tennessee were known, the Confederate authorities took prompt measures to counteract them. The sudden appearance of large bodies of cavalry under Morgan and Forrest on my communications in Tennessee and Kentucky early in July, and the increased activity of small parties, were a part of these measures. It was at first in contemplation to move the Tupelo army upon my rear in middle Tennessee, but the wiser plan was adopted of concentrating in my front. One division of that army, and reinforcements from other quarters, reached Chattanooga in June. General Bragg arrived on the 30th of July, and by that time the transfer of his force from Tupelo was about completed. The nucleus of a force under Van Dorn and Price was left in Mississippi to neutralize the large Federal force on the Memphis and Charleston road, an object which was accomplished at first by inaction alone, and at last by bold though unsuccessful attacks with inferior numbers.

The foreshadowing of an aggressive campaign from east Tennessee soon began to be seen. By report, and actually, as the record now shows, the objective was at first middle Tennessee and Nashville. Rumor, as usual, placed the force that was ready for the work at very large numbers—80,000 or 100,000 men. I realized that the enemy in front of us was assuming formidable proportions, but I did not doubt that his strength was over-estimated, nor that, if necessary, my own force would be increased, and therefore my efforts for the accumulation of supplies for an advance were not relaxed.

On the 7th of August I informed General Halleck of the condition which the campaign was assuming, and told him that my force should be increased. I estimated the force opposed to me at sixty thousand men. The records now show that it was greater. He answered on the 8th that General Grant would turn over two divisions to my command "if I absolutely required them," but cautioned me not to ask for them if I could avoid it with safety. By the 12th the accumulating evidence showed that the call could not be dispensed with, and I requested General Grant to forward the divisions without delay. One of them joined on the 1st of September; the other did not arrive until the 12th, after the movement northward to follow Bragg had commenced. The strength of the two divisions was about 5000 men each.

Our communications south of the Cumberland had been made secure by the distribution of the troops, but to the north the depredations were prosecuted with increased vigor. Our cavalry was totally insufficient to cope with

these incursions, which it must be said, also, were seldom resisted by the infantry guards with vigilance and resolution. On the 10th of August, Morgan again appeared on the railroad north of Nashville, captured the guard of about 150 men at Gallatin, effectually disabled the tunnel north of that place, and destroyed several bridges toward Nashville. Our communication with Louisville, on which we were dependent for supplies, was thus, for the present, effectually severed. Work was immediately commenced to repair the damage, but the constantly recurring presence of the enemy's cavalry interfered so effectually as to require a large increase of force from the front or the rear for the defense. I had already strengthened the guards at Bowling Green and Munfordville. To continue to draw from the front was not yet to be thought of. On the 16th, therefore, I gave General Nelson a couple of field-batteries and some experienced cavalry and infantry officers, and sent him to Kentucky to organize such troops as could be got together there to reestablish our communications and operate against Morgan's incursions.

On the 18th a guard of a regiment belonging to Grant's command was captured without a show of resistance at Clarksville, ☆ where a considerable quantity of supplies had been deposited for transshipment in consequence of the suspension of navigation by low water in the Cumberland. Upon hearing of Morgan's appearance again on the Cumberland north of Nashville, General R. W. Johnson, a spirited cavalry officer, under whose command I had assembled all the cavalry that was available, moved promptly in pursuit, and with his inferior force attacked Morgan vigorously near Hartsville. Johnson was defeated with a loss of 80 killed and wounded and 75 prisoners, himself among the latter. The rest escaped and made their way as stragglers or in small bodies to Nashville.

These details, harassing and disappointing to the actors at the time, are now no less wearisome and uninteresting to the careless reader; but the consideration of them is essential to a correct appreciation of the campaign. It is a story familiar to history of the crippling of an invading army by a successful war upon its too long and inadequately protected communications, with an enemy in its front. The line in this case was a single railroad, 350 miles long, through a population either hostile to the invader, or at least in a considerable degree friendly to his opponent. Under the circumstances that were to ensue, it is not perhaps to be accounted a misfortune that the contemplated advance was checked at the start. A Union army of 31,000 men at Chattanooga in July, 1862, without supplies, with its communications broken for 400 miles, and the Government on the Potomac appealing for 25,000 men which could not be spared from Corinth, might well have been in a worse condition than the stronger army in November, 1863, which was reduced to horse and mule meat for its ration, with its communications complete to within 30 miles, and with an unoccupied army from Vicksburg and considerable reinforcements from the Potomac hastening to its succor.

☆ For an explanation of the surrender see Vol. XVI., Part I., pp. 862-869, "Official Records." Colonel Rodney Mason, 71st Ohio regiment, the commander, had less than 200 effective men. Soon

after the surrender the colonel and all the line-officers present were cashiered by order of the President, but this action was subsequently revoked, and they were honorably discharged.—D. C. B.

The reports of the superior force assembled in east Tennessee were confirmed as the time passed, and there could be no doubt that our position in middle Tennessee was about to be assailed. Already there were rumors of crossing at Chattanooga, Harrison's Landing, and Kingston. These starting-points indicated no certain plan of attack. The enemy might descend the Sequatchie and Cumberland valleys and enter at north Alabama, in which case he would have a railroad for his supplies; or he might cross the mountains by direct roads toward middle Tennessee. In either case, Stevenson, on the south side of a declining spur of the Cumberland Mountains reaching to Huntsville, was unsuitable for our depot, and Decherd, on the north side, was adopted instead.

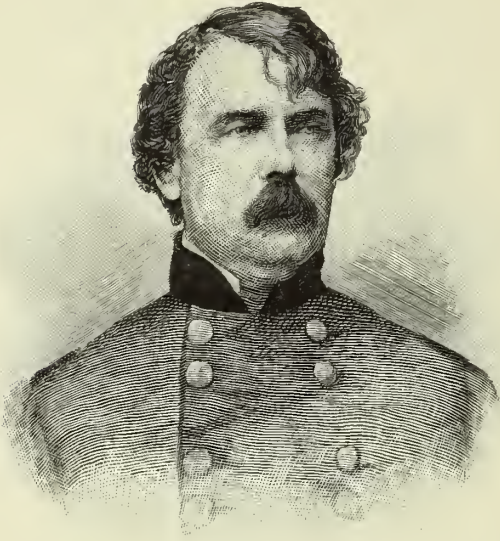
On the 19th of August I received information from General McCook, who was at Battle Creek with his own and Crittenden's divisions, that the enemy was crossing in force at Chattanooga. My plans were already matured and McCook had his orders for such a case, only waiting the signal to act, which was given on the 20th. He was to march with his division to the point at which the Anderson or Thurman road between Chattanooga and McMinnville crossed the Sequatchie valley, watching and opposing the enemy on that road, and gradually fall back toward McMinnville until he joined the remainder of the army. Crittenden was to follow him, and act similarly and in conjunction with him on the Higginbottom road, which crossed the valley a little lower down, and united with the Thurman road further north. They had previously been provided with rockets and a signal code for communicating with each other and with the rest of the army. The same day I went to Battle Creek and then to Decherd to superintend the further concentration, for which general instructions had already been given. Altamont, in advance of McMinnville, was designated as the point of junction, though that could have been modified, if desirable, after an examination of the locality. General McCook proceeded up the valley some distance until he received information on which he relied, that the enemy had already entered the valley in force, or would enter it before he could be intercepted. He therefore returned to Crittenden at the Higginbottom road, which he deemed to be impracticable for his artillery and train, and both divisions returned to Battle Creek, where, after hearing from them, I sent them further orders. The information was positive that the enemy was advancing on the Thurman road, where in fact his cavalry was encountered; and under the orders for the concentration Thomas went to Altamont from McMinnville with one division, but returned to McMinnville. McCook arrived there a little later and remained until the final concentration at Murfreesboro' under the orders of the 30th. A brigade under Colonel W. H. Lytle, of Rousseau's division, was still retained at Huntsville, and two regiments under Colonel L. A. Harris were at Battle Creek. The failure of McCook's movement up the Sequatchie was unfortunate. It gave a false impression of the enemy's progress, and of the route he was to pursue. But for the erroneous information under which it was abandoned, it ought to have led to important results. There would have been no advantage, however, in retiring on the Higginbottom road without meeting the enemy.

We were now reduced to ten days' provisions. Our railroad communication north of Nashville had been broken for twenty days, and no effort was being made at Louisville to reopen it. My orders to General Nelson had been of no avail. In fact, on his arrival there he found Kentucky organized into a separate department not under my command; and his report of my instructions and his representations of the necessity of opening the road to Nashville were answered with orders from Washington to first open communication with Cumberland Gap, where General G. W. Morgan was not in danger, and had abundant supplies for the present. The result of those orders, unnecessary for the relief of Morgan, and insufficient for stopping Kirby Smith, was the defeat of Nelson at Richmond on the 30th. Ten days had elapsed since the enemy's advance was positively reported, and there was no more evidence of his approach than at first. He was, of course, to be expected any day, but he might not come in two weeks.

Under the circumstances it was plainly necessary to concentrate nearer Nashville, where we could get to work on the railroad, and at the same time be ready for the enemy when he should come. Orders were accordingly given on the 30th of August for concentrating at Murfreesboro' on the 5th of September. Thomas, at McMinnville, was to march on the 2d, and other commands according to their position. To the last Thomas had no definite information of the approach of the enemy. It turned out that Bragg crossed at Chattanooga on the 28th of August, entered Sparta on the 3d of September, and made his way to Glasgow, where he arrived on the 14th, having crossed the Cumberland at Carthage and Gainsboro'. Something of these movements, though not of the entire force, was learned on the 6th, and that Bowling Green was threatened. Two divisions were, therefore, moved across the river at Nashville on the 7th,—one to go to the protection of Bowling Green, where there was a small garrison with some stores, and the other to Gallatin, to gain information of the movements of the enemy in the valley.

At the same time preparation was made to act with the remaining force as circumstances might require. Two and a half divisions, including Paine's division from Grant, which had not yet arrived, and a large number of convalescents, were designated to hold Nashville, under the command of General Thomas. It was ascertained on the 10th that the bulk of Bragg's army had marched north from the Cumberland, and my movable divisions were accordingly put in motion to follow. They were concentrated at Bowling Green on the evening of the 15th. I there learned that the garrison at Munfordville had been attacked, but the result was not certainly known. Bragg was reported at Glasgow, and on the 16th I marched to give battle to him at that place; but during the day it was ascertained that he had marched the day before for Munfordville, the garrison of which, it was also ascertained, had repelled the first attack, and my divisions were directed upon that point. The next day, at Prewett's Knob, thirteen miles from Munfordville, I learned that the garrison had that morning surrendered to Bragg's entire army, and that night Colonel Wilder reported to me with his command as prisoners of war.

The enemy was now concentrated in front of us, and had taken up a position of unusual strength upon and behind a rather low crest on the south side of Green River. My information of the aggregate force assembled in east Tennessee was sufficiently accurate, but at first there was no means of knowing what portion of it was with Bragg, and what portion had followed Kirby Smith. The proximity of the last three days had given a better knowledge of Bragg's strength. Colonel Wilder, who was competent, and had had some opportunity for observation, estimated it at from 35,000 to 40,000 men, and nobody estimated it at any less. I supposed it to be from 30,000 to 40,000. I



BRIGADIER-GENERAL JAMES S. JACKSON, KILLED AT PERRYVILLE. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

had with me 35,000 effective men, but on being satisfied at Bowling Green that no considerable force remained to threaten Nashville, I called up Thomas's division, and now determined, on its arrival, to attack Bragg's position if he should remain. Thomas arrived on the 20th. There was some skirmishing between the lines that evening, but the enemy withdrew during the night. His rear-guard was driven out of Munfordville the next day, and was pressed by our advanced guard until he turned off the main road toward Bardstown.☆

There was no reason to hesitate at this point as to the course which I should pursue. I did not know where Kirby Smith was, but the junction between himself and Bragg was to be considered as practically established.

United for battle they would outnumber me very greatly. Louisville also, in the presence of this combined force, might be in danger. Besides, our provisions were nearly exhausted; some of the troops were without rations after arriving at West Point, twenty-five miles from Louisville. I therefore pushed forward to Louisville, the leading division arriving there on the 25th, and the last on the 29th. The cavalry was kept as an outpost at Elizabethtown to guard the flank of the passing columns and watch any possible movements of the enemy toward Bowling Green. The large empty wagon train which the exhaustion of our supplies at Nashville had rendered useless and insupportable, had been pushed through from Bowling Green by the way of Brownsville, Litchfield, and West Point, under a cavalry escort.

The army was now to encounter grave danger from the influence of Oliver P. Morton, Governor of Indiana. He had from the beginning tried to retain a *quasi* authority over Indiana troops after they had been mustered into the

☆ In his official report General Bragg states that he "offered battle" at Munfordville. No doubt he was willing to fight on his own terms at more than one point. But the general who offers battle is he who stays to give or receive it.—D. C. B.

service of the United States and had joined my army. His interference was injurious to discipline; but he persisted in order to preserve his influence with the troops, the people, and the Government. The seeds of mischief, always present in his extra-official conduct toward the Indiana troops, were now being sown with a vigorous but crafty hand, in the counsels at Washington and among the executives of other States, to impair my authority and effect my removal from command. General Nelson, an officer of remarkable merit, was in command of the center corps of my army. He was assaulted and killed by General Davis, accompanied by Governor Morton, the very day before the army was to march against the invaders. Nelson, though often rough in command, was always solicitous about the well-being of his troops, and was held in high esteem for his conspicuous services, gallantry in battle, and great energy; and his death caused much indignation among the troops that knew him best. Davis, an Indianian, was unknown in my army except in his own division, which had just joined while he was absent; but Morton's relation to the affair brought to bear in Davis's behalf a State feeling inspired by Morton and strengthened by his habitual intervention in favor of Indiana troops against the rigidity of my control. The restraining influence of discipline was all that prevented an outbreak between the friends of Nelson and Davis, which might have added the most serious consequences to the criminal occurrence.

Nothing but the law of violence could, under any circumstances, justify the manner of the killing for the alleged provocation, and no mere merit of ordinary soldiership could ever atone for the sacrilege against discipline under the circumstances which existed. The dignity of a State was abused by the attitude of its governor in the affair, and the authority of the general government was even more degraded by its condonement of the act—a condonement made virtually, if not actually, at his dictation.☆

Davis was immediately placed in arrest, and the case reported to General Halleck, with the request that a court might be ordered from Washington for its trial, as the operations then in progress made it impracticable for me to spare the officers for the purpose at the moment. Instead of that, Davis

☆ Briefly stated, the particulars of the occurrence are as follows: Nelson was in command at Louisville, and was laboring to put the city in a state of defense against the expected attack. A few days before my arrival he rebuked Davis, no doubt harshly, for what he considered a neglectful or inefficient discharge of duty, and ordered him to report to General Wright at Cincinnati. Upon my arrival Davis was ordered by Wright to report to me for duty with his division. Instead of proceeding directly to Louisville, he went by Indianapolis and was joined by Morton. With him and with another friend Davis approached Nelson in the vestibule of the Galt House at Louisville at breakfast-time, in the presence of a considerable number of persons. The reception which Davis's demand for satisfaction received was no doubt such as he had expected. What the bystanders witnessed and what was reported at the time was a slap from the back of Nelson's hand in Davis's face. Nelson then turned to Morton, de-

nounced him for appearing as an abettor of the insult forced upon him, and retired toward his room in the adjoining hall. Davis received a pistol from the hand of his other attendant, not Morton, and followed Nelson to the hall. Nelson, apparently changing his purpose, returned before reaching his room, and as he nearly reached the end of the hall where Davis was, the latter fired, inflicting a wound in the breast, of which Nelson died in about half an hour, after receiving the ministrations of the church and forgiving his slayer. It has recently been made known for the first time in a published statement of the affair by General James B. Fry, who at the moment placed Davis in arrest, and as a personal friend listened to his statement, that upon accosting Nelson, Davis flung into his face a paper-wad that he had been crumpling between his fingers. It was then that Nelson struck him. I was not aware of this circumstance until the appearance of the statement referred to.—D. C. B.

was released, ostensibly that the case might be turned over to the civil authority; and thus the military authority of the Government was abased over the grave of a high officer, whose slaughter by another officer under such circumstances, and as a purely military offense, it had not the character to bring to trial.]

In the midst of the excitement caused by the killing of Nelson, and the active preparation that was going on for an advance against the enemy the next day, an order was received from Washington relieving me from the command, and appointing General Thomas to succeed me. In a little while General Thomas came to my room and stated his intention to decline the command. I answered that I could not consent to his doing so on any ground that was personal to me, and that if his determination was fixed I must be allowed to see the message he proposed to send. He then prepared the following dispatch to General Halleck:

"Colonel McKibbin handed me your dispatch placing me in command of the Department of the Tennessee. General Buell's preparations have been completed to march against the enemy, and I therefore respectfully ask that he may be retained in command. My position is very embarrassing, not being as well informed as I should be as the commander of this army, and on the assumption of such a responsibility."

I could make no personal objection to his reasons, but I encouraged him to accept the duty assigned to him, saying that nothing remained to be done but to put the army in motion, and that I would cheerfully explain my plans to him and give him all the information I possessed. He persisted, however, and the message went off. I did not then know of the steps that were being taken for my retention by both of the senators and two representatives from Kentucky.‡

Halleck replied to Thomas that the order had not been made by him or by his advice, and he had no power to revoke it, but that he would suspend it until the question could be submitted to the Government, and that Colonel McKibbin had been twice telegraphed to withhold the order. The order was accordingly suspended. I at once resumed the reins of command, which, indeed, had scarcely been laid aside, and proceeded with the preparations to advance.

On my arrival at Louisville I had found a considerable number of newly made regiments or fragments of regiments, which the crisis had hurried into

‡ The following order announced General Nelson's death to the army:

"HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF THE OHIO, LOUISVILLE, September 29th, 1862. GENERAL ORDERS, No. 47A. The general commanding announces with inexpressible regret the death of Major-General William Nelson, which occurred in this city at 8:30 o'clock this morning.

"The deceased was bred a sailor, and was an officer of the navy while holding a commission in the military service. History will honor him as one of the first to organize, by his individual exertion, a military force in Kentucky, his native State, to rescue her from the vortex of rebellion, toward which she was drifting.

"He was a man of extensive information, comprehensive views, and great energy and force of character. By his nature he was intolerant of disobedience, or neglect

of public duty; but no man was more prompt to recognize and foster merit in his inferiors, and in his own conduct he set an example of that vigilance, industry, and prompt attention to duty which he exacted from others. In battle his example was equally marked. On more than one field—at Shiloh, Richmond, and Ivy Mountain—he was conspicuous for his gallant bearing.

"The funeral of the deceased will take place at 3 P. M. to-morrow, at Calvary Church, Third street. By command of MAJOR-GENERAL BUELL. JAMES B. FRY, Colonel and Chief-of-Staff."

‡ Dispatch from Senators Crittenden and Davis, and Representatives Mallory and Dunlap, to the President ("Official Records," Vol. XVI., Part II., p. 557).

the State from Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. After designating a portion as a guard for Louisville, mostly organized into a division under General Dumont, the remainder of the new regiments were assigned to places in the old divisions; the baggage, hospital, and supply trains were reorganized; the equipment of the soldier was repaired; each man was provided with individual cooking-utensils, so as almost to dispense with baggage-wagons; and on the arrival of the last division, on the 29th, the army was ready to march on the next day. One day was lost by the instructions from Washington, but orders were given for marching on the 1st of October. The army was divided into three corps: the First under General McCook, the Second under General T. L. Crittenden, and the Third under General Gilbert. This corps was to have been commanded by General Nelson. General Thomas was announced as second in command in the army. It is now proper to take a survey of the military situation which was before me.



BRIGADIER-GENERAL WILLIAM R. TERRILL, KILLED AT PERRYVILLE. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

My instructions of the 18th of March placed General G. W. Morgan in command of the Seventh division of the army, to operate in the Cumberland Gap road from Kentucky to east Tennessee, and required him to take the Gap if practicable, and if not, to hold the enemy in check on that route. The division was at first only partially formed, and some time elapsed before it was in a condition to advance. The Gap was naturally strong, and was occupied by a considerable force. Morgan turned the position on the 17th of June by marching through Big Creek and Rogers's Gaps. The Confederates thereupon evacuated the place without waiting for an attack, and Morgan took possession on the 18th. It was at once strongly intrenched under the supervision of an officer of engineers, but its importance in a general campaign was not in proportion to the force to which its maintenance gave occupation. It was chiefly as an encouragement to the loyal element in east Tennessee that the possession of it was desirable. The campaign inaugurated by the Confederates in east Tennessee employed the troops of two military departments, and labored under the inconvenience of coöperation between the two independent commanders, instead of subordination to a single authority. It was executed with a harmony and zeal unusual under such circumstances, but perhaps lacked the consistency which either of the two leaders would have been amply capable of imparting to it.

The original plan was for a combined movement into middle Tennessee for the recovery of Nashville. The invasion of Kentucky was at first probably not thought of at all, or at least only as a later possibility. But as Bragg could not be ready to cross the river from Chattanooga for about two weeks after his arrival, it was arranged that in the meantime Kirby Smith with his troops should attack and capture Morgan at Cumberland Gap. The strength of Morgan's fortified position, however, with 8000 good troops to defend it, was upon consideration deemed to preclude the attempt. The alternative was to invest him on the south side with 9000 men under Stevenson, while Smith with 12,000 should seize and hold his communications on the north; by which means, not being strong enough to break his way out on either side, Morgan, upon the exhaustion of his supplies, would be compelled to surrender. This plan being adopted, Smith commenced his movement through Rogers's and Big Creek Gaps on the 14th of August, and reached Morgan's rear at Barbourville on the 18th.

He now perceived that it would be impossible for him to gather supplies for his command from that poor and exhausted region, and later his embarrassment was increased by Morgan's occupation of Rogers's and Big Creek Gaps. Nothing therefore remained for him but to withdraw or advance boldly into the rich portion of Kentucky. Bragg was not at first in favor of the latter course, until he should be prepared to follow up the precipitate movement which it was not doubted I would make from middle Tennessee for the protection of Kentucky. However, his concurrence was readily yielded, for the proposition was alluring. The idea of invasion, which had now taken firm root, was coupled with the chimera of an uprising of the people and a transfer of the State to the Confederacy. I never had the slightest apprehension of such a result. Boys might join John Morgan's roving cavaliers, and some mature men might commit themselves with less romance to the cause of the Confederacy, and these phenomena would of course be multiplied by the backing of an army. But when Kentucky so far overcame her sympathy as to assume an attitude of neutrality, she listened to a call of reason and interest, not unmingled with genuine love of the Union, that was not to stop at half-measures; and as soon as it became apparent that neutrality was impracticable, it was the deliberate choice of the mass of the people—not any pressure of coercion—that arrayed her irrevocably on the side of the Union. To that choice she was thoroughly loyal, and no finer example of political and popular generosity can anywhere be found than that wherein, at the close of the conflict, she restored to all the rights of citizenship and the ties of fraternity her expatriated sons who for four years had made war upon her.

Smith advanced from Barbourville with 12,000 men on the 26th of August, encountered at Rogersville and Richmond the 5000 or 6000 raw troops assembled there, scattered them like chaff, making prisoners and capturing arms, proceeded to Lexington, where he established his headquarters

on the 2d of September, occupied Frankfort and Cynthiana, and finally threw his pickets almost to the gates of Cincinnati and Louisville.

These events produced widespread effects. They were the signal for the movement of Humphrey Marshall with 3000 men into Kentucky through Pound Gap, and it would seem stimulated Bragg's advance from Chattanooga. They changed the concentration of my army from Murfreesboro' to Nashville, and would perhaps have caused the transfer of half of it into Kentucky, which seemed to be powerless, but for the sudden appearance of Bragg in the Valley of the Cumberland endangering Nashville. In Kentucky and other bordering States, they produced an excitement which was intense in some places, amounting almost to consternation. Business at Cincinnati was for a few days entirely suspended for the purpose of defense; intrenchments were vigorously prosecuted at Covington and Louisville by the labor of the citizens and the troops, and raw regiments in the process of formation were hurried into Cincinnati and Louisville from Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. The Government of Kentucky sought refuge at Louisville, where on my arrival Nelson reported a force of 30,000 raw troops.

General Morgan at Cumberland Gap was promptly aware of Kirby Smith's movement, and informed me of it on the 16th of August. He had thirty days' provisions, and was instructed the same day to hold his position. The exhaustion of his supplies and the improbability of their being replenished in time made it necessary for him at last to withdraw, which he did on the night of the 17th of September. He was pursued by Stevenson and harassed by John Morgan's cavalry, but made his way successfully through Mauchester, Boonesville, West Liberty, and Grayson to the Ohio River at Greenup, where he arrived about the 2d of October. Stevenson with his division joined Kirby Smith near Frankfort about the time of my arrival at Louisville, and was present in the operations around Perryville.

On his arrival in central Kentucky, Smith issued his proclamation inviting the people to join the cause of their deliverance, and Bragg did the same in pathetic terms at Glasgow. These appeals, like many of the orders promulgated to arouse the animosity and stimulate the valor of the Southern troops, would give a sad impression of the condition of the inhabitants, especially the innocent and helpless, and of the brutality of the oppressor; but they were not confirmed by the feebleness of the response. There was a sweet sympathy, so the Confederates thought, but that was all. The arms in abundance, which Kentuckians were advised to grasp, remained in the store-houses. Kentuckians suffered just as Ohioans would have suffered with armies in their midst, and they had as a body no more thought of changing their colors. During the whole occupation enough perhaps for a brigade joined the invaders.

The arrival of Bragg at Bardstown gave the Confederates virtual possession of the whole of Kentucky east of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, excepting within the limits of Covington

and Louisville, and Smith called his troops together near Frankfort to assist in the proposed attack upon Louisville. That project was postponed after my arrival; but Polk, Bragg having gone to Frankfort and Lexington, was ordered to occupy Shepherdsville, Taylorsville, and other near points around Louisville. Steps were being taken to that end when, on the 2d of October, the enemy's pickets announced to the leaders at Frankfort and Bardstown the advance of my army in force on four roads, threatening the whole of their front, which covered a distance of sixty miles.

The plan of my movement was to force the enemy's left back and compel him to concentrate as far as possible from any convenient line of retreat, while at the same time making a strong demonstration against his right, so as to mislead him as to the real point of attack, and prevent him from moving upon my left flank and rear. With that object General Sill, commanding a division in McCook's corps, was ordered to move boldly toward Frankfort through Shelbyville, followed temporarily by the division of raw troops under Dumont which had been organized as a guard for Louisville. McCook with his two remaining divisions moved upon Taylorsville, where he halted the second night in a position which pointed to either flank. The other two corps moved respectively through Shepherdsville and Mt. Washington, to converge upon Bardstown, and halted the second night at Salt River. The enemy's pickets were encountered on all of the roads within a few miles of the city, increasing in strength as the movement progressed, and opposing a sharp opposition at Bardstown and Shelbyville. Polk withdrew his army from Bardstown on the night of the 3d, going through Springfield, and Sill, against a considerable resistance, pushed back the force in front of him toward Frankfort. These measures brought to a hurried completion the inauguration of Provisional Governor Hawes at Frankfort on the 4th, under the supervision of General Bragg. Polk, on his part, was pressed so closely that Hardee, who was bringing up his rear, was compelled to make a stand at Perryville and call for assistance. Assuming that Smith was the object of my attack, and that my right and rear would thereby be exposed to Polk at Bardstown, Bragg ordered Polk on the 2d to attack in that manner, while Smith should attack my left, and that view of my design was persisted in; so that only one of the two divisions which were being pressed forward to reinforce Smith was returned to assist Hardee at Perryville on the night of the 7th.

The strength of the opposition to Sill and the continued presence of Kirby Smith about Frankfort pointed to a concentration in that direction, at least north of Perryville; but on the 6th the information was that Smith was moving upon Danville. McCook, who had been halted momentarily at Bloomfield until the question should be developed, was therefore directed on Harrodsburg, and Sill was ordered to join him by forced marches. During the night the information in regard to Smith was contradicted, and the expectation of a concentration

at or north of Perryville was confirmed. McCook was therefore promptly turned upon Perryville, and Sill was ordered to follow him. Under a stubborn resistance from Polk, during the 7th, the center corps halted in the evening about three and a half miles from Perryville without water, of which it had had but little since morning, and the corps was put in order of battle. It appeared now that the enemy was virtually concentrated in our front. Orders were therefore dispatched to McCook, who was supposed to be about seven miles back, on the left, and to Thomas, who had been ordered to halt the right corps (Crittenden's) for the night at Haysville, about four miles in rear, on the road from Lebanon to Perryville. They were to march precisely at 3 o'clock in the morning, prepared in every respect for battle, and on arriving at certain designated points were to be formed in order of battle on the left and right, respectively, of the center corps. They were then to be made as comfortable as possible, but not to leave ranks. A reconnoissance was to be made to ascertain the position of the enemy, and as soon as that was done Thomas and McCook were to report at headquarters for further orders.↓ I expected that these objects would be accomplished by 7 o'clock in the morning.

During the night it was ascertained that there were some pools of water in the bed of Doctor's Fork, which crossed the road in front of us, and of which the enemy's rear-guard held possession. Colonel Daniel McCook, commanding a brigade in Sheridan's division, was selected to attack the enemy and get possession of the water, which he did in a handsome manner at day dawn. Very soon the enemy attempted to recover the lost position, but Sheridan's and Mitchell's divisions were moved to the front and defeated the design. From that time a desultory cannonading was kept up between the two lines until it merged into the battle, which suddenly burst forth fiercely at 2 o'clock. The arrival of McCook's corps is dated from half-past 10 o'clock, but for the bulk of the corps it was later. He reported to me at about half-past 12, and I hastened his return to his command; for though the time had passed when I had somewhat apprehended an attack, while the center corps was alone, yet the occasion was critical, and he had not reconnoitered his front. Thomas had not reported, and no final instructions for attack could be given. When McCook reached his corps, it had materially changed its ground and was not in position. Artillery guns were exchanging distant shots, but evidently no one on our side was expecting an attack. It came at about 2 o'clock, while a line was moving forward to take possession of the water which could be discerned in the bed of Chaplin river, behind which the enemy were formed for the assault.

It turned out that Polk with three divisions, with cavalry on both flanks, had determined to fight a "defensive-offensive" battle; but as the morning wore away without the attack, which was awaited, Bragg came upon the ground and ordered an assault. It was delivered mainly upon McCook, but

↓ "Official Records," Vol. XVI., Part II., p. 580.

also fell heavily upon Sheridan, who repelled it handsomely on his side. McCook fought bravely, and by Gilbert's order was reinforced with Gooding's brigade from Mitchell's division; but he was steadily driven back for a mile, until the enemy's pursuing line came within the enfilading fire of Sheridan's artillery, which was delivered with great effect across the intervening valley of Doctor's Fork. At 4 o'clock Captain Fisher of McCook's staff arrived and reported to me that the left corps had been sustaining a severe conflict for a considerable time, and was being driven back. I was astonished. Not a sound of musketry had been heard, and my staff-officers had been at the front until dinner-time. I had noticed a sudden increase of cannonading at 2 o'clock, and General Gilbert, who had come in from his lines and was getting his dinner with me, immediately proceeded to his command; but as the firing as suddenly subsided, and no report came to me, I had ceased to think of the occurrence.

Reinforcements were immediately ordered to McCook from Schoepf's division, which was in reserve, and a staff-officer was dispatched to Thomas with orders to move the right corps forward vigorously and attack the enemy's left. Thomas could not be found until about 6 o'clock, and owing to the lateness of the hour the advance was not made; but McCook was relieved by the succor sent to him and the battle ceased about night-fall. Further orders were sent to Thomas at 6.30 P. M.:

OCTOBER 8TH, 1862, 6.30 P. M. GENERAL THOMAS, Second in Command: The First Corps (McCook's) on our left has been very heavily engaged. The left and center of this corps gained ground, but the right of it yielded a little. Press your lines forward as far as possible to-night, and get into position to make a vigorous attack in the morning at daylight. If you have got your troops into a position which you deem advantageous it will not be advisable to make a change for the purpose of complying with the general's instructions for you sent by Captain Mack. It may be as well to halt the division ordered to the center and let it wait where it is for further orders. The general desires to see you in person as soon to-night as your duties will permit you to come over. Respectfully, JAMES B. FRY, Colonel and Chief-of-Staff.

McCook had 12,500 men in the battle, and lost in killed and wounded about 3000—nearly one-quarter; Gilbert lost in killed and wounded nearly 900, all of which belonged to Sheridan's division and one of Mitchell's brigades; and about 450 in all were taken prisoners; total loss, 4348. The force

actually engaged on the Union side numbered about 22,000, though more came into position for battle near the close. All of the force had a good number of new regiments. One of McCook's divisions was composed entirely of new regiments, with one exception. Its division commander, Jackson, and its two brigade commanders, Terrill and Webster, were killed. The enemy claim to have fought the battle, according to Bragg's report, with 16,000 men. His loss is reported at 3396, of which 251 were prisoners. He captured some artillery that he did not carry off, though he exchanged some of his pieces for better ones.

Not long before the commencement of this partial but fierce contest, a staff-officer arrived from General Thomas and reported two divisions of the right corps up—the last had not yet arrived. The enemy was in front, and Thomas thought it not advisable to leave to report in person. The want of definite information from both flanks, the failure of a meeting of the two commanders at my headquarters for explanations and final orders, and the lateness of the hour for effecting these preliminaries for the great battle which was to be fought, precluded the idea of bringing it on that evening. That conclusion had, indeed, been rendered probably unavoidable at the time of McCook's arrival at my headquarters, by two dispatches which had been received from Thomas during the morning: One dated the 7th, 6 o'clock P. M., at Haysville, ¹ saying that finding no water at that point he would march the right corps to the Rolling Fork for a camp; and the other, dated on the Rolling Fork, October 8th, 3 o'clock, A. M., ² reporting that my order to march at 3 o'clock had just been received, that the corps reached that place at 11 o'clock at night, and was then camping, the trains being not all yet up, and that he would be in front of Perryville as soon as possible. The staff-officer was, therefore, started back a few minutes before 2 o'clock with some minor instructions to General Thomas, and a desire that he should report in person after night-fall.

Thomas, McCook, and Gilbert met at my headquarters after dark, and after conversation upon the events of the day, orders were given for battle the following morning. Crittenden's corps on the right was to move forward at 6 o'clock and engage the enemy, and the center was to do likewise as soon as they were abreast. McCook was to close

¹ "HAYSVILLE, October 7th, 1862, 6 P. M.—MAJOR-GENERAL BUELL: About two and a half miles west of this place I can get a camp on the Rolling Fork, where there is said to be an abundance of water. As there is no water here, I propose to camp there. It will only throw us about one and a half miles farther from Perryville. It was reported to me on my arrival that the rebels had 200,000 pounds of pork at Lebanon. At first I ordered a regiment to go there and seize it. I afterward learned that it belonged to a company of pork-packers, who profess to be Union men. I therefore concluded not to send or seize it, as we can get it at any time by sending for it. Maxey's brigade is also reported as leaving Lebanon to-day for Danville, via Bradfordsville and Hustonville, with a train loaded with flour and pork from Lebanon. Shall I send and intercept him now, or capture him hereafter? Very respectfully, GEO. H. THOMAS."

² "HEADQUARTERS, UNITED STATES FORCES, ROLLING FORK, Ky., October 8th, 1862, 3 A. M.—GENERAL BUELL: Your letter of instruction came to hand at the time indicated for the Second Corps to march. Have given the necessary orders to General Crittenden, and will take position before Perryville as soon as possible. The roads over which we marched yesterday were exceedingly rough and tortuous, and, with one exception, without water. Reached this place at 11 o'clock last night, but all the trains are not up yet. I found, as night approached, that the troops must have water, which could not be obtained short of Rolling Fork, some two miles out of our way, to which place the command was ordered, and we are now camping. As soon as I decided to make Rolling Fork, I dispatched messengers to your headquarters, who must have reached you before this. Respectfully, etc., GEO. H. THOMAS, Major-General, U. S. Volunteers."

in and remain in reserve. In fact, only one of his divisions (Rousseau's) was in a condition to fight as a distinct body. At that hour not a man in the army who had any knowledge beyond the limit of his own vision doubted that the whole Confederate army was in our front, and that the battle was to be renewed in the morning.

The right corps did not commence the movement until 9 o'clock, owing, as was afterward explained, to Thomas's message to Crittenden by signal, from my camp, only specifying that he should be ready to advance at 6 o'clock; so that the orders to advance had to be repeated when it was discovered that the movement had not commenced. It was then ascertained that the enemy had withdrawn, and that only three of his divisions had been present. The battle had enabled him to perfect his junction with Kirby Smith at Harrodsburg, as originally intended, and I did not hesitate to await the arrival of Sill's division before precipitating the anticipated battle. In the meantime, the army was put in position for any emergency, and reconnoissances were actively employed to gain information of the movements of the enemy.

We had repelled the enemy's fierce attack when it was supposed his whole force was in front of us. My official report stated succinctly the causes which prevented us from winning a more fruitful success, namely, the difficulties which prevented the troops from getting on the ground simultaneously, and the fact that I was not apprised early enough of the condition of affairs on my left ("Official Records," Vol. XVI., Part I., p. 1031). When the orders in anticipation of battle were given on the evening of the 7th, McCook's exact position was not known. He was supposed to be about seven miles in rear. The orders did not reach him until 2:30 o'clock, and he marched at 5. It was 10:30 when the head of his column arrived. The road was hilly and rough, and the march was understood to be made in the vicinity of the enemy. It was therefore properly conducted with prudence, and was of course slow. The right corps had been ordered to halt for the night at Haysville, not more than four miles to the rear. But on arriving at that point, finding no water, General Thomas, who was conducting the corps, determined to go to the Rolling Fork to encamp. He was told the distance was two and one-half miles off to the right, but he did not arrive until 11 o'clock, after five hours of night marching. The courier did not find him until 3 o'clock in the morning, at which hour he was camping, his trains being not all yet up. It is evident from his dispatches that he did not realize the gravity of the occasion. It was impossible, under the circumstances, that marches should be regulated with reference to water. The center corps marched with no assurance of finding it, halted on the evening of the 7th without it, and only obtained it the next morning by wresting it from the hands of the enemy. Had the right corps been found at Haysville, it should have been in position for battle by 7 o'clock, and, whatever else may have happened, would have been in such connection with

headquarters by signals, as the other corps were, that the orders of 4 o'clock for it to attack would have been delivered immediately, and would have given fully two hours of daylight for action.

On the other hand, had the battle on the left been reported at 2 o'clock, when it commenced, the succor which was ordered from the reserve at 4 would have come in the form of reinforcements two hours earlier; and the orders which were sent at the same time to the right corps would have had at least that much more time for execution. I make no prediction of all of the consequences that might have flowed from these conditions. It would have depended much upon the action of the right corps. They ought to have been of a very decisive character. For the rest, the reports show that the left corps was not fully prepared for the heavy blow that fell upon it, but the reverse which it sustained was largely due to the rawness of the troops. Fully one-half of the two divisions was made up of new regiments.

While the battle was in progress at Perryville, Kirby Smith, still thinking that my movement was upon his front, had prepared for a battle at or near Lawrenceburg. His cavalry attacked Sill at that point on that day, and the next day on the march, but Sill extricated himself skillfully, and continued his march, joining his corps at Perryville on the 11th. Smith now discovered his mistake, and dispatched Bragg on the 9th that he would join him immediately at Harrodsburg, which he accomplished partly on the 9th and fully on the 10th. On the latter day a strong reconnoissance found him in line of battle about four miles south of Harrodsburg. He withdrew entirely on the 11th, followed by my cavalry toward Camp Dick Robinson, where Bragg's whole force now took position, sheltered in front and on his right flank by the perpendicular cliffs of Dick's River and the Kentucky. I was moving on the 12th and 13th to turn his position and attack him on the left, when I learned that he was withdrawing. General Bragg states in his report that he was ready and desirous for battle at this point and previously after Perryville, and I have no doubt that was true, if he could have had his own terms. His order for withdrawal was announced on the 13th.

The pursuit was taken up that night, under the supervision of Thomas, with Crittenden's corps, followed by the other corps. The details afford no interesting or important fact, except that the retreating army was pressed into difficulties which involved it in great hardship and temporary disorganization. The pursuit was continued in that manner as far as London, and then, about the 20th, my several columns were turned by the most direct routes toward the ground in Tennessee and Alabama from which they had started six weeks before, and where it was foreseen the enemy would soon again be encountered. The repair of the railroad had been pushed forward with energy, and the army was arriving at Glasgow and Bowling Green on its route, when on the 30th of October I turned over the command to General Rosecrans, in obedience to orders from Washington. It would be useless to review the officio-personal part

of the correspondence which immediately preceded that event between the Washington authorities and myself, or even the official part of it, relating chiefly to the plan of a movement into east Tennessee, to which my successor in a measure fell heir. Toward him, I may add, the trausfer brought no heart-burning on my part, and the prayer expressed in my parting order was sincere, that the army might, under his command, be the means of speedily restoring the Union to its integrity.

In spite of my connection—I can scarcely speak of it as a personal interest—with the subject, I venture to make some observations that appear to me proper with reference to the campaign which I have outlined. It extended over a greater territory and involved greater hazard on the side of the Union than any other campaign of the war. In the early part, and up to the time of my arrival in Louisville, it was more neglected by the Government than any other. It was distinguished also from all others, except a part of Pope's operations in Virginia, in the relative strength of the contending forces.

The important results, favorable and adverse, were that the object for which I had started out, the occupation of east Tennessee, was not even in a condition to be attempted; and that on the other hand, a formidable political and strategical scheme which aimed at the conquest and absorption of Kentucky, was defeated with substantial disaster to the invader, and at the close the Federal arms returned with increased strength to the possessions from which they had been withdrawn to counteract the invasion. It has been said that territory was given up which was not recovered for a year; but that is not substantially true, except with reference to Cumberland Gap, and as to that, it is to be remarked that it had been held at a greater cost than it was worth, and that afterward it was no obstacle when the advance into east Tennessee was made with an adequate force. When the army on the way back changed commanders at Bowling Green, there was no new obstacle to its resumption of every position it had held in middle Tennessee and Alabama. The enemy, with broken fortune and relatively impaired strength, was only on the south side of the Tennessee from which he had started two months before. I do not comment upon what was afterward done, or raise the question whether it was desirable to resume the position which had been occupied as a point of departure; but if it was not desirable to resume it, certainly for stronger reasons it was not a position which it was advisable for me to hold.

If the campaign, with no more advantageous results, had been marked by one general and destructive, but not disastrous battle, it would no doubt have been received with more popular favor, and perhaps even have been more easy of professional praise. I shall not insist on that point, but I shall particularly make no apology for not having fought battles where the issue was reasonably doubtful, and where they in fact proved not to have been necessary for the success of my cause. Besides, in an open field, with capable commanders, it takes

two parties to inaugurate a battle—one to begin the attack, and another to stand to receive it.

It was much talked of after the event, that Kentucky was known to be the immediate object for which Bragg moved from Chattanooga; that it was proposed to me to concentrate at Sparta to oppose him; and that that mountainous and comparatively barren region could have been relied upon to support my army, with exhausted magazines and in the presence of the enemy; but the facts were as erroneous as the theories were fallacious. There was never at the time an intelligent judgment or an accepted rumor that Bragg's first object, if he had any, was any other than the recovery of middle Tennessee and Nashville; and if, under the circumstances, a proposition had been made to me to concentrate the army at Sparta, I should have rejected it.

Various speculations and confident declarations have been indulged in by critics on both sides, as to the results that would have flowed from certain different action on the part of the two commanders. Such opinions with reference to extended operations are seldom of any value. They generally have no knowledge of the circumstances which would have prevented the prescribed action, and take no account of the modifying influence which it would have had on the conduct of the opposing commander. It is, therefore, idle to assert, as many have done, that Kirby Smith could and should have marched into Louisville after the battle of Richmond, or what would have been the substantial fruit of that proceeding if it had been accomplished; or that Bragg and Smith united would have overwhelmed me at Munfordville. The disappointment of calculations pending the events, affords no stronger marks of fallibility than do assumptions afterward. Of the former this campaign, like all campaigns, presents many examples. Thus, the military problem, as it appeared to my mind, was to be solved by a combined descent of the Confederates upon the inferior Union force in middle Tennessee. But instead of that, an army, embarrassed in its situation, to be sure, but intact and powerful, was left in the rear, and a distant invasion which had no well-founded prospect of success was undertaken. The boldness and formidable character of this alternative appeared to give assurance that it would not be abandoned without at least one vigorous blow in attack or defense; but when prudential measures were taken on the opposing side with reference to such a contingency, the invader, with a prudence, not to be expected from the audacity of his advance, withdrew from the contest. On the other side, to General Bragg's mind, as early as the 24th of August, the army opposed to him was demoralized and in full flight, with doubtful prospect of stopping short of the Ohio; later it was racing to get the lead of him at Munfordville; and at that point, astonished to find himself not attacked at sight, he imagined that his opponent must be in retreat by some secret route to the Ohio River. But all of these impressions were delusive. When to his mind the opposing army was in retreat, it was awaiting his approach from behind the

Tennessee River and the mountains. When he imagined it trying to get ahead of him, it was moving especially to keep him in front and away from Nashville, deeming the retention of that point of more consequence than his transient intrusion upon Kentucky; always pursuing him, always aiming to get nearer to him, always willing to avail itself of advantages, and confident in the end of triumphing over him.

A philosophical study of our civil conflict must recognize that influences of some sort operated fundamentally for the side of the Confederacy in every prominent event of the war, and nowhere with less effect than in the Tennessee and Kentucky campaign. They are involved in the fact that it required enormous sacrifices from 24,000,000 of people to defeat the political scheme of 8,000,000; 2,000,000 of soldiers to subdue 800,000 soldiers; and, descending to details, a naval fleet and 15,000 troops to advance against a weak fort, manned by less than 100 men, at Fort Henry; 35,000 with naval coöperation to overcome 12,000 at Donelson; 60,000 to secure a victory over 40,000 at Pittsburg Landing; 120,000 to enforce the retreat of 65,000 entrenched, after a month of fighting and manœuvring, at Corinth; 100,000 repelled by 80,000 in the first Peninsular campaign against Richmond; 70,000, with a powerful naval force to inspire the campaign, which lasted nine months, against 40,000 at Vicksburg; 90,000 to barely withstand the assault of 70,000 at Gettysburg; 115,000 sustaining a frightful repulse from 60,000 at Fredericksburg. 100,000 attacked and defeated by 50,000 at Chancellorsville; 85,000 held in check two days by 40,000 at Antietam; 43,000 retaining the field uncertainly against 38,000 at Stone River; 70,000 defeated at Chickamauga, and beleaguered by 70,000 at Chattanooga; 80,000 merely to break the investing line of 45,000 at Chattanooga; 100,000 to press back 50,000, increased at last to 70,000, from Chattanooga to Atlanta, a distance of 120 miles, and then let go—an operation which is commemorated at festive reunions by the standing toast of “one hundred days under fire”; 50,000 to defeat the investing line of 30,000 at Nashville; and finally 120,000 to overcome 60,000 with exhaustion after a struggle of a year in Virginia. The rule which this summary establishes will not determine absolutely the relative merit of the different achievements, but is not to be ignored in a judgment upon particular events.

Individually, the Northern soldier was in no sense the inferior of the Southern. What, then, is the explanation of this rule which is so nearly invariable as to show that superior numbers were generally essential to Union victories, and the success of Union operations? Much was due to the character of the contest. Revolution is calculated to inspire bold and desperate action, and wars of sentiment, of the nature of which this partook more in the South than in the North, are always marked by unusual energy. In the North there was much

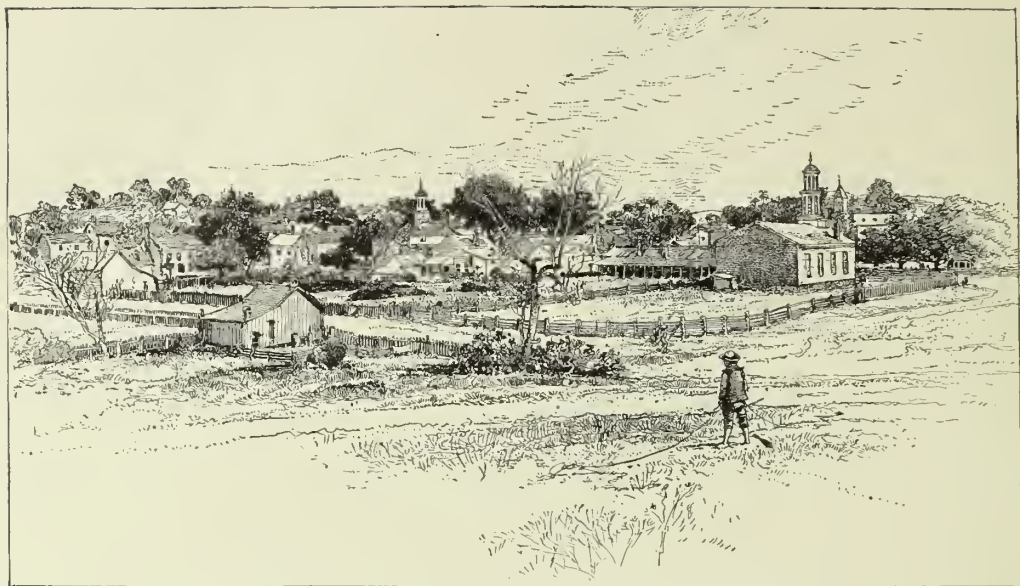
animosity, but it was more collective, and operated more in shaping public policy than upon the temper of the armies. The style of the orders and proclamations issued by many of the Southern generals shows how much they relied on the passionate enthusiasm of their soldiers, and how they tried to stimulate it. They recognized that the odds must generally be against them, and that they must find some means of overcoming the effect of the fact upon the spirits of their troops, and themselves set an example of audacity.

Of course the necessity of invasion against a hostile population placed the Federal cause at a disadvantage which had to be overcome by greater numbers. The simpler mode of life to which the bulk of the Southern troops were accustomed made them more contented with meager supplies; the lack of resources of every sort precluded the luxurious outfit to which the Northern troops were accustomed; and thus the impedimenta of military operations were more restricted without impairing their efficiency than in the Northern armies. It took some time to eradicate this inequality. Another sectional distinction produced a marked effect in the beginning of the war. The habits of the Southern people facilitated the formation of cavalry corps which were comparatively efficient even without instruction; and accordingly we see Stuart, and John Morgan, and Forrest riding with impunity around the Union armies, and destroying or harassing their communications. Late in the war that agency was reversed. The South was exhausted of horses, while the Northern cavalry increased in numbers and efficiency, and acquired the audacity which had characterized the Southern.

But still another influence must be found in the personal differences between the two sections,—differences due chiefly to the more rural condition of the South and the institution of slavery. In all popular movements the Southern leader was then, and is now in a less degree, followed with an implicit confidence which did not mean humility by any means, but produced subordination. This difference is illustrated by two historical incidents. At Cold Harbor, the Northern troops, who had proven their indomitable qualities by losses nearly equal to the whole force of their opponent, when ordered to another sacrifice, even under such a soldier as Hancock, answered the demand as one man, with a silent and stolid inertia: ☆ at Gettysburg, Pickett, when waiting for the signal which Longstreet dreaded to repeat, for the hopeless but immortal charge against Cemetery Hill, saluted and said, as he turned to his ready column: “I shall move forward, sir!”

Nor must we give slight importance to the influence of the Southern women, who in agony of heart girded the sword upon their loved ones and bade them go. It was to be expected that these various influences would give a confidence to leadership that would tend to bold adventure, and leave its mark upon the contest.

☆ General Francis A. Walker, in his “History of the Second Army Corps,” says, p. 516, that Hancock declined the responsibility of renewing the attack as ordered by Meade; and that the statement that the troops refused to advance is erroneous.—EDITORS.



PERRYVILLE, KENTUCKY, LOOKING SOUTH-EAST FROM THE MACKVILLE PIKE. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN 1865.

ON THE FIELD OF PERRYVILLE.†

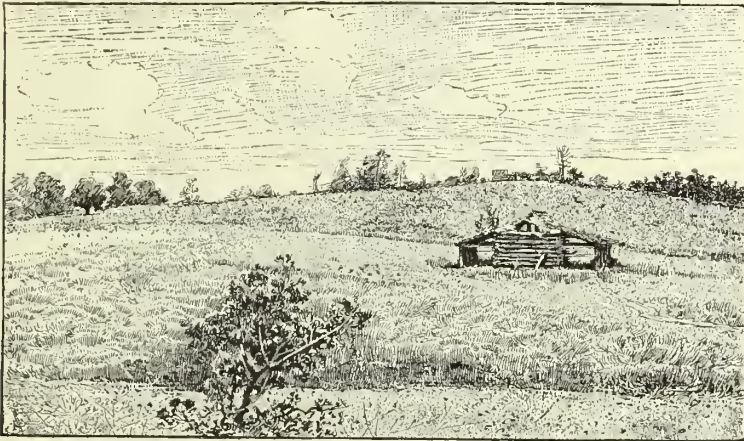
BY CHARLES C. GILBERT, MAJOR-GENERAL, U. S. V.

AS the Army of the Ohio, moving from Bardstown, approached Perryville on the 7th of October, 1862, McCook's corps formed the left, Crittenden's the right, and mine—which was moving on the direct road by the way of Springfield, and was ahead of the others—the center. [See maps, pp. 6 and 24.] In my column, R. B. Mitchell's division had the lead; Schoepf followed, and Sheridan brought up the rear. Our advance was vigorously resisted by Wheeler's cavalry, forming the rear-guard of Hardee's corps, which was retiring before us. About 2 o'clock in the afternoon, when the head of the column was nearing the line of Doctor's Creek, a tributary of the Chaplin River, or more properly the Chaplin Fork of Salt River, the enemy, in force, was observed lining the crest of the ridge on the farther bank, obviously with the intention of disputing the possession of a few pools of water that remained in the water-course, which was otherwise nearly dry. An excessive drought had prevailed for months in this part of Kentucky. At sight of the enemy, orders were given to form Mitchell's division in order of battle across the Springfield road and along some high ground on the right. When Schoepf came up his division was massed in reserve in Mitchell's rear, on the left of the road, and Sheridan, arriving after Wheeler had been dislodged and was being pressed back toward Perryville, was posted in front and to the right of Mitchell. Before daybreak on the 8th, a position was gained that covered the pools in Doctor's Creek, and these formed our only water-supply for the next two days, or as long as the enemy held the Chaplin River.

† Condensed from General Gilbert's articles in the "Southern Bivouac," and revised by him.—EDITORS.

During the night General Buell ordered McCook's and Crittenden's corps to march at 3 o'clock in the morning of the 8th, and to form in order of battle on the center corps—my own. The movements of these columns were delayed, and General Buell, apprehensive of an attack while the center corps was isolated, directed me to select a strong position, and my troops were soon moving out of their camps and taking positions for the main attack, which it was supposed would come on about 10 o'clock. As that hour drew near, I observed, in visiting General Sheridan's ground, that a part of it was vacant, and that one of his brigades was in march on the road to Perryville, and the remainder were preparing to follow. On inquiry it was discovered that this movement was in consequence of some misunderstanding of orders. General Sheridan was directed to recall the brigade, resume his position, and limit himself to its defense until a general advance to attack in force should be ordered. To this order was added the explanation that General Buell was particularly solicitous that nothing be done to bring on a general engagement until after the junction of the flank corps.

General Sheridan lost no time in reestablishing his division on the ground to which he had been originally assigned. He had barely accomplished it when he was attacked in force and a fight ensued, in which the loss was severe on both sides. In the meantime the head of General McCook's corps, coming over the Mackville pike, appeared on the high ground marked

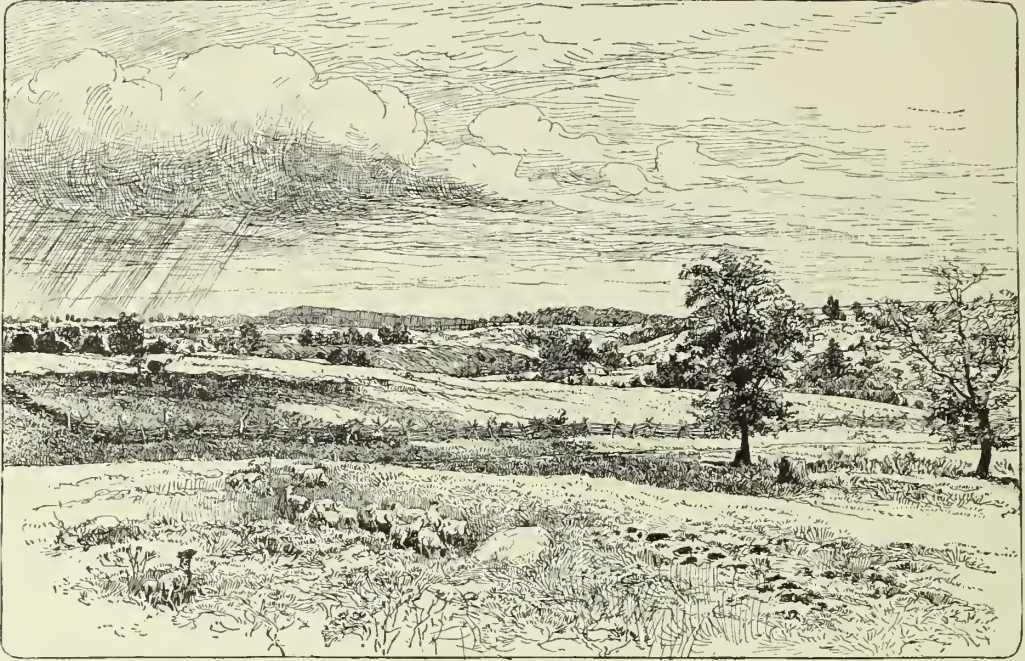


RIDGE ON THE UNION LEFT OCCUPIED BY STONE'S AND BUSH'S BATTERIES—THE SCENE OF STARKWEATHER'S CONTEST [SEE P. 58].
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH FROM THE DIRECTION OF ROUSSEAU'S LINE, TAKEN IN 1885.

by Russell's house, due north of Sheridan's position about one mile. This was about 10:30 A. M. Marking out his line of battle, General McCook ordered General Rousseau to form it. Loomis's battery was established on a commanding piece of ground near Russell's house, and to the left of it. General Rousseau had been previously ordered to send a line of skirmishers to the left



TREE NEAR WHERE GENERAL
JAMES S. JACKSON FELL.



VIEW LOOKING NORTH-EAST FROM THE POSITION OF LOOMIS'S BATTERY, THE CENTER OF ROUSSEAU'S LINE [SEE MAP, P. 24, AND NOTE ON P. 55]. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN 1885.

and front to examine some wood on that quarter, and Captain Wickliffe, with his company of cavalry, was sent to reconnoiter the ground to the left of this line of skirmishers. At this time there was some light skirmishing going on with Sheridan's division, at the head of the center corps, which was still in column, as previously described; but this soon ceased, and General McCook was satisfied that the enemy he found engaging my corps when he arrived had retired from the field.

McCook's corps, as previously related, had been ordered to march at 3 A. M., but it was 2:30 A. M. before the order reached General McCook, and his march began at 5 A. M. McCook had with him then two divisions, Rousseau's and Jackson's. Rousseau's division took the lead on the march, but when it arrived at Perryville only two of the brigades were present — the remaining one, Starkweather's, having been thrown to the rear by the interposition of Jackson's division, which cut it off at Mackville. Without waiting for the arrival of this brigade, General McCook, after giving his assistant adjutant-general particular instructions to post Jackson's two brigades on a commanding piece of ground immediately to the right of the Mackville and Perryville road, and to hold them in column so that they could be moved in any direction as occasion required, turned over the command to General Rousseau, and galloped off to report to General Buell at headquarters. Buell was in my camp, on the Springfield pike about two and a half miles distant from McCook's position on the Mackville pike. At half-past 12 the Confederates advanced, and in a few moments the skirmishers and artillery were engaged. The attack fell upon Sheridan's division at the head of my corps and upon



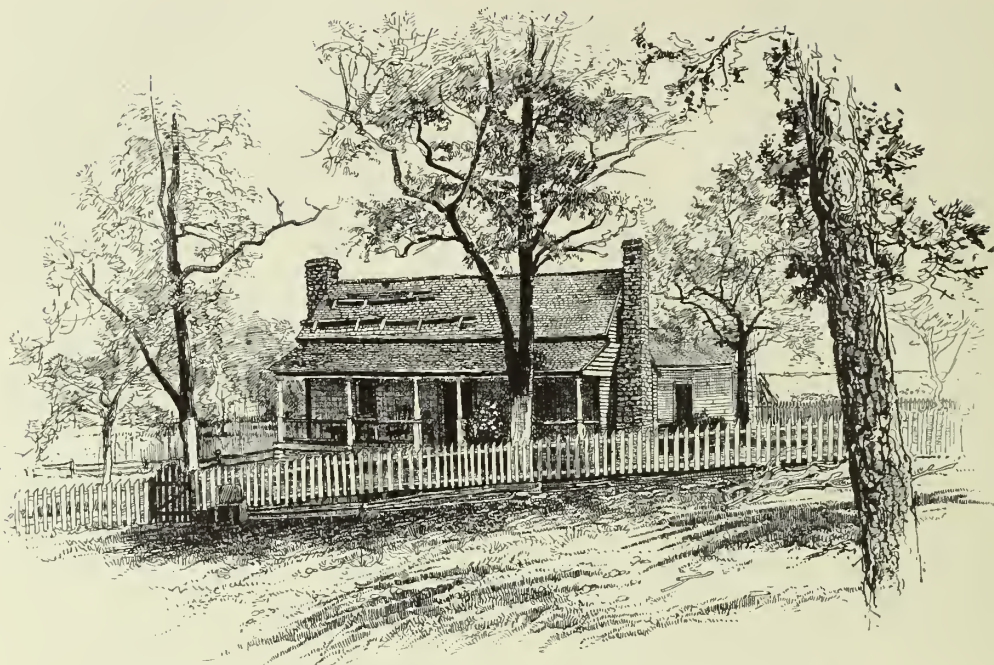
POSITION OF LOOMIS'S BATTERY ON ROUSSEAU'S LINE, LOOKING ACROSS DOCTOR'S CREEK.
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN 1885.

Loomis's battery occupied the highest part of the ridge above H. P. Bottom's house, at about the center of Rousseau's line (see map, p. 24). Lytle's brigade extended from the battery across the old Mackville pike to the "burnt barn." Lytle's brigade was assailed from the direction of Bottom's house, and from the right

flank. The attack upon the position held by Loomis's battery was made chiefly from the ridge in the middle distance of the picture on page 54. The Confederates gained the north-east side of that ridge by following down the dry bed of Doctor's Creek under the shelter of its west bank.—EDITORS.

the head of McCook's corps, now advancing from its first position at Russell's house down the slope toward Chaplin River.

When General McCook returned to his troops after having reported at headquarters, he found that General Rousseau had advanced the right of the line about eight hundred or a thousand yards, and was occupying a commanding ridge which was to the left of the Mackville and Perryville pike. The enemy was firing on this line from three batteries, and Loomis's and Simonson's batteries were replying. As there was no Confederate infantry in sight McCook ordered the firing to cease, so as to economize ammunition, and then prepared to make a reconnoissance toward Chaplin River for water, as he had just been ordered to do by General Buell. Riding off to the left, General McCook found a commanding ridge about six hundred yards from the stream and overlooking it. Sending for Generals Jackson and Terrill, he showed them the water, marked his line of battle, and placed a battery on it with strong supports. General Terrill was then ordered to advance a body of skirmishers down the slope to the water as soon as the line was formed. Not being apprehensive of an attack, General McCook then went back to his right. It was now nearly 2 o'clock. At this time the line of the left corps stood with its right on the Mackville and Perryville pike near the crossing of Doctor's Creek and its left near Chaplin River, its direction being about due north and south. It was formed of two brigades of Rousseau's division



FARM-HOUSE OF H. P. BOTTOM. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN 1885.

The farm-house stands near Doctor's Creek, under the ridge occupied by Rousseau; and the view is from the old Mackville pike. [See map, p. 24.]

(Lytle's and Harris's) and Terrill's brigade of Jackson's division. Webster's brigade of Jackson's division had not yet come into position, and Stark-weather's brigade of Rousseau's division had not yet reached the field.

Just previously to this the enemy, in pursuance of his plan of attack, had begun to engage Sheridan's division, the head of the center corps. Mitchell's division was at that time closing up to take position within supporting distance of Sheridan. Caldwell's and Carlin's brigades of this division were to the right and rear, under cover, and Gooding's brigade was north of Doctor's Creek, near the stream. In this position the latter covered Sheridan's left, and watched the interval between the two corps so long as the left corps remained in its place in line of battle, and before it advanced to the front. As Mitchell came into his position on the second line, the enemy appeared on his right in force and engaged Carlin's brigade, but were repulsed. It was now nearing half-past 2, and the enemy's entire line, from his left, where the attack began on Sheridan, to his right, where it fell in heaviest force on Rousseau, was in full progress, carrying everything before it. When Sheridan's assailants reached his main line he gave them a reception, cool, effective, and disastrous, and when their repulse was complete a brigade from the second line (Carlin's), which had been called up to assist in the defense, pursued the enemy to Perryville, thus turning his left and establishing itself on his rear. General Sheridan's action was according to the sound principles of the profession, and, as he was amply and promptly supported, the operations on this part of the field, in which he had the lead, were fully successful,

and his conduct here foreshadowed the exceptionally successful career that lay before him.

General McCook was assailed by greatly superior numbers. His brigades, which General Rousseau had put in motion to the front in his absence, were surprised on the march by General Bragg's attack, and were taken in the act of forming, and on ground favorable to the attacking party. Rousseau's right brigade, the extreme right of the left corps, was attacked with great severity and pertinacity. Terrill's brigade on the left, and Starkweather's, which had now arrived, were in turn heavily assailed. Being composed of entirely raw troops, Terrill's brigade in a few moments gave way in confusion, losing Parsons's battery of eight Napoleon guns. General Jackson, who was with this brigade, was killed at the first fire. General Terrill did all in his power to steady his men, but in vain. An hour and a half later, while still striving to rally his broken troops, he was mortally wounded.† Starkweather's brigade and Stone's and Bush's batteries were on the extreme left and rear of Terrill's brigade, and checked the attack.

General McCook, perceiving that he was assailed by at least three times his number, sent an aide-de-camp, Lieutenant L. M. Hosea, to General Sheridan, requesting him to look to the right of his line and see that it was not turned. Just at this time Sheridan had his attention fully occupied with his own right, where two opposing batteries were in position, and troops were massing behind them to attack him front and flank. About half an hour later McCook sent Captain H. N. Fisher, of his staff, to General Schoepf, commanding the reserve of my corps, with an urgent request for reënforcement, reporting that his reserves were all exhausted and his corps upon the point of being compromised. General Schoepf was at the time on the march to the front with two of his brigades (Walker's and Steedman's), and although desirous of rendering assistance, he declined to take the responsibility of changing his line of march. He referred the officer to me, but I was at the time at General Buell's headquarters, where I had been since noon.

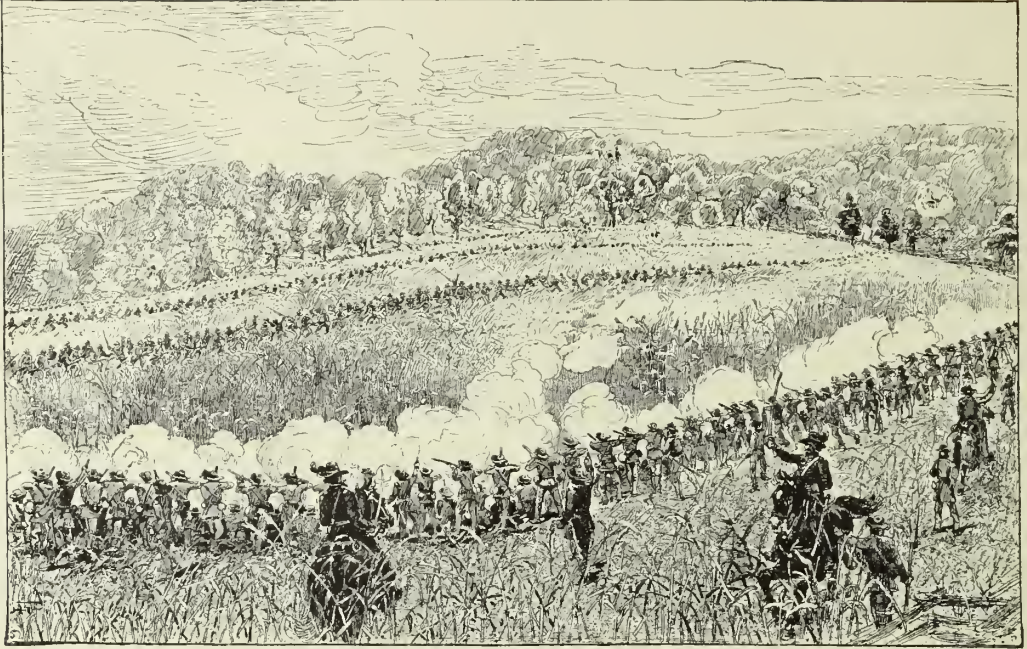
Owing to the conformation of the ground and to the limited use of artillery on both sides, no sound of the battle had been heard at General Buell's headquarters until the attack reached General Sheridan's position, which was about half-past 3 o'clock. Then the cannon firing became so continuous and was so well sustained and so different from the irregular shots, at wide intervals, which had characterized the "shelling of the woods" earlier in the day, that it was readily recognized as a battle. It was near 4 o'clock when there came up the valley of Doctor's Creek the sound of rapid artillery firing. It was too heavy and too well sustained to come from merely "shelling the woods." Listening attentively for a moment, General Buell said to me, "That is something more than shelling the woods; it sounds like a fight." I at once mounted and set off at a rapid pace down the

† Colonel Charles Denby, of the 42d Indiana regiment, says:

"It is curious that the night before the battle [of Perryville] Generals Jackson and Terrill and Colonel Webster were discussing the chances of being hit in

an engagement. Their opinion was that men would never be frightened if they considered the doctrine of probabilities and how slight the chance was of any particular person being killed. Theory failed, as it has often done before; all three were killed in the next day's fight."

EDITORS.



ENGAGEMENT OF STARKWEATHER'S BRIGADE ON THE EXTREME UNION LEFT. FROM A LITHOGRAPH.

General John C. Starkweather, in his official report, says that the brigade, consisting at the time of the 24th Illinois, 1st and 21st Wisconsin, and 79th Pennsylvania, "arrived on the field of battle at about 1:30 P. M., having marched twelve miles—about three miles thereof being through fields, woods, etc. Finding the troops already engaged well on the right, center, and left, and thinking the extreme left position most accessible, and, from

appearances, one that should be held at all hazards, I placed my command at once in position facing the enemy's right." General McCook, in his report on the part taken by Starkweather's brigade, says that the 21st Wisconsin was stationed "in a corn-field, lying down, awaiting the approach of the enemy, and when he approached with his overwhelming force this new regiment poured into his ranks a most withering fire."

road in the direction of the firing. Within a mile I met Captain Fisher coming at full speed and bearing General McCook's message. Instead of sending Captain Fisher back to General McCook with my answer to his appeal for help, I advised him to continue on and bear to General Buell the astounding news, and at once sent orders to Schoepf to go to the interval between the two corps,—on the left of Sheridan,—and to Mitchell to close toward Sheridan's right and support him. Directing my course toward the left, I found Gooding's brigade of Mitchell's division still standing to the left of Doctor's Creek, and at once put it in motion to the right to join the main body of the division and be nearer Sheridan, who had just reported that he was hard pressed in front and that the enemy was driving our left wing. General Schoepf was now on the ground with his leading brigade (Walker's). This he was ordered to deploy, to replace Gooding. In the midst of these movements, another staff-officer, Captain W. T. Hoblitzell, came from the left corps for help, with the information that the troops, though fighting stubbornly, were falling back everywhere, and that if assistance was not speedily afforded they must soon be driven from the field.

Up to this moment the fighting with Sheridan had been growing in intensity, and judging from the sound that it must soon culminate, I detained Captain Hoblitzell to await the issue. It was soon perceived that the firing was diminishing, and as there were no signs of defeat on our side, I turned

to Walker's brigade to send it over to the left wing, when I discovered it had not yet deployed, and, moreover, did not seem to be sufficiently familiar with the tactics to make the simplest movements with promptness and intelligence. Accordingly I sent my adjutant-general, Captain J. E. Stacy, to recall Gooding and order him to proceed under the guidance of Captain Hoblitzell to report to General McCook. Gooding took with him Pinney's Wisconsin battery. Within twenty minutes after receiving the order, Gooding made himself felt on the flank of the Confederates, who had thus far been steadily driving Rousseau's troops back toward the Russell House. Within a few minutes after this brigade had started, Sheridan, having repulsed his assailants, turned his guns and opened fire across the valley of Doctor's Creek on Rousseau's assailants, who, in their advance, had come to present their flank within easy range, and from his commanding position he delivered a fire so effective as to force back the enemy in this part of the field, to the great relief of the right of General McCook's line. Just after Sheridan's artillery opened, General Steedman came up with his brigade of Schoepf's division and kept on his course down Doctor's Creek. The enemy had now been so far driven from McCook's front that they were beyond the reach of Steedman's infantry; but, passing under the fire of Sheridan's guns, Steedman halted and opened to the left with Smith's battery of his brigade.

Viewed from the Confederate stand-point, the battle of Perryville appears to have consisted of an attempt to turn the left flank of the Union line, in which, for the distance of a thousand or twelve hundred yards, the assailants drove all before them. At this juncture, after a fierce fight, the attack came to a stand, having expended its force, and the left of the Confederate line was now itself driven and turned, and its line of retreat threatened. This last the Confederates supposed had been effected by a fresh corps arriving on the field from the direction of Lebanon. In abandoning the battle-ground the Confederates, although obliged to leave their wounded behind, moved without any sense of humiliation, for they had made a good fight, and appeared only to be withdrawing from the presence of a greatly superior force.

From the Union side, the battle takes this appearance: The center corps, arriving on the ground alone on the afternoon of the 7th, met with considerable opposition in establishing itself in position. This opposition continued with only a brief interval till about 11 o'clock on the 8th, when the flank corps began to arrive on the line abreast of the center. After the lapse of about an hour four brigades from the left wing started to the front in quest of water. This movement coincided with the advance of the Confederates in full force to turn the left of the Union army. Those brigades were accordingly met and overpowered and driven back to their places in line, and some of them beyond it. But they made a most obstinate resistance. In the center corps the detachments thrown out to watch the approaches to the position held by the leading division were driven in, and that division was attacked in strong force and with great determination. But the assailants were repulsed and driven from the field, and then the center corps contributed about one-third of its effective force to the relief of the left wing and saved it from destruction.

NOTES OF A STAFF-OFFICER AT PERRYVILLE.†

BY J. MONTGOMERY WRIGHT, MAJOR, ASSISTANT ADJUTANT-GENERAL, U. S. V.

THE situation at Louisville in the latter part of September, 1862, was not unlike that at Washington after the first battle of Bull Run. The belief was entertained by many that Bragg would capture the city, and not a few had removed their money and valuables across the Ohio River, not over-assured that Bragg might not follow them to the lakes. Nelson had sworn that he would hold the city so long as a house remained standing or a soldier was alive, and he had issued an order that all the women, children, and non-combatants should leave the place and seek safety in Indiana. He had only raw troops and convalescent veterans, and few citizens believed that he could hold out against an attack. His tragic death occurred a few days later. ‡

Buell's arrival changed the situation of affairs. The uncertain defensive suddenly gave way to an aggressive attitude, and speculation turned from whether Bragg would capture Louisville to whether Buell would capture Bragg.

The country through which Buell's army marched is almost destitute of water, but at Perryville a stream flowed between the contending armies, and access to that water was equally important to both armies. Buell accompanied the center corps (Gilbert's), and the advance reached this stream on the evening of October 7th. From that time until the stream was crossed there was constant fighting for access to it, and the only restriction on this fighting was that it should not bring on an engagement until the time for the general attack should arrive. An incident will illustrate the scarcity of water. I obtained a canteenful, and about dark on October 7th, after giving myself a good brushing and a couple of dry rubs without feeling much cleaner, my careless announcement that I was about to take a tin-dipper bath brought General Buell out of his tent with a rather mandatory suggestion that I pour the water back into my canteen and save it for an emergency. The emergency did not come to

me, but on the morning of October 9th that water helped to relieve the suffering of some wounded men who lay between the two armies.

At Buell's headquarters, on the 8th, preparations were going on for the intended attack, and the information was eagerly waited for that Crittenden had reached his position on the right. Fighting for water went on in our front, and it was understood that it extended all along the line, but no battle was expected that day. McCook was at Buell's headquarters in the morning, and received, I believe, some oral instructions regarding the contemplated attack. It was understood that care would be taken not to bring on a general engagement, and no importance was attached to the sounds that reached us of artillery-firing at the front of the center. Of course the young officers of the staff, of whom I was one, were not taken into conference by General Buell, but we all knew that the subject of attention that morning was the whereabouts of Crittenden's corps, and the placing it in position on the right for the general engagement that was to be brought on as soon as the army was in line. We all saw McCook going serenely away like a general carrying his orders with him.

In the afternoon we moved out for a position nearer Crittenden, as I inferred from the direction taken. A message came from the line on the left center to General Buell, and in a few moments Colonel James B. Fry, our chief of staff, called me up, and sent me with an order to General Gilbert, commanding the center corps, to send at once two brigades to reinforce General McCook, commanding the left corps. Thus I came to be a witness to some of the curious features of Perryville.

I did not know what was going on at the left, and Colonel Fry did not inform me. He told me what to say to General Gilbert, and to go fast, and taking one of the general's orderlies with me, I

† Condensed from a paper in "The Southern Bivouac."
EDITORS.

‡ The facts in relation to the killing of General William Nelson by General Jefferson C. Davis are recounted by General James B. Fry in his pamphlet, "Killed by a Brother Soldier," from which the following account is condensed: Davis, who had been on sick leave in Indiana, hearing that general officers were needed about Cincinnati and Louisville to assist in repelling the invasion of Kirby Smith and Bragg, volunteered his services, and was sent by General H. G. Wright at Cincinnati to report to Nelson at Louisville. The latter assigned to Davis the work of arming the citizens of Louisville. A day or two afterward Davis called at Nelson's headquarters in the Galt House. Nelson inquired, "Well, Davis, how are you getting along with your command?" Davis replied, "I don't know," and gave similar answers to two or three questions as to the number of regiments and companies he had organized. Nelson, who was angered by his seeming indifference, rose and said, "But you should know. I am disappointed in you, General Davis; I selected you for this duty because you were an officer of the regular army,

but I find I made a mistake." Davis replied, deliberately, "General Nelson, I am a regular soldier, and I demand the treatment due to me as a general officer." Dr. Irwin, Nelson's medical director, was called in by Davis to be a witness to the altercation. In his presence Nelson repeated the reprimand, and ordered Davis to report to General Wright at Cincinnati. Davis replied, "You have no authority to order me." Nelson turned to his adjutant-general and said, "Captain, if General Davis does not leave the city by 9 o'clock to-night, give instructions to the provost-marshal to see that he is put across the Ohio." Davis was highly incensed by the manner and bearing of Nelson. He withdrew, and that night reported to Wright in Cincinnati. When Buell reached Louisville on September 25th, Wright ordered Davis to return and report to Buell. He arrived at the Galt House on the morning of September 29th. Nelson, after breakfast, was standing in the hotel office, and was leaning against the counter when he was approached by Davis in company with Governor Oliver P. Morton, of Indiana. Davis accosted Nelson with the remark that Nelson had insulted him at the last meeting and that he must have satisfaction. Nelson told him

started on my errand. I found General Gilbert at the front, and as he had no staff-officer at hand at the moment, he asked me to go to General Schoepf, one of his division commanders, with the order. Schoepf promptly detached two brigades, and he told me I had better go on ahead and find out where they were to go. There was no sound to direct me, and as I tried to take an air line I passed outside the Union lines and was overtaken by a cavalry officer, who gave me the pleasing information that I was riding toward the enemy's pickets. Now up to this time I had heard no sound of battle; I had heard no artillery in front of me, and no heavy infantry-firing. I rode back, and passed behind the cavalry regiment which was deployed in the woods, and started in the direction indicated to me by the officer who called me back. At some distance I overtook an ambulance train, urged to its best speed, and then I knew that something serious was on hand. This was the first intimation I had that one of the fiercest struggles of the war was at that moment raging almost within my sight.

Directed by the officers in charge of the ambulances I made another detour, and pushing on at greater speed I suddenly turned into a road, and there before me, within a few hundred yards, the battle of Perryville burst into view, and the roar of the artillery and the continuous rattle of the musketry first broke upon my ear. It was the finest spectacle I ever saw. It was wholly unexpected, and it fixed me with astonishment. It was like tearing away a curtain from the front of a great picture, or the sudden bursting of a thunder-cloud when the sky in front seems serene and clear. I had seen an unlooked-for storm at sea, with hardly a moment's notice, hurl itself out of the clouds and lash the ocean into a foam of wild rage. But here there was not the warning of an instant. At one bound my horse carried me from stillness into the uproar of battle. One turn from a lonely bridle-path through the woods brought me face to face with the bloody struggle of thousands of men.

to go away. Davis pressed his demand and Nelson said, "Go away, you—puppy. I don't want anything to do with you." Davis, who had picked up a blank visiting card and had squeezed it into a ball as he was talking, responded to the insulting words by flipping the card into Nelson's face. Nelson then slapped Davis in the face and said to Governor Morton, "Did you come here, sir, to see me insulted?" "No," replied Morton, whereupon Nelson walked toward his room on the office floor. After the slap Davis asked for a pistol, and a friend borrowed one and handed it to Davis, who started toward Nelson's room and met him in the corridor near the foot of the staircase, apparently on his way to Buell's apartment upstairs. When a yard apart Davis fired. Nelson walked upstairs and fell in the hall near Buell's door. To the proprietor of the hotel Nelson said, "Send for a clergyman; I wish to be baptized. I have been basely murdered." General T. L. Crittenden, who was at the breakfast table, hurried to the corridor, and, taking Nelson's hand, said, "Nelson, are you seriously hurt?" Nelson replied, "Tom, I am murdered." When Surgeon Robert Murray arrived Nelson was lying on the floor of a room near where he had fallen, insensible. The small pistol-ball entered just over the heart.

Waiting for news to carry back, I saw and heard some of the unhappy occurrences of Perryville. I saw young Forman, with the remnant of his company of the 15th Kentucky regiment, withdrawn to make way for the reinforcements, and as they silently passed me they seemed to stagger and reel like men who had been beating against a great storm. Forman had the colors in his hand, and he and several of his little group of men had their hands upon their chests and their lips apart as though they had difficulty in breathing. They filed into a field, and without thought of shot or shell they lay down on the ground apparently in a state of exhaustion. I joined a mounted group about a young officer, and heard Runsey Wing, one of Jackson's volunteer aides, telling of that general's death and the scattering of the raw division he commanded. I remembered how I had gone up to Shiloh with Terrill's battery in a small steamer, and how, as the first streak of daylight came, Terrill, sitting on the deck near me, had recited a line about the beauty of the dawn, and had wondered how the day would close upon us all. I asked about Terrill, who now commanded a brigade, and was told that he had been carried to the rear to die. I thought of the accomplished, good, and brave Parsons,—whom I had seen knocked down seven times in a fight with a bigger man at West Point, without ever a thought of quitting so long as he could get up, and who lived to take orders in the church, and die at Memphis of the yellow fever, ministering to the last to the spiritual wants of his parishioners,—and I asked about Parsons's battery. His raw infantry support had broken, and stunned by the disaster that he thought had overtaken the whole army, he stood by his guns until every horse and every man had gone, and the enemy was almost touching him, and had been dragged away at last by one of his men who had come back to the rescue. His battery was a wreck and no one knew then where he was. And so the news came in of men I knew and men with friends about me.

In less than an hour Nelson was dead. General Fry was in the grand hall of the hotel at the time of the encounter. On hearing the sound of the pistol he made his way through the crowd that had surrounded Davis and arrested him in the name of General Buell. Fry took Davis's arm, and they went to Davis's room on an upper floor. When the door was closed Davis said he wanted to relate the facts while they were fresh in his mind, and among other details mentioned the flipping of the paper into Nelson's face. General Gilbert was appointed to succeed Nelson, and two days afterward the army marched for Perryville. Buell could not then spare officers for a court-martial, and suggested to Halleck that a trial by commission appointed from Washington should take place immediately. As no charges were preferred against Davis within the period fixed by military rules, he was released by order of General Wright.

On October 27th, 1862, General Davis was indicted by a grand jury for manslaughter, and was admitted to bail in the sum of five thousand dollars. The case was continued from time to time until May 24th, 1864, when "it was stricken from the docket, with leave to reinstate."—EDITORS.

CUMBERLAND GAP.

BY GEORGE W. MORGAN, BRIGADIER-GENERAL, U. S. V.

ON the 11th of April, 1862, with the Seventh Division of the Army of the Ohio under my command, I arrived at Cumberland Ford with orders from General Buell to take Cumberland Gap, fourteen miles to the southward, and occupy east Tennessee, if possible; if not, then to prevent the Confederates from advancing from that direction. [See map, p. 6.] This movement and Mitchel's advance into northern Alabama formed detached parts of the general plan of operations arranged between General Buell and General Halleck.

The division under my command consisted of four brigades, commanded by Brigadier-Generals Samuel P. Carter and James G. Spears, Colonel John F. De Courcy, 16th Ohio regiment, and Colonel John Coburn, 33d Indiana regiment. (Coburn's brigade was afterward commanded by Brigadier-General Absalom Baird.) During the preceding winter, Carter had occupied a position near the ford and threatening the Gap.

The condition of Carter's brigade was deplorable. The winter's storms, converting the narrow roads into torrents, had practically cut him off from his base of supplies, and, in spite of all he could do, his troops were half-famished and were suffering from scurvy. Of the 900 men of the 49th Indiana regiment, only 200 were fit for duty.

Reconnoissances at once satisfied me that the fastness could not be taken by a direct attack, nor without immense loss. I determined to try to force the enemy to abandon his stronghold by strategy.

The position of the Confederate commander in east Tennessee, Major-General E. Kirby Smith, was a difficult one. A large majority of the people of east Tennessee were devoted to the Union, and the war there had become a vendetta. The Union men regarded the Confederates as criminals, and were in turn denounced by the Confederates as insurgents. Kirby Smith recommended the arrest and incarceration in Southern prisons of leading citizens, not in arms, as a means of converting the majority to the Southern cause.†

For a distance of eighteen miles north of Big Creek Gap, a pass southwest of Cumberland Gap, the Confederates had heavily blockaded the narrow and abrupt defiles along that route. The work of clearing the blockades was thoroughly done. But while Spears was thus engaged Kirby Smith advanced with a large force of infantry through a bridle-path called Woodson's Gap, to cut him off. The attempt might well have succeeded but for the

† On our side acts not less vigorous were resorted to. A few days after our occupation of Cumberland Gap, June 18th, General Spears, without authority, sent out in the night, captured and wanted to hang a number of Confederate citizens, whose offense

was that they had arrested T. A. R. Nelson, while on his way to take his seat in the United States Congress, and had sent him to Richmond. Their lives were saved by my interposition, and they were sent as prisoners to Indianapolis.—G. W. M.

heroic act of Mrs. Edwards, a noble woman, whose heart was wholly in the Union cause, although she had a son in each of the opposing armies. Well mounted, she passed the mountains by another path, and, by incredible efforts, reached my headquarters in time to enable me to send couriers at full speed with orders for Spears to fall back toward Barbourville, until his scouts should report that Smith had recrossed the mountains.

In order to succeed in the task committed to me it was necessary to compel Kirby Smith, who was at this time concentrating his whole army in my immediate front, to divide his forces. To this end I urged General Buell to direct General O. M. Mitchel to threaten Chattanooga, and thus draw the main force of the Confederates in that direction.

About four miles south of Cumberland Ford is a narrow defile formed by an abrupt mountain on one side, and the Cumberland River on the other, through which passes the State Road to Cumberland Gap, and on the edge of the defile was an abandoned cabin, known as "The Moss House," situated at the junction of the State Road and a pathway leading to Lambdin's on the main road to Big Creek Gap. On the morning of May 22d I sent forward the brigade of De Courey, with a battery, with orders to occupy the defile, and, as a stratagem intended to puzzle Smith, to construct a fort at the junction of the pathway and road.

I threw forward a strong party of pioneers to widen the path leading to Lambdin's, so as to enable my artillery and train to move forward. The mountain was steep and rugged, and skill and toil were necessary to the accomplishment of the work. Twenty-two guns, 2 of them 30-pounder and 2 20-pounder Parrott's, had to be dragged over the Pine and Cumberland mountains, at times by means of block and tackle, at others by putting in as many horses as could be used, and again by men—200 at a single piece—hauling with drag-ropes. The pathway leading from the Moss House had been made the width of a wagon, but two teams could not pass each other there.

On the 6th and 7th of June Buell caused diversions to be made by an advance of part of Mitchel's command to the river opposite Chattanooga, and Smith, with two brigades, hastened to its rescue. The brigade of De Courey had gone forward; Baird occupied the defile at the Moss House, and Carter was assigned to hold the defile till the last moment, and then



BRIGADIER-GENERAL GEORGE W. MORGAN.
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

bringing up the rear of the column. On the 9th of June General Buell telegraphed me from Booneville, Mississippi:

"The force now in Tennessee is so small that no offensive operation against east Tennessee can be attempted, and you must therefore depend mainly on your own resources."

And on the 10th:

"Considering your force and that opposed to you, it will probably not be safe for you to undertake any offensive operations. Other operations will soon have an influence on your designs, and it is better for you to run no risk at present."

It was, however, next to impossible to change my plans at this moment, and move back on a road such as described. We therefore continued to toil forward over the almost impassable mountains.

Thinking that the series of feints against Chattanooga that were being made at my request indicated an advance in force, Kirby Smith now concentrated for defense at that point, after evacuating Cumberland Gap and removing the stores. This was just what I wanted. On the evening of the 17th of June, General Carter L. Stevenson of the Confederate forces sent Colonel J. E. Rains to cover the evacuation of Cumberland Gap,[‡] which had been commenced on the afternoon of that day; Rains withdrew in the night and marched toward Morristown. Unaware of that fact, at 1 o'clock on the morning of June 18th we advanced in two parallel columns, of two brigades each, to attack the enemy; but while the troops were at breakfast I learned from a Union man who had come along the valley road that Rains had withdrawn and that the gap was being evacuated. The advance was at once sounded, the Seventh Division pressed forward, and four hours after the evacuation by the Confederates the flag of the Union floated from the loftiest pinnacle of the Cumberland Range. The enemy had carried away his field-guns, but had left seven of his heavy cannon in position, dismantling the rest.

At the request of Carter, his brigade was sent forward in pursuit of the enemy as far as Tazewell, but the enemy had fallen back south-eastward to the Clinch Mountains. Cumberland Gap was ours without the loss of a single life. Secretary Stanton telegraphed the thanks of the President, and General Buell published a general order in honor of this achievement of the Seventh Division.

Lieutenant (now Colonel) William P. Craigbill, of the Corps of Engineers, a soldier of distinguished merit and ability, was sent by Secretary Stanton to strengthen the fortifications at the Gap, and he soon rendered them impregnable against attack.

My hope and ambition now was to advance against Knoxville and arouse the Union men of east Tennessee to arms. I urgently asked for two additional brigades of infantry, a battery, and two regiments of cavalry, and, thus reënforced, pledged myself to sweep east Tennessee of the Confederates. My guns were increased from 22 to 28, and a battery of east Tennessee artillery was organized, commanded by Lieutenant Daniel Webster, of Forster's 1st Wis-

[‡] The Confederate forces covering the mountain and river passes north of Knoxville at this time were under General C. L. Stevenson, First Division, Department of East Tennessee.—EDITORS.



PLAN OF THE CONFEDERATE WORKS AT CUMBERLAND GAP, JUNE 14, 1862.
FROM A DRAWING BY CAPTAIN W. F. PATTERSON.

consin battery. Four thousand stand of arms, destined for east Tennessee, but left at Nicholasville and Crab Orchard during the winter on account of the impassable state of the roads, were now sent forward to Cumberland Gap with a large supply of ammunition, and magazines and an arsenal were got ready for them. A vast store-house, capable of containing supplies for 20,000 men for 6 months, was also built by Captain W. F. Patterson. The nerves and muscles of every man were stretched to the utmost tension, and the Gap became a vast workshop. Captain S. B. Brown, assistant quartermaster and acting commissary of subsistence, a man of fine intelligence and great energy, put on the road in small trains over four hundred wagons, and by this means the various munitions of war were dragged from the blue-grass region through the wilderness to Cumberland Gap.

Colonel De Courcy and Captain Joseph Edgar (afterward killed in action under De Courcy at Tazewell) were detailed as instructors of tactics for the officers of the new regiments of east Tennessee troops, who were brave, ambitious men and anxious to learn. Forage was collected with difficulty by armed parties.

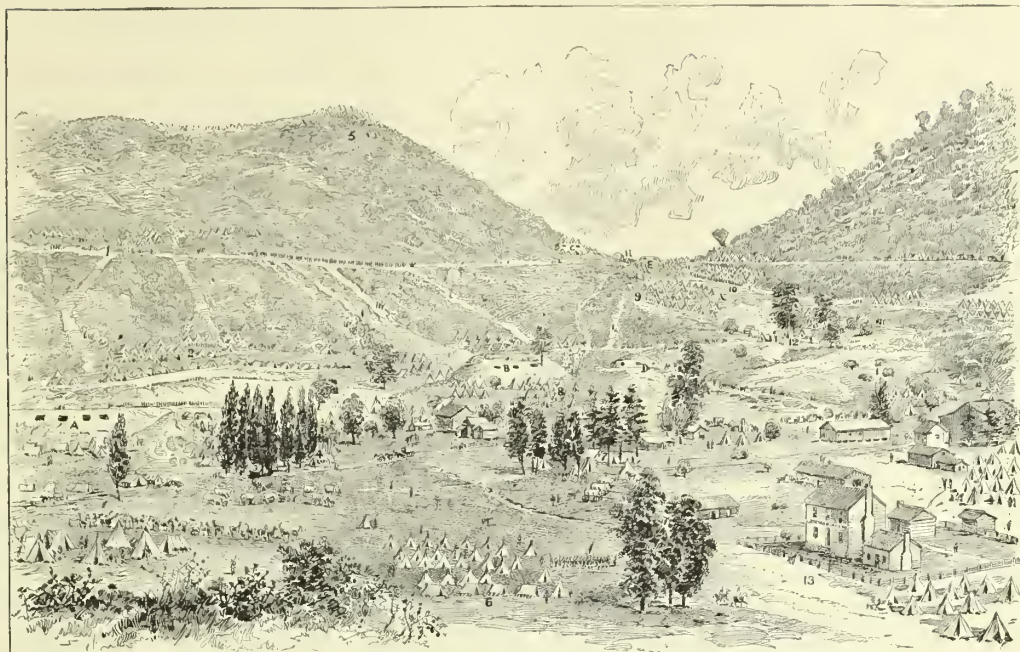
About the middle of August Stevenson went into position in my immediate front. On the morning of the 17th I received intelligence, probable in its character, that Stevenson would attempt to carry the Gap that night. At

2:30 A. M. on the 18th reveille was sounded, and the lines were manned, but the enemy did not attack. It was evident that he intended a siege.

On the 16th Kirby Smith crossed the mountains south of us, into Kentucky, occupied Cumberland Ford, and sent a demand for the surrender of the Gap, to which I replied: "If you want this fortress, *come and take it.*"

Smith's position was critical. He had no base of supplies; the valley in which his troops were concentrated was soon exhausted; the longer he delayed pushing toward the blue-grass region, the greater would be the force he would have to meet on reaching there. Having completely cut me off from my base, he therefore pushed forward toward Lexington, leaving Stevenson still in front of me.

The Confederates were invading Kentucky in three columns: Bragg on the left, Smith in the center, Humphrey Marshall on the right, while John H. Morgan hovered like an eagle on the wing, ready to pounce upon any weak point. They now regarded the capture or destruction of my division as certain. Our situation was indeed critical. We had been three months in this isolated position. Our only reasonable hope of succor had been destroyed by the defeat and dispersion of Nelson's force at Richmond on the 30th of August. [See p. 4.] We were destitute of forage. The horses of the 9th Ohio Battery literally starved to death, and their skeletons were dragged outside the lines. Our supplies of food were rapidly becoming exhausted. De Courey had been sent to Manchester, sixty miles distant, in the hope of obtaining supplies, but there was scarcely sufficient for his own brigade. Enveloped on every side by the enemy, absolutely cut off from my base of supplies, and with starvation staring us in the face, I assembled a council of war, and, stating the situation in a few words, asked for the opinions of the members. Spears, Carter, and Baird (De Courey being absent) gave it as their opinion, in which I concurred, that retreat was inevitable. In fact, I had already marked out in red chalk on the map of Kentucky my line of retreat, just as it was afterward carried out. Holding out the idea that we were seeking to obtain supplies by way of the barren wilderness through which I purposed to reach the Ohio, I had previously caused Lieutenant-Colonel George W. Gallup, of the 14th Kentucky, a soldier of rare merit, to send me at intervals men of his command familiar with the country through which each day's march would have to be made. The information given me by those brave mountaineers was discouraging. The want of water, the rugged character of the defiles, the almost absolute want of supplies, were stated by every one, but the opinion was expressed that a few wagons, laden with half a ton each, might get through. My topographical engineer, Captain Sidney S. Lyon, a man of fine intelligence and skill, had been the geologist of Kentucky, and was familiar with every foot of the State. Pointing out to him the region I had marked across the map I said, "Can I take my division by that route to the Ohio River?" "Yes, possibly, by abandoning the artillery and wagons." However, there was practically no choice. To retreat on Lexington would have placed my division, with its reduced numbers, between Stevenson in our immediate rear, Smith in our front, Bragg on our left, and Humphrey



VIEW OF CUMBERLAND GAP FROM THE SOUTH, SEPT. 14, 1862. FROM A LITHOGRAPH.

A, Battery No. 1; B, Battery No. 2; C, Fort McClellan; D, Battery No. 3; E, Fort Halleck; 1, 1st Tennessee Regt.; 2, 2d Tennessee; 5, 49th Indiana; 6, 14th Kentucky; 8, Headquarters Provost Guard; 9, 3d Kentucky; 10, 33d Indiana; 11, General Baird's Headquarters; 12, General Carter's Headquarters; 13, House used as General Morgan's Headquarters.

Marshall on our right, with the passes of the Wild Cat or of the Big Hill to overcome. I therefore determined to retreat by the red-chalk line, and at all hazards to take my artillery and wagons with me.†

Stevenson, who knew as well as I did that I must attempt a retreat, was vigilant and energetic. From a knob on the east flank of Baptist Gap, with the aid of a good telescope, he could see all that was going on in Cumberland Gap. His line was nearly a semicircle, the opposite points of the diameter resting on the mountain's base to the right and left of the Gap. His policy was to starve us out.

During the night of the 16th of September, a long train of wagons was sent toward Manchester under the convoy of Colonel Coburn's 33d Indiana, two companies of Garrard's 3d Kentucky regiment, and the 9th Ohio Battery. This entire night and the following day, every preparation was made for the retreat. Mines had been constructed to blow up the magazines and arsenal and fire the vast store-houses constructed and under construction. Everything moved with the precision of a well-constructed and well-oiled piece of machinery, until late in the afternoon of the 17th, when a report came from our signal station on the crest of the mountain that a flag of truce from the enemy was approaching. This was in reality a party of observation. I therefore sent Lieutenant-Colonel Gallup, with a small escort and a few shrewd officers, to meet the enemy's flag outside our picket lines. The officers on

† The retreat was made across Kentucky by the way of Manchester, Booneville, and West Liberty to Greenup on the Ohio River. [See map, p. 6.] — EDITORS.

either side were laughing and joking together, when suddenly a glare of fire shone from the valley at the foot of the Gap and a volume of smoke curled over Poor Valley Ridge. One of the Confederates exclaimed, "Why, Colonel, what does that mean? It looks like an evacuation." With admirable coolness and address Gallup replied, "Not much. Morgan has cut away the timber obstructing the range of his guns, and they are now burning the brush on the mountain-side." This off-hand explanation was apparently satisfactory, but the fact was that some reckless person had fired a quartermaster's building,—a criminal blunder that might have cost us dear.

On the night of the 17th, Gallup, with a body of picked men, was left to guard the three roads leading from the camps of Stevenson, and to fire the vast quartermaster buildings, as well as the enormous store-house, nearly completed, on the crest of the mountain, and near the gap. The arsenal, containing four thousand stand of small-arms, and a large amount of shells and grenades, had been mined, and trains had been laid to the magazines.

At 8 o'clock that night my command wheeled into column with the coolness and precision of troops on review; and without hurry, without confusion, with no loud commands, but with resolute confidence, the little army, surrounded by peril on every side, set out on its march of more than two hundred miles through the wilderness. Toward morning Gallup fired the vast buildings and the trains leading to the mines. The shock of the explosion was felt fourteen miles away; the flaming buildings lighted up the sky as though the Gap and mountain crests were a volcano on fire, and from time to time till after dawn we heard the explosion of mines, shells, or grenades. At Manchester we halted for a day and a half, to concentrate the command, and to organize for the march before us. A day or two before a soldier had murdered a comrade in cold blood, under circumstances of great aggravation. I had ordered a court to try him. The sentence, of course, was death, and at the very moment of the execution the firing of our troops could be heard repelling the dash of Stevenson's cavalry on the wagon train of Spears.

I fully expected to be met by the enemy in force at Proctor, where the deep and abrupt banks would have rendered the passage of the Kentucky River perilous and difficult if disputed. We accordingly moved by two nearly parallel roads, and the two columns reached Proctor almost simultaneously. I at once threw a brigade, with a battery, across the river, and gave the command half a day's rest. The previous day and night the ever-vigilant John H. Morgan, with his daring followers, had been at Proctor, had burned the steam flouring-mill and its valuable contents, and had then withdrawn to Irvine, thirteen miles away.

In order to deceive the enemy as to my intended line of march, I directed Captain George M. Adams, Commissary of Subsistence, to send an officer toward Mount Sterling with written authority to purchase supplies. He set out, wearing his uniform, and attended only by two or three soldiers, knowing with certainty that he would be taken prisoner, and his papers seized. He was, of course, captured, since the Confederates were concentrating at Mount Sterling, believing my objective point to be Maysville.

Two roads run from Proctor to Hazel Green : the Ridge road, then destitute of water, and the North Fork road, which had water, but which the torrents of the previous rainy season had greatly damaged and in parts destroyed. De Courey and Spears marched by the former, while Baird and Carter, with the wagon train, took the latter. It was largely through the energy of Baird that the wagon train was saved. After a day's halt at Hazel Green to rest and refresh the half-famished men and animals, the march was resumed toward West Liberty, supposed to be occupied by Humphrey Marshall. However, he was not there. During this march, John H. Morgan attacked the rear of De Courey's brigade and scattered a lot of cattle intended for the use of the retreating column. Morgan then passed around us and commenced blockading the defiles between West Liberty and Grayson and destroying everything that could feed man or beast. He did his work gallantly and well. Frequent skirmishes took place, and it several times happened that while the one Morgan was clearing out the obstructions at the entrance to a defile, the other Morgan was blocking the exit from the same defile with enormous rocks and felled trees. In the work of clearing away these obstructions, one thousand men, wielding axes, saws, picks, spades, and block and tackle, under the general direction of Captain William F. Patterson, commanding his company of engineer-mechanics, and of Captain Sidney S. Lyon, labored with skill and courage. In one instance they were forced to cut a new road through the forest for a distance of four miles in order to turn a blockade of one mile. At Grayson, however, on the 1st of October, John Morgan abandoned the contest, to seek a new field for the exercise of his superior partisan skill and high courage; and on the 3d we reached the Ohio River at Greenup [see map, p. 6], without the loss of a gun or a wagon, and with the loss of but eighty men. Not only that, but, as General Bragg states in his report, we had detained General Kirby Smith, and thus prevented the junction of the Confederate armies in Kentucky, long enough to save Louisville.

THE OPPOSING FORCES AT CUMBERLAND GAP, JUNE 17TH—18TH, 1862.

UNION FORCES.—SEVENTH DIVISION, ARMY OF THE OHIO. Brig.-Gen. George W. Morgan.

Twenty-fourth Brigade, Brig.-Gen. Samuel P. Carter: 49th Ind., Lieut.-Col. James Keigwin; 3d Ky., Col. T. T. Garrard; 1st Tenn., Col. Robert K. Byrd; 2d Tenn., Col. James P. T. Carter. *Twenty-fifth Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. James G. Spears: 3d Tenn., Col. Leonidas C. Houk; 4th Tenn., Col. Robert Johnson; 5th Tenn., Col. James T. Shelley; 6th Tenn., Col. Joseph A. Cooper. *Twenty-sixth Brigade*, Col. John F. De Courey: 22d Ky., Col. Daniel W. Lindsey; 16th Ohio, Lieut.-Col. George W. Bailey; 42d Ohio, Col. Lionel A. Sheldon. *Twenty-seventh Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. Absalom Baird: 33d Ind., Col. John Coburn; 14th Ky., Col. John C. Cochran; 19th Ky., Col. William J. Landrum. *Artillery*, Capt. Jacob T. Foster: 7th Mich., Capt. Charles H. Lanphere; 9th Ohio, Lieut. Leonard P. Barrows; 1st Wis., Lieut. John D. Anderson; Siege Battery, Lieut. Daniel Webster. *Cavalry*: Ky. Battalion, Lieut.-Col. Reuben Munday. *Ky. Engineers*, Capt. William F. Patterson.

CONFEDERATE FORCES.—Their composition is not stated in the "Official Records." During the month of July Brig.-Gen. Carter L. Stevenson, First Division, De-

partment of East Tennessee, was in position confronting Morgan at Cumberland Gap. The strength of this division was stated by General Kirby Smith on the 24th of the month to be 9000 effectives, "well organized and mobilized, and in good condition for active service." The organization on the 3d of July was as follows:

Second Brigade, Col. James E. Rains: 4th Tenn., Col. J. A. McMurry; 11th Tenn., Col. J. E. Rains; 42d Ga., Col. R. J. Henderson; 3d Ga. Battalion, Lieut.-Col. M. A. Stovall; 29th N. C., Col. R. B. Vance; Ga. Battery, Capt. J. G. Yeiser. *Third Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. S. M. Barton: 30th Ala., Col. C. M. Shelley; 31st Ala., Col. D. R. Hundley; 40th Ga., Col. A. Johnson; 52d Ga., Col. W. Boyd; 9th Ga. Battalion, Maj. J. T. Smith; Va. Battery, Capt. Joseph W. Anderson. *Fourth Brigade*, Col. A. W. Reynolds: 20th Ala., Col. I. W. Garrott; 36th Ga., Col. J. A. Glenn; 39th Ga., Col. J. T. McConnell; 43d Ga., Col. S. Harris; 39th N. C., Col. D. Coleman; 3d Md. Battery, Capt. H. B. Latrobe. *Fifth Brigade*, Col. T. H. Taylor: 23d Ala., Col. F. K. Beek; 46th Ala., Col. M. L. Woods; 3d Tenn., Col. J. C. Vanghn; 31st Tenn., Col. W. M. Bradford; 59th Tenn., Col. J. B. Cooke; Tenn. (Rhett) Battery, Capt. W. H. Burroughs.

THE BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG.

BY JAMES LONGSTREET, LIEUTENANT-GENERAL, C. S. A.



CONFEDERATE PICKET WITH BLANKET-CAPOTE
AND RAW-HIDE MOCCASINS.

IN the early fall of 1862, a distance of not more than thirty miles lay between the Army of the Potomac and the Army of Northern Virginia. A state of uncertainty had existed for several weeks succeeding the battle of Sharpsburg, but the movements that resulted in the battle of Fredericksburg began to take shape when on the 5th of November the order was issued removing General McClellan from command of the Federal forces.

The order assigning General Burnside to command was received at General Lee's headquarters, then at Culpeper Court House, about twenty-four hours after it reached Warrenton, though not through official courtesy. General Lee, on receiving the news, said he regretted to part with McClellan, "for," he added, "we always understood each other so well. I fear they may continue to make these changes till they find some one whom I don't understand."

The Federal army was encamped around Warrenton, Virginia, and was soon divided into three grand divisions, whose commanders were Generals Sumner, Hooker, and Franklin.

Lee's army was on the opposite side of the Rappahannock River, divided into two corps, the First commanded by myself and the Second commanded by General T. J. (Stonewall) Jackson. At that time the Confederate army extended from Culpeper Court House (where the First Corps was stationed) on its right across the Blue Ridge down the Valley of Virginia to Winchester. There Jackson was encamped with the Second Corps, except one division which was stationed at Chester Gap on the Blue Ridge Mountains.

About the 18th or 19th of November, we received information through our scouts that Sumner, with his grand division of more than thirty thousand men, was moving toward Fredericksburg. Evidently he intended to surprise us and cross the Rappahannock before we could offer resistance. On receipt of the information, two of my divisions were ordered down to meet him. We made a forced march and arrived on the hills around Fredericksburg about 3 o'clock on the afternoon of the 21st. Sumner had already arrived, and his army was encamped on Stafford Heights, overlooking the town from the Federal side. Before I reached Fredericksburg, General Patrick, provost-marshal-general, crossed the river under a flag of truce and put the people in a state of great excitement by delivering the following letter :

"HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, November 21st, 1862.

"TO THE MAYOR AND COMMON COUNCIL OF FREDERICKSBURG. GENTLEMEN: Under cover of the houses of your city, shots have been fired upon the troops of my command. Your mills and manufactories are furnishing provisions and the material for clothing for armed bodies in rebellion against the Government of the United States. Your railroads and other means of transportation are removing supplies to the depots of such troops. This condition of things

must terminate, and by direction of General Burnside I accordingly demand the surrender of your city into my hands, as the representative of the Government of the United States, at or before 5 o'clock this afternoon. Failing in an affirmative reply to this demand by the hour indicated, sixteen hours will be permitted to elapse for the removal from the city of women and children, the sick and wounded and aged, etc., which period having expired I shall proceed to shell the town. Upon obtaining possession of the city every necessary means will be taken to preserve order and secure the protective operation of the laws and policy of the United States Government. I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

“E. V. SUMNER,

“Brevet Major-General, U. S. Army, Commanding Right Grand Division.”

While the people were in a state of excitement over the receipt of this demand for the surrender of their town, my troops appeared upon the heights opposite those occupied by the Federals. The alarmed non-combatants heard of my arrival and immediately sent to me the demand of the Federal general. I stated to the town authorities that I did not care to occupy the place for military purposes and that there was no reason why it should be shelled by the Federal army. We were there to protect ourselves against the advance of the enemy, and could not allow the town to be occupied by the Federals. The mayor sent to General Sumner a satisfactory statement of the situation and was notified that the threatened shelling would not take place, since the Confederates did not purpose to make the town a base of military operations.

Before my troops reached the little city, and before the people of Fredericksburg knew that any part of the Confederate army was near, there was great excitement over the demand for surrender. No people were in the place except aged and infirm men, and women and children. That they should become alarmed when the surrender of the town was demanded by the Federals was quite natural, and a number proceeded with great haste to board a train then ready to leave. As the train drew out, Sumner's batteries on Stafford Heights opened fire on it, adding to the general terror, but fortunately doing no serious damage. The spectacle was nothing, however, to what we witnessed a short time after. About the 26th or 27th it became evident that Fredericksburg would be the scene of a battle, and we advised the people who were still in the town to prepare to leave, as they would soon be in danger if they remained. The evacuation of the place by the distressed women and helpless men was a painful sight. Many were almost destitute and had nowhere to go, but, yielding to the cruel necessities of war, they collected their portable effects and turned their backs on the town. Many were forced to seek shelter in the woods and brave the icy November nights to escape the approaching assault from the Federal army.

Very soon after I reached Fredericksburg the remainder of my corps arrived from Culpeper Court House, and as soon as it was known that all the Army of the Potomac was in motion for the prospective scene of battle Jackson was drawn down from the Blue Ridge. In a very short time the Army of Northern Virginia was face to face with the Army of the Potomac.

When Jackson arrived he objected to the position, not that he feared the result of the battle, but because he thought that behind the North Anna was

a point from which the most fruitful results would follow. He held that we would win a victory at Fredericksburg, but it would be a fruitless one to us, whereas at North Anna, when we drove the Federals back, we could give pursuit to advantage, which we could not do at Fredericksburg. General Lee did not entertain the proposition, however, and we continued our preparations to meet the enemy at the latter place. ☆

At a point just above the town, a range of hills begins, extending from the river edge out a short distance and bearing around the valley somewhat in

the form of a crescent. On the opposite side are the noted Stafford Heights, then occupied by the Federals. At the foot of these hills flows the Rappahannock River. On the Confederate side nestled Fredericksburg, and around it stretched the fertile bottoms from which fine crops had been gathered and upon which the Federal troops were to mass and give battle to the Confederates. On the Confederate side nearest the river was Taylor's Hill, and south of it the now famous Marye's Hill; next, Telegraph Hill, the highest of the elevations on the Confederate side (later known as Lee's Hill, because during the battle General Lee was there most of the time), where I had my headquarters in the field; next was a declination through which Deep Run Creek passed on its way to the Rappahannock River; and next was the gentle elevation at Hamilton's Crossing, not dignified with a



BRIGADIER-GENERAL MAXCY GREGG, C. S. A.,
KILLED AT FREDERICKSBURG.
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

name, upon which Stonewall Jackson massed thirty thousand men. It was upon these hills that the Confederates made their preparations to receive Burnside whenever he might choose to cross the Rappahannock. The Confederates were stationed as follows: On Taylor's Hill next the river and forming my left, R. H. Anderson's division; on Marye's Hill, Ransom's and McLaws's divisions; on Telegraph Hill, Pickett's division; to the right and about Deep Run Creek, Hood's division, the latter stretching across Deep Run Bottom.

☆ That General Lee was not quite satisfied with the place of battle is shown by a dispatch to the Richmond authorities on the second day after the battle, when it was uncertain what Burnside's next move would be. In that dispatch he says: "Should the enemy cross at Port Royal in force, before I can get this army in position to meet him, I think it more advantageous to retire to the Annas and give battle, than on the banks of the Rappahannock. My design was to have done so in the first instance. My purpose was changed not from any advantage in this position, but from

an unwillingness to open more of our country to depredation than possible, and also with a view of collecting such forage and provisions as could be obtained in the Rappahannock Valley. With the numerous army opposed to me, and the bridges and transportation at its command, the crossing of the Rappahannock, where it is narrow and winding as in the vicinity of Fredericksburg, can be made at almost any point without molestation. It will, therefore, be more advantageous to us to draw him farther away from his base of operations."

EDITORS.

On the hill occupied by Jackson's corps were the divisions of A. P. Hill, Early, and Taliaferro, that of D. H. Hill being in reserve on the extreme right. To the Washington Artillery, on Marye's Hill, was assigned the service of advising the army at the earliest possible moment of the Federal advance. General Barksdale, with his Mississippi brigade, was on picket duty in front of Fredericksburg on the night of the advance.

The hills occupied by the Confederate forces, although over-crowned by the heights of Stafford, were so distant as to be outside the range of effective fire by the Federal guns, and, with the lower receding grounds between them, formed a defensive series that may be likened to natural bastions. Taylor's Hill, on our left, was unassailable; Marye's Hill was more advanced toward the town, was of a gradual ascent and of less height than the others, and we considered it the point most assailable, and guarded it accordingly. The events that followed proved the correctness of our opinion on that point. Lee's Hill, near our center, with its rugged sides retired from Marye's and rising higher than its companions, was comparatively safe.

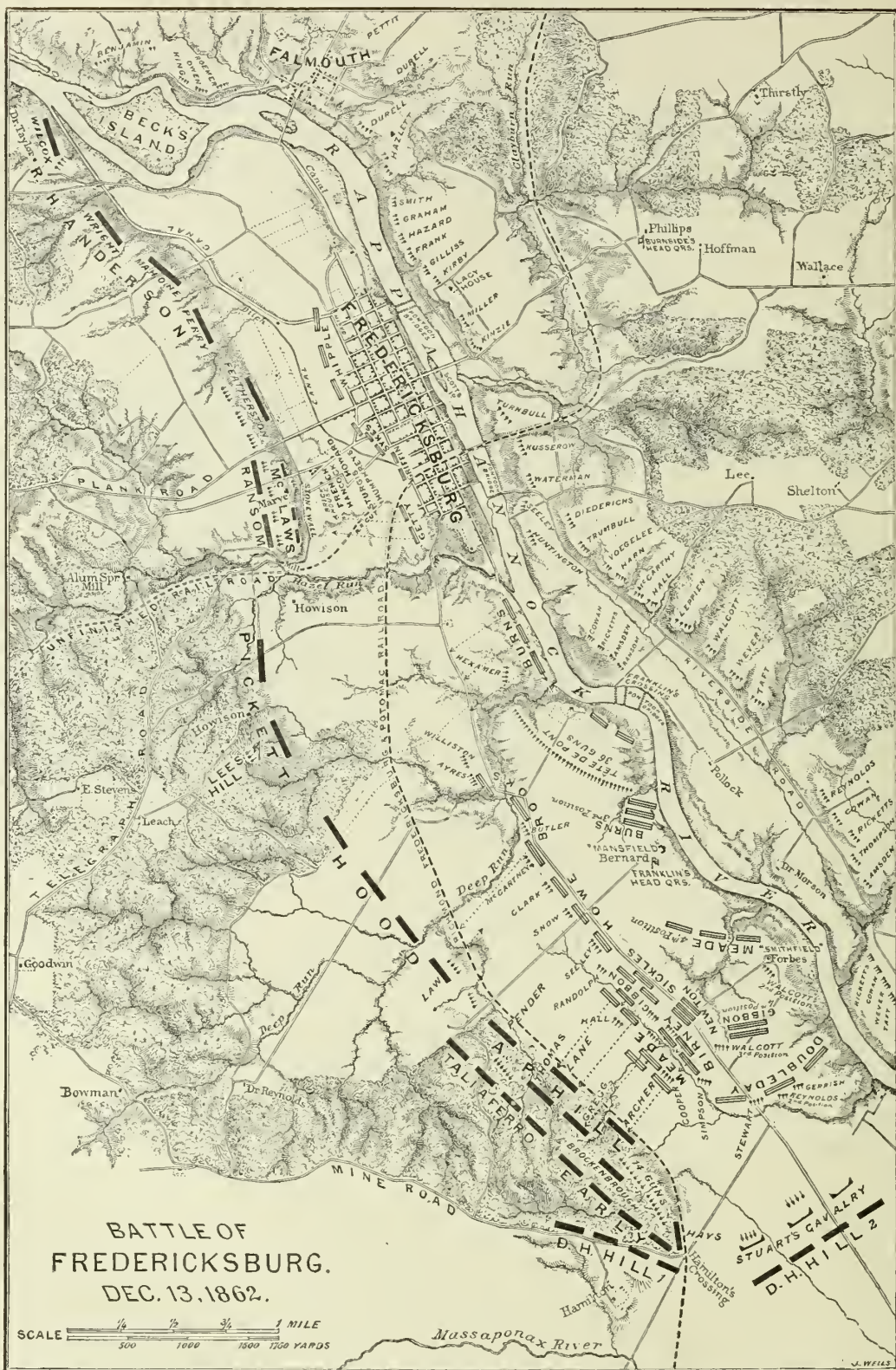
This was the situation of the 65,000 Confederates massed around Fredericksburg, and they had twenty-odd days in which to prepare for the approaching battle.

The Federals on Stafford Heights carefully matured their plans of advance and attack. General Hunt, chief of artillery, skillfully posted 147 guns to cover the bottoms upon which the infantry was to form for the attack, and at the same time play upon the Confederate batteries as circumstances would allow. Franklin and Hooker had joined Sumner, and Stafford Heights held the Federal army, 116,000 strong, watching the plain where the bloody conflict was soon to be. In the meantime the Federals had been seen along the banks of the river, looking for the most available points for crossing. President Lincoln had been down with General Halleck, and it had been suggested by the latter to cross at Hoop-pole Ferry, about 28 or 30 miles below Fredericksburg. We discovered the movement, however, and prepared to meet it, and Burnside abandoned the idea and turned his attention to Fredericksburg, under the impression that many of our troops were down at Hoop-pole, too far away to return in time for this battle.↓

The soldiers of both armies were in good fighting condition, and there was every indication that we would have a desperate battle. We were confident that Burnside could not dislodge us, and patiently awaited the attack.

On the morning of the 11th of December, 1862, an hour or so before daylight, the slumbering Confederates were awakened by a solitary cannon thundering on the heights of Marye's Hill. Again it boomed, and instantly the aroused Confederates recognized the signal of the Washington Artillery and knew that the Federal troops were preparing to cross the Rappahannock to give us the expected battle. The Federals came down to the river's edge and began the construction of their bridges, when Barksdale opened fire with such effect that they were forced to retire. Again and again they made an

↓ It is more than probable that Burnside accepted the proposition to move by Hoop-pole Ferry for the purpose of drawing some of our troops from the points he had really selected for his crossing.—J. L.



NOTE.—The batteries which had position on the outskirts of the town in rear of Sumner's attack were Waterman's, Kusserow's, Kirby's, Hazard's, Frank's, Arnold's, Phillips's, and Dickenson's. In placing the Union artillery, we have followed an official map made under direction of General Henry J. Hunt, chief of artillery.—EDITORS.

effort to cross, but each time they were met and repulsed by the well-directed bullets of the Mississippians. This contest lasted until 1 o'clock, when the Federals, with angry desperation, turned their whole available force of artillery on the little city, and sent down from the heights a perfect storm of shot and shell, crushing the houses with a cyclone of fiery metal. From our position on the heights we saw the batteries hurling an avalanche upon the town whose only offense was that near its edge in a snug retreat nestled three thousand Confederate hornets that were stinging the Army of the Potomac into a frenzy. It was terrific, the pandemonium which that little squad of Confederates had provoked. The town caught fire in several places, shells crashed and burst, and solid shot rained like hail. In the midst of the successive crashes could be heard the shouts and yells of those engaged in the struggle, while the smoke rose from the burning city and the flames leaped about, making a scene which can never be effaced from the memory of those who saw it. But, in the midst of all this fury, the little brigade of Mississippians clung to their work. At last, when I had everything in readiness, I sent a peremptory order to Barksdale to withdraw, which he did, fighting as he retired before the Federals, who had by that time succeeded in landing a number of their troops. The Federals then constructed their pontoons without molestation, and during the night and the following day the grand division of Sumner passed over into Fredericksburg.

About a mile and a half below the town, where the Deep Run empties into the Rappahannock, General Franklin had been allowed without serious opposition to throw two pontoon-bridges on the 11th, and his grand division passed over and massed on the level bottoms opposite Hamilton's Crossing, thus placing himself in front of Stonewall Jackson's corps. The 11th and 12th were thus spent by the Federals in crossing the river and preparing for battle.

Opposite Fredericksburg, the formation along the river-bank was such that the Federals were concealed in their approaches, and, availing themselves of this advantage, they succeeded in crossing and concealing the grand division of Sumner and, later, a part of Hooker's grand division in the city of Fredericksburg, and so disposing of Franklin in the open plain below as to give out the impression that the great force was with the latter and about to oppose Jackson.

Before daylight on the morning of the eventful 13th I rode to the right of my line held by Hood's division. General Hood was at his post in plain hearing of the Federals south of Deep Run, who were marching their troops into position for the attack. The morning was cold and misty, and everything was obscured from view, but so distinctly did the mist bear to us the sounds of the moving Federals that Hood thought the advance was against him. He was relieved, however, when I assured him that the enemy, to reach him, would have to put himself in a pocket and be subjected to attack from Jackson on one side, Pickett and McLaws on the other, and Hood's own men in front. The position of Franklin's men on the 12th, with the configuration of the ground, had left no doubt in my mind as to Franklin's intentions. I explained all this to Hood, assuring him that the attack would be



FRONT OF THE MARYE MANSION. FROM A
WAR-TIME PHOTOGRAPH.

on Jackson. At the same time I ordered Hood, in case Jackson's line should be broken, to wheel around to his right and strike in on the attacking bodies, telling him that Pickett, with his division, would be ordered to join in the flank movement. These orders were given to both division generals, and at the same time they were advised that I would be attacked near my left center, and that I must be at that point to meet my part of the battle. They were also advised that my position was so well defended I could have no other need of their troops. I then returned to Lee's Hill, reaching there soon after sunrise.

Thus we stood at the eve of the great battle. Along the Stafford Heights 147 guns were turned upon us, and on the level plain below, in the town, and hidden on the opposite bank ready to cross, were assembled nearly 100,000 men, eager to begin the combat. Secure on our hills, we grimly awaited the onslaught. The valley, the mountain-tops, everything was enveloped in the thickest fog, and the preparations for the fight were made as if under cover of night. The mist brought to us the sounds of the preparation for battle, but we were blind to the movements of the Federals. Suddenly, at 10 o'clock, as if the elements were taking a hand in the drama about to be enacted, the warmth of the sun brushed the mist away and revealed the mighty panorama in the valley below.

Franklin's 40,000 men, reënforced by two divisions of Hooker's grand division, were in front of Jackson's 30,000. The flags of the Federals fluttered gayly, the polished arms shone brightly in the sunlight, and the beautiful uniforms of the buoyant troops gave to the scene the air of a holiday occasion rather than the spectacle of a great army about to be thrown into the tumult of battle. From my place on Lee's Hill I could see almost every soldier Franklin had, and a splendid array it was. But off in the distance was Jackson's ragged infantry, and beyond was Stuart's battered cavalry, with their soiled hats and yellow butternut suits, a striking contrast to the handsomely equipped troops of the Federals.

About the city, here and there, a few soldiers could be seen, but there was no indication of the heavy masses that were concealed by the houses. Those of Franklin's men who were in front of Jackson stretched well up toward Lee's Hill, and were almost within reach of our best guns, and at the other end they stretched out to the east until they came well under the fire of Stuart's



THE SUNKEN ROAD UNDER MARYE'S HILL. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN 1884.

In the background is seen the continuation of Hanover street, which on the left ascends the hill to the Marye Mansion. The little square field lies in the fork made by the former road and the Telegraph road (see map, p. 74). Nearly all that remained in 1884 of the famous stone-wall is seen in the right of the picture. The horses are in the road, which is a continuation of the street south of Hanover street, and on which is the brick house mentioned in General Conch's article. The house in which General Cobb died would be the next object in the right of the picture if the foreground were extended. And beyond that house, following the Telegraph road south, there was, at the time of the battle, a long stretch of stone-wall (see map, p. 74), little if any of which was to be seen in 1884, the stone having been used for the gate-house of the National Cemetery.

In his official report General Kershaw, who succeeded General Cobb, thus describes the situation during the battle in that part of the road seen in the picture: "The road is about 25 feet wide, and is faced by a stone-wall about 4 feet high on the city side. The road having been cut out of the side of the hill, in many places this last wall is not visible above the surface of the ground. The ground falls off rapidly to almost a level surface, which extends about 150 yards, then, with another abrupt fall of a few feet, to another plain which extends some 200 yards, and then falls off abruptly into a wide ravine, which extends along the whole front of the city and discharges into Hazel Run. I found, on my arrival, that Cobb's brigade, Colonel McMillan commanding, occupied our entire front, and my troops could only get into position by doubling on them. This was accordingly done, and the formation along most of the line during the engagement was consequently four deep. As

an evidence of the coolness of the command, I may mention here that, notwithstanding that their fire was the most rapid and continuous I have ever witnessed, not a man was injured by the fire of his comrades. . . . In the meantime line after line of the enemy deployed in the ravine, and advanced to the attack at intervals of not more than fifteen minutes until about 4:30 o'clock, when there was a lull of about a half hour, during which a mass of artillery was placed in position in front of the town and opened upon our position. At this time I brought up Colonel De Saussure's regiment. Our batteries on the hill were silent, having exhausted their ammunition, and the Washington Artillery were relieved by a part of Colonel Alexander's battalion. Under cover of this artillery fire, the most formidable column of attack was formed, which, about 5 o'clock, emerged from the ravine and, no longer impeded by our artillery, impetuously assailed our whole front. From this time until after 6 o'clock the attack was continuous, and the fire on both sides terrific. Some few, chiefly officers, got within 30 yards of our lines, but in every instance their columns were shattered by the time they got within 100 paces. The firing gradually subsided, and by 7 o'clock our pickets were established within thirty yards of those of the enemy.

"Our chief loss after getting into position in the road was from the fire of sharpshooters, who occupied some buildings on my left flank in the early part of the engagement, and were only silenced by Captain [W.] Wallace, of the 2d Regiment, directing the continuous fire of one company upon the buildings. General Cobb, I learn, was killed by a shot from that quarter. The regiments on the hill suffered most, as they were less perfectly covered."—EDITORS.

horse artillery under Major John Pelham, a brave and gallant officer, almost a boy in years. As the mist rose, the Confederates saw the movement against their right near Hamilton's Crossing. Major Pelham opened fire upon Franklin's command and gave him lively work, which was kept up until Jackson ordered Pelham to retire. Franklin then advanced rapidly to the hill where Jackson's troops had been stationed, feeling the woods with shot as he progressed. Silently Jackson awaited the approach of the Federals until they were within good range, and then he opened a terrific fire which threw the Federals into some confusion. The enemy again massed and advanced, pressing through a gap between Archer and Lane. This broke Jackson's line and threatened very serious trouble. The Federals who had wedged themselves in through that gap came upon Gregg's brigade, and then the severe encounter ensued in which the latter general was mortally wounded. Archer and Lane very soon received reënforcements and, rallying, joined in the counter-attack and recovered their lost ground. The concentration of Taliaferro's and Early's divisions against this attack was too much for it, and the counter-attack drove the Federals back to the railroad and beyond the reach of our guns on the left. Some of our troops following up this repulse got



HOUSE BY THE STONE-WALL, IN WHICH GENERAL COBB DIED FROM A WAR-TIME PHOTOGRAPH.

too far out, and were in turn much discomfited when left to the enemy's superior numbers, and were obliged to retire in poor condition. A Federal brigade advancing under cover of Deep Run was discovered at this time and attacked by regiments of Pender's and Law's brigades, the former of A. P. Hill's and the latter of Hood's division; and, Jackson's second line advancing, the Federals were forced to retire. This series of demonstrations and attacks, the partial success and final discomfiture of the Federals, constitute the hostile movements between the Confederate right and the Federal left.

I have described, in the opening of this article, the situation of the Confederate left. In front of Marye's Hill is a plateau, and immediately at the base

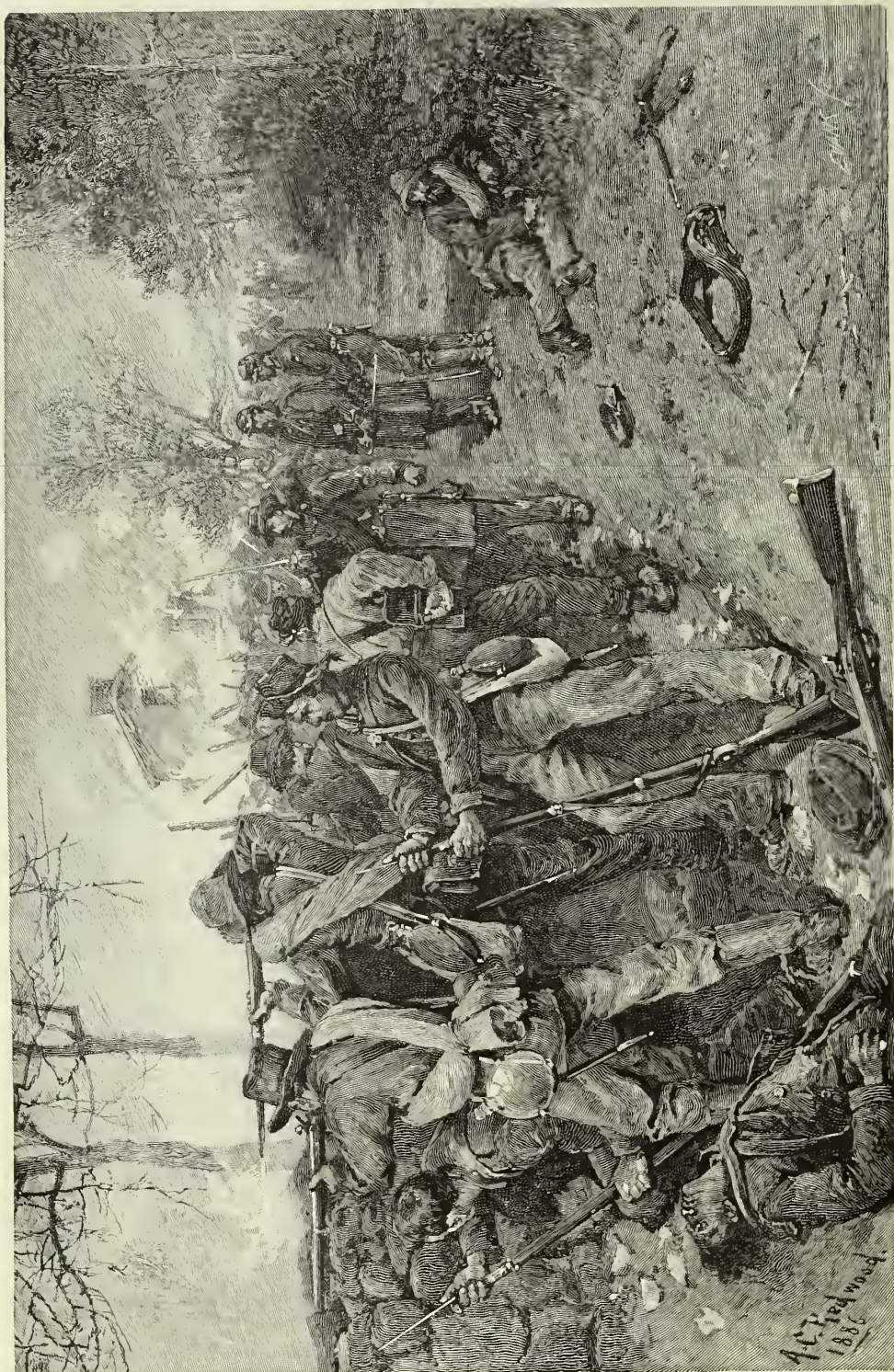
of the hill there is a sunken road known as the Telegraph road. On the side of the road next to the town was a stone-wall, shoulder-high, against which the earth was banked, forming an almost unapproachable defense. It was impossible for the troops occupying it to expose more than a small portion of their bodies. Behind this stone-wall I had placed about twenty-five hundred men, being all of General T. R. R. Cobb's brigade, and a portion of the brigade of General Kershaw, both of McLaws's division. It must now be

understood that the Federals, to reach what appeared to be my weakest point, would have to pass directly over this wall held by Cobb's infantry.

An idea of how well Marye's Hill was protected may be obtained from the following incident: General E. P. Alexander, my engineer and superintendent of artillery, had been placing the guns, and in going over the field with him before the battle, I noticed an idle cannon. I suggested that he place it so as to aid in covering the plain in front of Marye's Hill. He answered: "General, we cover that ground now so well that we will comb it as with a fine-tooth comb. A chicken could not live on that field when we open on it."

A little before noon I sent orders to all my batteries to open fire through the streets or at any points where the troops were seen about the city, as a diversion in favor of Jackson. This fire began at once to develop the work in hand for myself. The Federal troops swarmed out of the city like bees out of a hive, coming in double-quick march and filling the edge of the field in front of Cobb. This was just where we had expected attack, and I was prepared to meet it. As the troops massed before us, they were much annoyed by the fire of our batteries. The field was literally packed with Federals from the vast number of troops that had been massed in the town. From the moment of their appearance began the most fearful carnage. With our artillery from the front, right, and left tearing through their ranks, the Federals pressed forward with almost invincible determination, maintaining their steady step and closing up their broken ranks. Thus resolutely they marched upon the stone fence behind which quietly waited the Confederate brigade of General Cobb. As they came within reach of this brigade, a storm of lead was poured into their advancing ranks and they were swept from the field like chaff before the wind. A cloud of smoke shut out the scene for a moment, and, rising, revealed the shattered fragments recoiling from their gallant but hopeless charge. The artillery still plowed through their retreating ranks and searched the places of concealment into which the troops had plunged. A vast number went pell-mell into an old railroad cut to escape fire from the right and front. A battery on Lee's Hill saw this and turned its fire into the entire length of the cut, and the shells began to pour down upon the Federals with the most frightful destruction. They found their position of refuge more uncomfortable than the field of the assault.

Thus the right grand division of the Army of the Potomac found itself repulsed and shattered on its first attempt to drive us from Marye's Hill. Hardly was this attack off the field before we saw the determined Federals again filing out of Fredericksburg and preparing for another charge. The Confederates under Cobb reserved their fire and quietly awaited the approach of the enemy. The Federals came nearer than before, but were forced to retire before the well-directed guns of Cobb's brigade and the fire of the artillery on the heights. By that time the field in front of Cobb was thickly strewn with the dead and dying Federals, but again they formed with desperate courage and renewed the attack and again were driven off. At each attack the slaughter was so great that by the time the third attack was



COBBE'S AND KERSHAW'S TROOPS BEHIND THE STONE-WALL.

repulsed, the ground was so thickly strewn with dead that the bodies seriously impeded the approach of the Federals. General Lee, who was with me on Lee's Hill, became uneasy when he saw the attacks so promptly renewed and pushed forward with such persistence, and feared the Federals might break through our line. After the third charge he said to me: "General, they are massing very heavily and will break your line, I am afraid." "General," I replied, "if you put every man now on the other side of the Potomac on that field to approach me over the same line, and give me plenty of ammunition, I will kill them all before they reach my line. Look to your right; you are in some danger there, but not on my line."

I think the fourth time the Federals charged, a gallant fellow came within one hundred feet of Cobb's position before he fell. Close behind him came some few scattering ones, but they were either killed or they fled from certain death. ¶ This charge was the only effort that looked like actual danger to Cobb, and after it was repulsed I felt no apprehension, assuring myself that there were enough of the dead Federals on the field to give me half the battle. The anxiety shown by General Lee, however, induced me to bring up two or three brigades, to be on hand, and General Kershaw, with the remainder

of his brigade, was ordered down to the stone-wall, rather, however, to carry ammunition than as a reënforcement for Cobb. Kershaw dashed down the declivity and arrived just in time to succeed Cobb, who, at this juncture, fell from a wound in the thigh and died in a few minutes from loss of blood. [See also p. 94.]

A fifth time the Federals formed and charged and were repulsed. A sixth time they charged and were driven back, when night came to end the dreadful carnage, and the Federals withdrew, leaving the battle-field literally heaped with the bodies of their dead. Before the well-directed fire of Cobb's brigade, the Federals had fallen like the steady dripping of rain from the eaves of a house. Our musketry alone killed and wounded at least 5000; and these,

¶ In his official report General Lafayette McLaws says: "The body of one man, believed to be an officer, was found within about thirty yards of the stone-wall, and other single bodies were scattered at increased distances until the main mass of the dead lay thickly strewn over the



BRIGADIER-GENERAL THOMAS R. R. COBB, C. S. A.
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

Before the war, General Cobb was a lawyer. He was born in Georgia in 1820. In 1851 he published a "Digest of the Laws of Georgia."

ground at something over one hundred yards off, and extending to the ravine, commencing at the point where our men would allow the enemy's column to approach before opening fire, and beyond which no organized body of men was able to pass."—EDITORS.

with the slaughter by the artillery, left over 7000 killed and wounded before the foot of Marye's Hill. The dead were piled sometimes three deep, and when morning broke, the spectacle that we saw upon the battle-field was one of the most distressing I ever witnessed. The charges had been desperate and bloody, but utterly hopeless. I thought, as I saw the Federals come again and again to their death, that they deserved success if courage and daring could entitle soldiers to victory.

During the night a Federal strayed beyond his lines and was taken up by some of my troops. On searching him, we found on his person a memorandum of General Burnside's arrangements, and an order for the renewal of the battle the next day. This information was sent to General Lee, and immediately orders were given for a line of rifle-pits on the top of Marye's Hill for Ransom, who had been held somewhat in reserve, and for other guns to be placed on Taylor's Hill.

We were on our lines before daylight, anxious to receive General Burnside again. As the gray of the morning came without the battle, we became more anxious; yet, as the Federal forces retained position during the 14th and 15th, we were not without hope. There was some little skirmishing, but it did not amount to anything. But when the full light of the next morning revealed an abandoned field, General Lee turned to me, referring in his mind to the dispatch I had captured and which he had just re-read, and said: "General, I am losing confidence in your friend General Burnside." We then put it down as a *ruse de guerre*. Afterward, however, we learned that the order had been made in good faith but had been changed in consequence of the demoralized condition of the grand divisions in front of Marye's Hill. During the night of the 15th the Federal troops withdrew, and on the 16th our lines were reestablished along the river. ☆

I have heard that, referring to the attack at Marye's Hill while it was in progress, General Hooker said: "There has been enough blood shed to satisfy any reasonable man, and it is time to quit." I think myself it was fortunate for Burnside that he had no greater success, for the meeting with such discomfiture gave him an opportunity to get back safe. If he had made any progress, his loss would probably have been greater.

Such was the battle of Fredericksburg as I saw it. It has been asked why we did not follow up the victory. The answer is plain. It goes without saying that the battle of the First Corps, concluded after nightfall, could not have been changed into offensive operations. Our line was about three miles long, extending through woodland over hill and dale. An attempt at concentration to throw the troops against the walls of the city at that hour of the night would have been little better than madness. The Confederate field was

☆ General Lee explained officially, as follows, why he expected the attack would be resumed:

"The attack on the 13th had been so easily repulsed, and by so small a part of our army, that it was not supposed the enemy would limit his efforts to an attempt which, in view of the magnitude of his preparations and the extent of his force, seemed to be comparatively insignificant.

"Believing, therefore, that he would attack us, it was

not deemed expedient to lose the advantages of our position and expose the troops to the fire of his inaccessible batteries beyond the river by advancing against him; but we were necessarily ignorant of the extent to which he had suffered, and only became aware of it when, on the morning of the 16th, it was discovered that he had availed himself of the darkness of night, and the prevalence of a violent storm of wind and rain, to recross the river. The town was immediately reoccupied and our position on the river-bank resumed." EDITORS.



CONFEDERATE WORKS ON WILLIS'S HILL, NOW THE SITE OF THE NATIONAL CEMETERY.
FROM A WAR-TIME PHOTOGRAPH.

arranged for defensive battle. Its abrupt termination could not have been anticipated, nor could any skill have marshaled our troops for offensive operations in time to meet the emergency. My line was long and over broken country,—so much so that the troops could not be promptly handled in offensive operations. Jackson's corps was in mass, and could he have anticipated the result of my battle, he would have been justified in pressing Franklin to the river when the battle of the latter was lost. Otherwise, pursuit would have been as unwise as the attack he had just driven off. The Federal batteries on Stafford Heights were effectively posted to protect their troops against our advance, and Franklin would have been in good defensive position against attack on the next day. It is well known that after driving off attacking forces, if immediate pursuit can be made so that the victors can go along with the retreating forces pell-mell, it is well enough to do so; but the attack should be immediate. To follow a success by counter-attack against the enemy in position is problematical. In the case of the armies at Fredericksburg it would have been, to say the least, very hazardous to give counter-attack, the Federal position being about as strong as ours from which we had driven them back. Attempts to break up an army by following on its line of retreat are hazardous and rarely successful, while movements against the flanks and rear increase the demoralization and offer better opportunities for great results. The condition of a retreating army may be illustrated by

a little incident witnessed thirty years ago on the western plains of Texas. A soldier of my regiment essayed to capture a rattlesnake. Being pursued, the reptile took refuge in a prairie-dog's hole, turning his head as he entered it, to defend the sally-port. The soldier, coming up in time, seized the tail as it was in the act of passing under cover, and at the same instant the serpent seized the index finger of the soldier's hand. The result was the soldier lost the use of his finger. The wise serpent made a successful retreat. The rear of a retreating army is always its best guarded point.

During the attack upon General Jackson, and immediately after his line was broken, General Pickett rode up to General Hood and suggested that

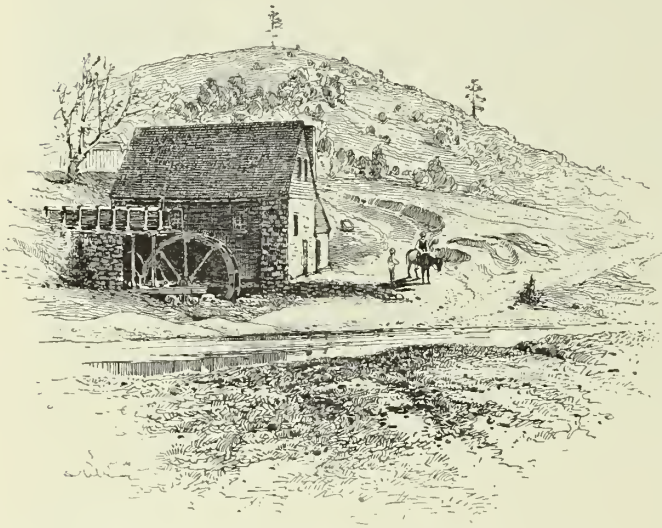
the moment was at hand for the movement anticipated by my orders, and requested that it be executed. Hood did not agree, so the opportunity was allowed to pass. Had Hood sprung to the occasion we would have enveloped Franklin's command, and might possibly have marched it into the Confederate camp. Hood commanded splendid troops, quite fresh and eager for occasion to give renewed assurances of their mettle.

It has been reported that the troops attacking Marye's Hill were intoxicated, having

been plied with whisky to nerve them to the desperate attack. That can hardly be true. I know nothing of the facts, but no sensible commander will allow his troops strong drink upon going into battle. After a battle is over, the soldier's gill is usually allowed if it is at hand. No troops could have displayed greater courage and resolution than was shown by those brought against Marye's Hill. But they miscalculated the wonderful strength of the line behind the stone fence. The position held by Cobb surpassed courage and resolution, and was occupied by those who knew well how to hold a comfortable defense.

After the retreat, General Lee went to Richmond to suggest other operations, but was assured that the war was virtually over, and that we need not harass our troops by marches and other hardships. Gold had advanced in New York to two hundred, and we were assured by those at the Confederate capital that in thirty or forty days we would be recognized and peace proclaimed. General Lee did not share in this belief.

I have been asked if Burnside could have been victorious at Fredericksburg. Such a thing was hardly possible. Perhaps no general could have



WELFORD'S MILL ON HAZEL RUN AND THE TELEGRAPH ROAD.
FROM A WAR-TIME PHOTOGRAPH.

The southern slope of Willis's Hill is seen in the background.

accomplished more than Burnside did, and it was possible for him to have suffered greater loss. The battle of Fredericksburg was a great and unprofitable sacrifice of human life made, through the pressure from the rear, upon a general who should have known better and who doubtless acted against his judgment. [See p. 99.] If I had been in General Burnside's place, I would have asked the President to allow me to resign rather than execute his order to force the passage of the river and march the army against Lee in his stronghold.

Viewing the battle after the lapse of more than twenty years, I may say, however, that Burnside's move might have been made stronger by throwing two of his grand divisions across at the mouth of Deep Run, where Franklin crossed with his grand division and six brigades of Hooker's. Had he thus placed Hooker and Sumner, his sturdiest fighters, and made resolute assault with them in his attack on our right, he would in all probability have given us trouble. The partial success he had at that point might have been pushed vigorously by such a force and might have thrown our right entirely from position, in which event the result would have depended on the skillful handling of the forces. Franklin's grand division could have made sufficient sacrifice at Marye's Hill and come as near success as did Sumner's and two-thirds of Hooker's combined. I think, however, that the success would have been on our side, and it might have been followed by greater disaster on the side of the Federals; still they would have had the chance of success in their favor, while in the battle as it was fought it can hardly be claimed that there was even a chance.

Burnside made a mistake from the first. He should have gone from Warrenton to Chester Gap. He might then have held Jackson and fought me, or have held me and fought Jackson, thus taking us in detail. The doubt about the matter was whether or not he could have caught me in that trap before we could concentrate. At any rate, that was the only move on the board that could have benefited him at the time he was assigned to the command of the Army of the Potomac. By interposing between the corps of Lee's army he would have secured strong ground and advantage of position. With skill equal to the occasion, he should have had success. This was the move about which we felt serious apprehension, and we were occupying our minds with plans to meet it when the move toward Fredericksburg was reported. General McClellan, in his report of August 4th, 1863, speaks of this move as that upon which he was studying when the order for Burnside's assignment to command reached him.

When Burnside determined to move by Fredericksburg, he should have moved rapidly and occupied the city at once, but this would only have forced us back to the plan preferred by General Jackson.

THE CONFEDERATE LEFT AT FREDERICKSBURG.

BY LAFAYETTE McLAWS, MAJOR-GENERAL, C. S. A.

ON the 25th of November, 1862, my division marched into Fredericksburg, and shortly after, by direction of General Longstreet, I occupied the city with one of my brigades and picketed the river with strong detachments from the dam at Falmouth to a quarter of a mile below Deep Run creek, the enemy's pickets being just across the river, within a stone's-throw of mine. Detachments were immediately set at work digging rifle-pits close to the edge of the bank, so close that our men, when in them, could command the river and the shores on each side. The cellars of the houses near the river were made available for the use of riflemen, and zigzags were constructed to enable the men to get in and out of the rifle-pits under cover. All this was done at night, and so secretly and quietly that I do not believe the enemy had any conception of the minute and careful preparations that had been made to defeat any attempt to cross the river in my front. No provision was made for the use of artillery, as the enemy had an enormous array of their batteries on the heights above the town, and could have demolished ours in five minutes.

Two or three evenings previous to the Federal attempt to cross, I was with General Barksdale, and we were attracted by one or more of the enemy's bands playing at their end of the railroad bridge. A number of their officers and a crowd of their men were about the band cheering their national airs, the "Star Spangled Banner," "Hail Columbia," and others, once so dear to us all. It seemed as if they expected some response from us, but none was given until, finally, they struck up "Dixie," and then both sides cheered, with much laughter. Surmising that this serenade meant mischief, I closely inspected our bank of the river, and at night caused additional rifle-pits to be constructed to guard more securely the approaches to the bridge.

Early in the night of the 10th General Barksdale reported that his pickets had heard noises, as if the enemy were hauling pontoon-boats to the brink of the river; a dense fog had prevented a clear view. About 2 A. M., of the 11th, General Barksdale notified me that the movements on the other side indicated that the enemy were preparing to lay down the pontoon-bridges. I told him to let the bridge building go on until the enemy were committed to it and the construction parties were within easy range. At 4:30 he reported that the bridge was being rapidly constructed and was nearly half done, and he was about to open fire. I then ordered the signal to be given by firing two guns of J. P. W. Read's battery, posted on the highest point along my front, on the edge of the hills alongside the main road running to the city.

Previous notice had been sent to General Lee and to corps headquarters that the bridge was being constructed. With the sound of the cannon was mingled the rattle of the rifles of the Mississippi men, who opened a concentrated fire from the rifle-pits and swept the bridge, now crowded with the construction

parties. Nine distinct and desperate attempts were made to complete the bridge, but every one was attended with such heavy loss from our fire that the efforts were abandoned until about 10 A. M., when suddenly the tremendous array of the Federal artillery opened fire from the heights above the city.

It is impossible fitly to describe the effects of this iron hail hurled against the small band of defenders and into the devoted city. The roar of the cannon, the bursting shells, the falling of walls and chimneys, and the flying bricks and other material dislodged from the houses by the iron balls and shells, added to the fire of the infantry from both sides and



BARKSDALE'S MISSISSIPPIS OPPOSING THE LAYING OF THE PONTON-BRIDGES.

the smoke from the guns and from the burning houses, made a scene of indescribable confusion, enough to appall the stoutest hearts! Under cover of this bombardment the Federals renewed their efforts to construct the bridge, but the little band of Mississippians in the rifle-pits under Lieutenant-Colonel John C. Fiser, 17th Mississippi, composed of his own regiment, 10 sharpshooters from the 13th Mississippi, and 3 companies from the 18th Mississippi (Lieutenant-Colonel Luse), held their posts, and successfully repelled every attempt. The enemy had been committed to that point, by having used half their pontoons.

About 4:30 P. M. the enemy began crossing in boats, and the concentrated fire from all arms, directed against Barksdale's men in the rifle-pits, became so severe that it was impossible for them to use their rifles with effect.†

As the main purpose of a determined defense, which was to gain time for the other troops to take position, had been accomplished, Colonel Fiser was

†Colonel Fiser himself had been knocked down and stunned by a portion of a falling wall, but, recovering consciousness, held to his post, and cheered on his men.—L. McL.

directed to draw his command back from the river and join the brigade in the city; and just in time, for the enemy, no longer impeded by our fire, crossed the river rapidly in boats, and, forming on the flanks, rushed down to capture the men in the rifle-pits, taking them in the rear. Some of the men in the cellars, who did not get the order to retire, were thus captured,[‡] but the main body of them rejoined the brigade on Princess-Anne street, where it had been assembled, and all attempts made by the enemy, now crossing in large numbers, to gain possession of the city were defeated. The firing ceased by 7 o'clock, and as the grand division of Franklin had effected a crossing below the mouth of Deep Run, and thus controlled ground which was higher than the city, and other troops had crossed above the city, where, also, the ground was higher, so that our position would become untenable in the morning, I directed General Barksdale to retire to a strong position I had noticed along a sunken road cut through the foot of Marye's Hill and running perpendicular to the line of the enemy's advance.

We read in the accounts given by Federal officers of rank that although General Franklin's command had constructed a bridge or two across the Rappahannock, below the mouth of Deep Run, and had crossed the greater portion of his division on the 11th, yet, because of the failure of General Sumner's grand division to force a crossing in front of Fredericksburg, all but one brigade of Franklin's grand division had been recrossed to the left bank to await the result of Sumner's efforts, and that Franklin's grand division was not again crossed to our side until the 12th. The Federal accounts show that this determined defense offered by a small fraction of Barksdale's brigade not only prevented Sumner's crossing, but by this delay caused the whole of Franklin's Left Grand Division, except one brigade, to recross the Rappahannock, and thus gave General Lee twenty-four hours' time to prepare for the assault, with full notice of the points of attack.

Early on the night of the 11th General Thomas R. R. Cobb was directed to relieve the brigade of General Barksdale, and accordingly three Georgia regiments and the Phillips Legion of Cobb's brigade took position in the sunken road at foot of Marye's Hill, on the lower side of which there was a stone-wall something over four feet high, most of which was protected by the earth thrown from the road, and was invisible from the front. Barksdale's brigade retired to their originally assigned position as my rear line of defense, in Bernard's woods, where they constructed abatis and rifle-pits during the 12th.

Meanwhile the 18th Mississippi Regiment, of Barksdale's brigade, under Colonel Luse, which had been detached to defend the river-bank below the town on the night of the 10th, had offered such vigorous resistance from behind some old huts and thickets that the enemy had delayed the construction of their pontoon-bridges there until after daylight on the 11th, and therefore, instead of crossing the grand division by daylight of the 11th, did not cross until late on that day. The enemy on the 11th brought grape and canister against Colonel Luse, who was not fortified, not having rifle-pits

[‡] Perhaps thirty or forty, not more.— L. McL.



FREDERICKSBURG FROM THE FOOT OF WILLIS'S HILL. FROM A WAR-TIME PHOTOGRAPH.

In the middle-ground is seen the south end of the stone-wall, and it may be seen that the front line of defense formed by the wall was continued still farther to the right by the sunken Telegraph road. At the base of the hill, this side of the stone-wall, is seen an earth-work which was a part of the second line. A

third line [see p. 83] was on the brow of this hill, now the National Cemetery. Between the steeples on the outskirts of Fredericksburg is seen the end of Hanover street, by which, and by the street in the right of the picture, the Union forces filed out to form for the assault.—EDITORS.

even, and his regiment was withdrawn to the river road. The 16th Georgia, Colonel Bryan, and the 15th South Carolina, Colonel De Saussure, which had been ordered to the assistance of Colonel Luse, retired with his column. Early on the 11th a battalion of the 8th Florida, under Captain Lang, numbering 150 men, had been posted to the left of Colonel Fiser's command, above Fredericksburg, and while under Captain Lang did good service. But unfortunately the captain was badly wounded about 11 A. M., and the battalion was withdrawn. I think the defense of the river-crossing in front of Fredericksburg was a notable and wonderful feat of arms, challenging comparison with anything that happened during the war.

On the 12th close and heavy skirmishing was kept up between my advanced parties and the enemy, and whole divisions were employed in fortifying their positions and preparing for the coming assaults. The grounds in my front had been well studied by myself, in company with my brigade commanders and colonels of regiments, and all the details for the supply of ammunition, provisions, water, care for the wounded, and other necessary arrangements had been attended to, so that we waited for the enemy with perfect calmness and with confidence in our ability to repel them.

A heavy fog hung over the valley, concealing the town from our view, and until late in the day the banks below were not visible. As I was anxiously inquiring for some news from the pickets, since the point of attack had not yet been developed, my aide-de-camp, Captain H. L. P. King, volunteered to go to

the river and collect information by personal observation, and I consented to his going, but did not send him. He rode off, and in about two hours returned, reporting that he had ridden down Deep Run as far as he could go in safety on horseback, and, dismounting and concealing his horse, had gone on foot down the run to its mouth, and from there he had watched the enemy crossing the river on two bridges. One or two hundred yards below the mouth of the run large bodies of infantry, artillery, and some cavalry had crossed, while heavy forces on the opposite side were waiting their turn to cross. On his return he had gone into a two-story wooden dwelling on the banks of the river, and had taken a leisurely view of the whole surroundings, confirming his observations taken from the mouth of Deep Run. This was a daring reconnoissance, as, at the time, none of our troops were within a mile of him. Up to this time the enemy had not shown us any very large body of troops, either in Fredericksburg, on the opposite side, or below.

On the 13th, during the early morning, a thick fog enveloped the town in my front and the valley of the river, but between 9 and 10 o'clock it lifted, and we could see on our right, below Deep Run, long lines of the enemy stretching down the river, and near it, but not in motion. Reconnoitering parties on horseback were examining the grounds in front of our army, coming within range without being fired on. After they retired a strong body of infantry advanced from a point on the river somewhat below my extreme right, as if to gain possession of the Bernard woods, but I had seven rifle-guns on the hill above those woods to meet this very contingency, and these opening on this advancing body, it fell back to the river before coming within reach of Barksdale.

As the fog lifted higher an immense column of infantry could be seen halted on the other side of the river, along the road leading from the hills beyond to the pontoon-bridges in front of the town, and extending back for miles, as it looked to us, and still we could not see the end. In Jackson's front the enemy had advanced, and their forming lines were plainly visible, while in Longstreet's front we could see no body of troops on the Fredericksburg side of the river. The indications were that Jackson was to receive the first blow, and General Longstreet came to me and said he was going over to that flank. I called his attention to the immense column of troops opposite us, on the other side of the river, with its head at the pontoon-bridges, crossing to Fredericksburg in our immediate front, and told him that in my judgment the most desperate assault was to be made on his front, and it would be developed close to us, without our knowing that it was forming, nor would we know when it commenced to move against us; that the assault would be sudden and we should be ready to meet it, and that there were certainly as many of the enemy in that column threatening us as appeared in the lines opposite General Jackson. General Longstreet agreed with me, and remained.

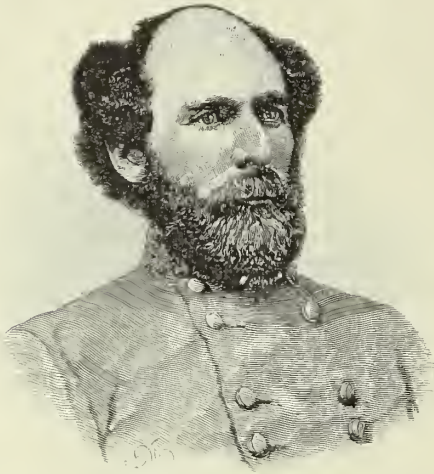
Not long after, the grand division of General Franklin, in plain view from where we stood, was seen advancing in two lines against Jackson's front, marching in most magnificent order. No perceptible check could I observe in the advance, and the first line in good order entered the woods and was

lost to our view. But the immediate crash of musketry and the thunder of artillery told of a desperate conflict, and we waited anxiously for some sign of the result. Soon masses of the enemy were seen emerging from the woods in retreat, and the whole body of the enemy marched back in the direction they came from, in excellent order, and very deliberately. Now began the trial against Longstreet's lines; but our confidence in our ability to resist all assaults against us had been wonderfully increased by seeing the repulse of Franklin.

My line of defense was a broken one, running from the left along the sunken road, near the foot of Marye's Hill, where General Cobb's brigade (less the 16th Georgia) was stationed. During the 12th the defenses of this line had been extended beyond the hill by an embankment thrown up to protect the right from sharpshooters, as also to resist assaults that might be made from that direction, and then the line was retired a hundred or more yards to the foot of the hills in the rear, along which was extended Kershaw's brigade of South Carolina troops, and General Barksdale's Mississippians, from left to right, the brigade of General Semmes being held in reserve. The Washington Artillery, under Colonel Walton, were in position on the crest of Marye's Hill over the heads of Cobb's men [see p. 97], and two brigades under General Ransom were held here in reserve. The heights above Kershaw and Barksdale were crowned with 18 rifle-guns and 8 smooth-bores belonging to batteries, and a number of smooth-bores from the reserve artillery. The troops could not be well seen by the enemy, and the artillery on my rear line was mostly concealed, some covered with brush. The enemy, from their position, could not see the sunken road, near the foot of Marye's Hill, nor do I think they were aware, until it was made known to them by our fire, that there was an infantry force anywhere except on top of the hill, as Ransom's troops could be seen there, in reserve, and the men in the sunken road were visible at a short distance only.

Soon after 11 A. M. the enemy approached the left of my line by the Telegraph road, and, deploying to my right, came forward and planted guidons or standards (whether to mark their advance or to aid in the alignment I do not know), and commenced firing; but the fire from our artillery, and especially the infantry fire from Cobb's brigade, so thinned their ranks that the line retreated without advancing, leaving their guidons planted. Soon another force, heavier than the first, advanced, and were driven back with great slaughter. They were met on retiring by reinforcements, and advanced again, but were again repulsed, with great loss. This continued until about 1 P. M., when General Cobb reported to me that he was short of ammunition. I sent his own very intelligent and brave courier, little Johnny Clark, from Augusta, Georgia, to bring up his ordnance supplies, and directed General Kershaw to reinforce General Cobb with two of his South Carolina regiments, and I also sent the 16th Georgia, which had been detached, to report to General Cobb. A few minutes after these orders had been given I received a note from General Cobb, informing me that General R. H. Anderson, whose division was posted on the left and rear of Cobb's, had just told him

that if the attack was turned on him he would retire his troops to the hills in their rear. As this would leave my troops in the sunken road with their left flank unprotected, and at the mercy of the enemy, should they come up on my left, I went over to General Longstreet and represented to him that if this were done I would have to provide in some other way for the protection of the troops in the sunken road, or move them out, so soon as there was a



BRIGADIER-GENERAL ROBERT RANSOM. C. S. A.
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

lull in the attack, which would be virtually giving up the defense of Marye's Hill. General Longstreet at once ordered General Pickett to reënforce Anderson, and directed Anderson to hold his position until forced back. I then went over and examined the ground where Anderson's force was on my left, and finding that the preparations for defense made to resist an assault were incomplete and inconsiderable, I thought it best to take measures to protect my own flank with my own troops, and therefore directed General Kershaw to take his brigade, and, sending two of his regiments to strengthen General Cobb's line be-

neath the hill, to hold the rest of his command on top of the hill, to the left of Cobb's line, to meet emergencies, and especially to hold in check, or aid in repelling, any force coming on Cobb's flank, until the force in the sunken road could be withdrawn by the right flank — the only chance it would have of retiring without very heavy loss. I then tore a leaf from my memorandum-book and wrote to General Cobb, "General: Hold your position, with no fear of your flank, it will be protected," and handing it to Captain King, my aide-de-camp, told him to carry it to General Cobb, and to inform him that both ammunition and reënforcements were on the way.† General Kershaw at once moved his brigade as ordered, but while it was in motion a courier came from General Cobb and informed me that the general was desperately wounded. General Kershaw was directed to go at once and take command of the force at the foot of Marye's Hill.

Kershaw doubled his 2d and 8th regiments on Phillips's Legion and 24th Georgia, commanded by Colonel McMillan, who succeeded General Cobb in command of the brigade, leaving the 3d and 7th South Carolina on the hill, and holding the 15th, Colonel De Saussure, in reserve. His 3d Battalion was posted on the right at Howison's mill to repulse any attack up Hazel Run, and the 16th Georgia was doubled on the right of Cobb's brigade in the road. The 3d and 7th South Carolina suffered severely while getting into position, Colonel Nance, Lieutenant-Colonel Rutherford, Major Maffett, Captains P. Todd and

† This was the last I saw of Captain King until we found this gallant officer's body, after the battle.—L. McL.

John C. Summer being shot down. Summer was killed. The 2d and 8th arrived just in time to resist a heavy assault made on the left about 2:45 p. m., and all of these reinforcements were opportune. The enemy, then deploying in a ravine about three hundred yards from the stone-wall, advanced with fresh lines of attack at short intervals, but were always driven back with great loss. This was kept up until about 4:30 p. m., when the assaults ceased for a time; but the enemy, posting artillery on the left of the Telegraph road, opened on our position; however, they did no damage worth particularizing.

The batteries on Marye's Hill were at this time silent, having exhausted their ammunition, and were being relieved by guns from Colonel E. P. Alexander's battalion. Taking advantage of this lull in the conflict, the 15th South Carolina was brought forward from the cemetery, where it had been in reserve, and was posted behind the stone-wall, supporting the 2d South Carolina regiment.

The enemy in the meanwhile formed a strong column of lines of attack, and advancing under cover of their own artillery, and no longer impeded by ours, came forward along our whole front in the most determined manner; but by this time, as just explained, I had lines four deep throughout the whole sunken road, and beyond the right flank. The front rank, firing, stepped back, and the next in rear took its place and, after firing, was replaced by the next, and so on in rotation. In this way the volley firing was made nearly continuous, and the file firing very destructive. The enemy were repulsed at all points.

The last charge was made after sundown—in fact, it was already dark in the valley. A Federal officer who was in that assault told me that the first discharge at them was a volley, and the bullets went over their heads “in sheets,” and that his command was ordered to lie down, and did lie down for a full half-hour and then retired, leaving a large number of killed and wounded. The firing ceased as darkness increased, and about 7 p. m. the pickets of the opposing forces were posted within a short distance of each other, my pickets reporting noises as of movements of large bodies of troops in the city.

Thus ended the battle. The enemy remained in possession of the city until the night of the 15th, and then retired across the Rappahannock, resuming their former positions, and Kershaw's brigade of my division re-occupied the city. My loss in killed, wounded, and missing was 853; of which number 67 were missing, 62 being from Barksdale's brigade, 100 of the 853 being killed. Over 200 of the number were killed or disabled in Kershaw's command while taking positions to defend my left flank.

There was a ravine in my front, distant between 200 or 300 yards, where large masses of the enemy were constantly deployed, and they controlled the slope of Marye's Hill, so that it would have been a hazardous feat, even for a dog, to have attempted to run down it; and yet a Georgia boy named Crumley, an orderly of General Kershaw's, finding that the general had no use for his horse in the sunken road, or thinking that it was no place for a fine animal, deliberately rode him up that slope without injury either to the horse or to himself,—and going back to his camp, returned with an inferior

horse, rode down the slope unscathed, and joined his chief, who, until his return, was ignorant of Crumley's daring feat.

General Cobb, who was wounded by a musket-ball in the calf of the leg, † died shortly after he was removed to the field-hospital in rear of the division. He and I were on intimate terms, and I had learned to esteem him warmly, as I believe every one did who came to know his great intellect and his good heart. Like Stonewall Jackson, he was a religious enthusiast, and; being firmly convinced that the South was right, believed that God would give us visible sign that Providence was with us, and daily prayed for His interposition in our behalf.

† The statement in the text is made on the authority of Surgeon Todd, of Cobb's brigade, who says he saw the wound, and I am assured that General Cobb received all possible attention, and that everything that skill could do was done to save his life.—L. McL.

RANSOM'S DIVISION AT FREDERICKSBURG.

BY ROBERT RANSOM, BRIGADIER-GENERAL, C. S. A.

IN "The Century" magazine for August, 1886, General James Longstreet published what he "saw of the battle of Fredericksburg, Va., December 13th, 1862." [See p. 70.]

The omissions in that article were so glaring, and did such injustice, that I wrote to him and requested him to correct what would produce false impressions. His answer was unsatisfactory, but promised that, "I [Longstreet] expect in the near future to make accounts of all battles and put them in shape, in a form not limited by words, but with full details, when there will be opportunity to elaborate upon all points of interest."

General Lee, in his report of the battle of Fredericksburg, December 13th, 1862, writes as follows:

"Longstreet's corps constituted our left, with Anderson's division resting upon the river, and those of McLaws, Pickett, and Hood extending to the right in the order named. Ransom's division supported the batteries on Marye's and Willis's hills, at the foot of which Cobb's brigade of McLaws's division and the 24th North Carolina of Ransom's brigade were stationed, protected by a stone-wall. *The immediate care of this point was committed to General Ransom.*"

The italics in this paper are all mine. The positions are stated by General Lee exactly as the troops were posted. Lee's report continues farther on:

"About 11 A. M., having massed his [the enemy's] troops under cover of the houses of Fredericksburg, he moved forward in strong columns to seize Marye's and Willis's hills. General Ransom advanced Cooke's brigade to the top of the hill, and placed his own, with the exception of the 24th North Carolina, a short distance in rear." . . . "In the *third assault*," his report continues, "the brave and lamented Brigadier-General Thomas R. R. Cobb fell at the head of his gallant troops, and almost at the same moment Brigadier-General Cooke was borne from the field severely wounded. Fearing that Cobb's brigade might exhaust its ammunition, General Longstreet had directed General Kershaw to take two regiments to its support. Arriving after the fall of Cobb, he assumed

command, his troops taking position on the crest and at the foot of the hill, *to which point General Ransom also advanced three other regiments.*"

General Kershaw took command of Cobb's brigade, which I had had supplied with ammunition from my wagons, and I repeated the supply during the day.

General Longstreet, in his official report, says:

"General Ransom on Marye's Hill was charged *with the immediate care of the point attacked*, with orders to send forward additional reinforcements if it should become necessary, and to use Featherston's brigade of Anderson's division if he should require it." And continuing, "I directed Major-General Pickett to send me two of his brigades: *one, Kemper's, was sent to General Ransom to be placed in some secure position to be ready in case it should be wanted.*" And again, "I would also mention, as particularly distinguished in the engagement of the 13th, Brigadier-Generals Ransom, Kershaw, and Cooke (severely wounded)."

General McLaws was not upon the part of the field in the vicinity of Marye's and Willis's hills during the battle, but his aide, Captain King, was killed on the front slope of the hill near Marye's house.

My own permanent command was a small division of two brigades of infantry,—my own, containing the 24th, 25th, 35th, and 49th; and Cooke's, the 15th, 27th, 46th, and 48th regiments,—*all from North Carolina*; and attached to my brigade was Branch's battery, and to Cooke's brigade the battery of Cooper.

At the time the fog began to lift from the field, I was with Generals Lee and Longstreet on what has since been known as Lee's Hill. Starting to join my command as the Federals began to emerge from the town, General Longstreet said to me: "Remember, General, I place that salient in your keeping. Do what is needed; and call on Anderson if you want help."

I brought up Cooke before the first assault to the crest of the hill, and before that assault

ended Cooke took the 27th and the 46th and part of the 15th North Carolina into the sunken road in front. The 48th North Carolina fought on top of the hill all day.

At the third assault I brought up the 25th North Carolina just in time to deliver a few deadly volleys, and then it "took position shoulder to shoulder with Cobb's and Cooke's men in the road."

During this third attack General Cobb was mortally hit, and almost at the same instant, and within two paces of him, General Cooke was severely wounded and borne from the field, Colonel E. D. Hall, 46th North Carolina, assuming command of Cooke's brigade.

At this juncture I sent my adjutant-general, Captain Thomas Rowland, to the sunken road to learn the condition of affairs. "His report was most gratifying, representing the troops in fine spirits and an abundance of ammunition. I had ordered Cobb's brigade supplied from my wagons."

After this third attack I was bringing up the 35th and 49th North Carolina of my brigade, when General Kershaw, by a new road leading from the mill below, came up on horseback with his staff at the head of *one regiment*, which he took in just at Marye's house. He was followed by a second regiment, which halted behind a brick-walled graveyard upon Willis's Hill. [See below.]

About sundown Brigadier-General Kemper was brought up, and relieved the 24th North Carolina with two of his regiments and held the others in closer supporting distance. On the 20th of December, 1862, he sent me a list of his casualties, with this note:

"HEADQUARTERS, KEMPER'S BRIGADE,
"December 20th, 1862.

"GENERAL: I inclose herewith the statement of the losses of my brigade on the 13th and 14th inst, while acting as part of your command. While a report of my losses has been called for by my permanent division commander, and rendered to him, it has occurred to me that a similar one rendered to yourself would be proper and acceptable. Permit me to add, General, that our

brief service with you was deeply gratifying to myself and to my entire command. I have the honor to be, General, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"J. L. KEMPER, Brigadier-General.
"BRIG.-GEN. RANSOM, Commanding Division."

As stated in my letter to General Longstreet dated August 14th, 1886, when I brought to his attention his extraordinary omissions, it gave me unfeigned pleasure to mention properly in my official report the meritorious conduct of those who were a part of my permanent command and those others who that day fell under my direction by reason of my "*immediate care of the point attacked.*" My official report exhibits no self-seeking nor partial discriminations.

Upon a letter from me (of the 17th of December, 1862) to General R. H. Chilton, assistant adjutant-general Army of Northern Virginia, wherein I protest against the ignoring of my command in some telegraphic dispatches to the War Department at Richmond relative to the battle of the 13th, General Longstreet indorses these words: "*General Ransom's division was engaged throughout the battle and was quite as distinguished as any troops upon the field*"; and the same day, the 19th of December, I received from both him and General Chilton notes expressing the regret felt by General Lee at the injustice of which I complained. Those original letters are now among the "Official Records" in Washington.

I may be pardoned for remembering with pride that among the Confederate troops engaged on the *whole* battle-field of Fredericksburg, Va., December 13th, 1862, none were more honorably distinguished than the sons of North Carolina, and those of them who, with brother soldiers from other States, held the lines at Marye's Hill against almost ten times their number of as brave and determined foes as ever did battle, can well trust their fame to history when written from truthful official records. †

† Where credit is not given for quotations, they are from my official report of the battle.—R. R.

KERSHAW'S BRIGADE AT FREDERICKSBURG.

GENERAL J. B. KERSHAW writes to the editors as follows, December 6th, 1887:

"General Ransom's letter, in 'The Century' for December, 1887, in regard to his services at Fredericksburg, contains an error in relation to the operations of my brigade. In the morning of that day, my troops were stationed at the foot of Lee's Hill. After the assaults on General Cobb's position had commenced, I was directed to send two of my regiments to reinforce Cobb, and did so. Before they had reached him, tidings arrived of the fall of General Cobb, and I was immediately ordered to take the rest of my brigade to the position held by his forces, and assume command of the troops of McLaws's division there. I preceded my troops, and as soon as possible arrived at the Stevens House at the foot of Marye's Hill. As my brigade arrived they were placed—two regiments, the 3d and the 7th South Caro-

lina, at Marye's House on the hill, and the rest of them in the sunken road, with the left resting about the Stevens House. The last regiment that arrived was the 15th South Carolina (Colonel De Saussure's). He sheltered his command behind the cemetery on the hill until his proper position was made known, when he moved deliberately and in perfect order down the road to the Stevens House, and proceeded to the right of my line. Instead of having two regiments engaged at that point, as General Ransom supposes, I had five regiments and a battalion (my entire brigade), each of which suffered more or less severely. During these operations I received no orders or directions from any officer but my division commander, General McLaws. I requested not to be relieved that night, and remained in that position until the evacuation of Fredericksburg by the Union forces. These facts were officially reported at the time, and were then too well known to be the subject of mistake."



THE WASHINGTON ARTILLERY ON MARYE'S HILL FIRING UPON THE UNION COLUMNS FORMING FOR THE ASSAULT.

A HOT DAY ON MARYE'S HEIGHTS.

BY WILLIAM MILLER OWEN, FIRST LIEUTENANT, C. S. A.

ON the night of the 10th of December we, of the New Orleans Washington Artillery, sat up late in our camp on Marye's Heights, entertaining some visitors in an improvised theater, smoking our pipes, and talking of home. A final punch having been brewed and disposed of, everybody crept under the blankets and was soon in the land of Nod. In an hour or two we were aroused by the report of a heavy gun. I was up in an instant, for if there should be another it would be the signal that the enemy was preparing to cross the river. Mr. Florence, a civilian in the bivouac, bounced as if he had a concealed spring under his blanket, and cried out, "Wake up! wake up! what's that?" The deep roar of the second gun was heard, and we knew what we had to do. It was 4 o'clock. Our orders were that upon the firing of these signal guns we should at once take our places in the redoubts prepared for us on Marye's Hill, and await developments. "Boots and saddles" was sounded, and the camp was instantly astir, and in the gray of the morning we were on the Plank road leading to the hill. The position reached, our nine guns were placed as follows: Two 12-pounder howitzers and two 12-pounder light Napoleon guns of the 4th Company, under Captain Eshleman and Lieutenants Noreom and Battles, were put in the work on the extreme right of the line next to the Telegraph road; two 12-pounder Napoleon guns of the 3d Company, under Captain Miller and Lieutenant McElroy, in the center; two 3-inch rifle-guns of the 1st Company, under Captain Squires and Lieutenant Brown, on the left, next to a little brick-house and in front of the Welford graveyard, and one 10-pounder Parrott rifle, under Lieutenant Galbraith, of the 1st Company, next to the Plank road leading into Fredericksburg.

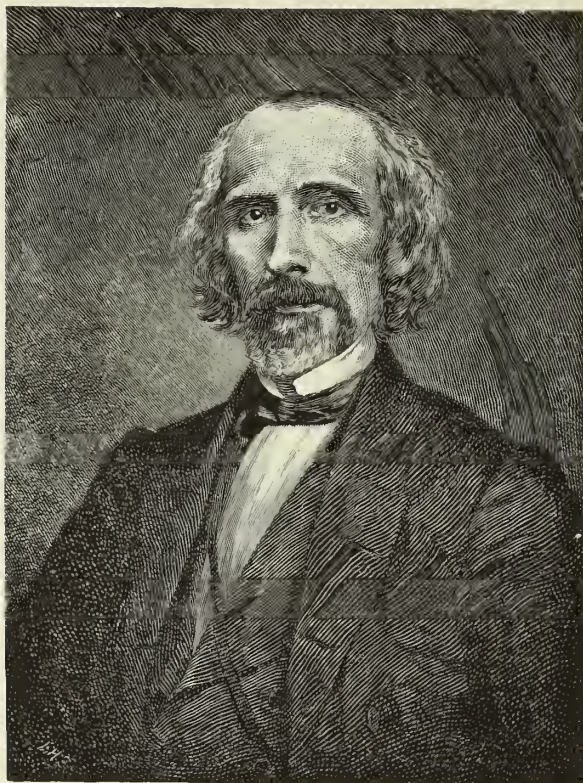
The 2d Company, under Captain Richardson, with four Napoleon guns, moved on across the Telegraph road to the right, and reported as ordered to General Pickett for service with his troops. Without delay the men made the redoubts as snug as possible, and finding the epaulements not to their liking, went to work with pick and shovel throwing the dirt a little higher, and fashioning embrasures to fire through. The engineers objected, and said they were "ruining the works," but the cannoneers said, "We have to fight here, not you; we will arrange them to suit ourselves." And General Longstreet approvingly said, "If you save the finger of a man's hand, that does some good." A dense fog covered the country, and we could not discern what was going on in the town.

The morning of the 12th was also foggy, and it was not until 2 p. m. that it cleared off, and then we could see the Stafford Heights, across the river, densely packed with troops. At 3 p. m. a heavy column moved down toward one of the bridges near the gas-works, and we opened upon it, making some splendid practice and apparently stirring them up prodigiously, for they soon sought cooler localities. While our guns were firing, the enemy's

long range batteries on the Stafford Heights opened upon us, as much as to say, "What are you about over there?" We paid no attention to their inquiry, as our guns could not reach them.

At dawn the next morning, December 13th, in the fresh and nipping air, I stepped upon the gallery overlooking the heights back of the little old-fashioned town of Fredericksburg. Heavy fog and mist hid the whole plain between the heights and the Rappahannock, but under cover of that fog and within easy cannon-shot lay Burnside's army. Along the heights, to the right and left of where I was standing, extending a length of nearly five miles, lay Lee's army. The bugles and the drum corps of the respective armies were now sounding reveille, and the troops were preparing for their early meal. All knew we should have a battle to-day and a great one, for the enemy had crossed the river in immense force, upon his pontoons during the night. On the Confederate side all was ready, and the shock was awaited with stubborn resolution. Last night we had spread our blankets upon the bare floor in the parlor of Marye's house, and now our breakfast was being prepared in its fire-place, and we were impatient to have it over. After hastily dispatching this light meal of bacon and corn-bread, the colonel, chief bugler, and I (the adjutant of the battalion) mounted our horses and rode out to inspect our lines. Visiting first the position of the 10-pounder Parrott rifle on the Plank road, we found Galbraith and his boys wide-awake and ready for business. Across the Plank road, in an earth-work, was the battery of Donaldsonville Cannoneers, of Louisiana, all Creoles and gallant soldiers. Riding to the rear of Marye's house, we visited in turn the redoubts of Squires, Miller, and Eshleman, and found everything ready for instant action. The ammunition chests had been taken off the limbers and placed upon the ground behind the traverses close to the guns. The horses and limbers had been sent to the rear out of danger. We drew rein and spoke a few words to each in passing, and at the 3d Company's redoubt we were invited by Sergeant "Billy" Ellis to partake of some "café noir" which his mess had prepared in a horse bucket. Nothing loath, we drank a tin-cupful, and found, not exactly "Mocha," or "Java," but the best of parched corn. However, it was hot, the morning was raw, and it did very well.

At 12 o'clock the fog had cleared, and while we were sitting in Marye's yard smoking our pipes, after a lunch of hard crackers, a courier came to Colonel Walton, bearing a dispatch from General Longstreet for General Cobb, but, for our information as well, to be read and then given to him. It was as follows: "Should General Anderson, on your left, be compelled to fall back to the second line of heights, you must conform to his movements." Descending the hill into the sunken road, I made my way through the troops, to a little house where General Cobb had his headquarters, and handed him the dispatch. He read it carefully, and said,



JAMES A. SEDDON, SECRETARY OF WAR TO THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY, FROM NOVEMBER 20, 1862, TO JANUARY 28, 1863. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

"Well! if they wait for me to fall back, they will wait a long time." Hardly had he spoken, when a brisk skirmish fire was heard in front, toward the town, and looking over the stone-wall we saw our skirmishers falling back, firing as they came; at the same time the head of a Federal column was seen emerging from one of the streets of the town. They came on at the double-quick, with loud cries of "Hi! Hi! Hi!" which we could distinctly hear. Their arms were carried at "right shoulder shift," and their colors were aslant the shoulders of the color-sergeants. They crossed the canal at the bridge, and getting behind the bank to the low ground to deploy, were almost concealed from our sight. It was 12:30 P. M., and it was evident that we were now going to have it hot and heavy.

The enemy, having deployed, now showed himself above the crest of the ridge and advanced in columns of brigades, and at once our guns began their deadly work with shell and solid shot. How beautifully they came on! Their bright bayonets glistening in the sunlight made the line look like a huge serpent of blue and steel. The very force of their onset leveled the broad fences bounding the small fields and gardens that interspersed the plain. We could see our shells bursting in their ranks, making great gaps; but on they came, as though they would go straight through and over us. Now we gave them canister, and that staggered

them. A few more paces onward and the Georgians in the road below us rose up, and, glancing an instant along their rifle barrels, let loose a storm of lead into the faces of the advance brigade. This was too much; the column hesitated, and then, turning, took refuge behind the bank. But another line appeared from behind the crest and advanced gallantly, and again we opened our guns upon them, and through the smoke we could discern the red breeches of the "Zouaves," and hammered away at them especially. But this advance, like the preceding one, although passing the point reached by the first column, and doing and daring all that brave men could do, recoiled under our canister and the bullets of the infantry in the road, and fell back in great confusion. Spotting the fields in our front, we could detect little patches of blue—the dead and wounded of the Federal infantry who had fallen facing the very muzzles of our guns. Cooke's brigade of Ransom's division was now placed in the sunken road with Cobb's men. At 2 P. M. other columns of the enemy left the crest and advanced to the attack; it appeared to us that there was no end of them. On they came in beautiful array and seemingly more determined to hold the plain than before; but our fire was murderous, and no troops on earth could stand the *feu d'enfer* we were giving them. In the foremost line we distinguished the green flag with the golden

harp of old Ireland, and we knew it to be Meagher's Irish brigade. The gunners of the two rifle-pieces, Corporals Payne and Hardie, were directed to turn their guns against this column; but the gallant enemy pushed on beyond all former charges, and fought and left their dead within five and twenty paces of the sunken road. Our position on the hill was now a hot one, and three regiments of Ransom's brigade were ordered up to reinforce the infantry in the road. We watched them as they came marching in line of battle from the rear, where they had been lying in reserve. They passed through our works and rushed down the hill with loud yells, and then stood shoulder to shoulder with the Georgians. The 25th North Carolina regiment, crossing Miller's guns, halted upon the crest of the hill, dressed its line, and fired a deadly volley at the enemy at close range, and then at the command "Forward!" dashed down the hill. It left dead men on Miller's redoubt, and he had to drag them away from the muzzles of his guns. At this time General Cobb fell mortally wounded, and General Cooke was borne from the field, also wounded. Among other missiles a 3-inch rifle-ball came crashing through the works and fell at our feet. Kershaw picked it up and said, "Boys, let's send this back to them again"; and into the gun it went, and was sped back into the dense ranks of the enemy.

General Kershaw now advanced from the rear

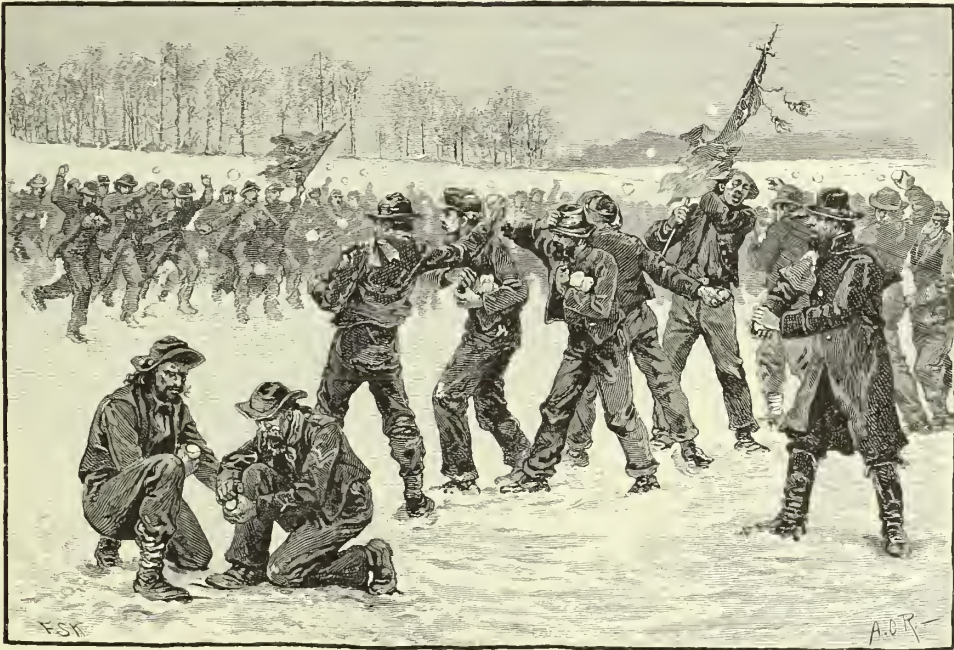
with two regiments of his infantry, to reinforce the men in the sunken road, who were running short of ammunition, and to take command.

The sharp-shooters having got range of our embrasures, we began to suffer. Corporal Ruggles fell mortally wounded, and Perry, who seized the rammer as it fell from Ruggles's hand, received a bullet in the arm. Rodd was holding "vent," and away went his "crazy bono." In quick succession Everett, Rossiter, and Kursheedt were wounded. Falconer in passing in rear of the guns was struck behind the ear and fell dead. We were now so short-handed that every one was in the work, officers and men putting their shoulders to the wheels and running up the guns after each recoil. The frozen ground had given way and was all slush and mud. We were compelled to call upon the infantry to help us at the guns. Eshleman crossed over from the right to report his guns nearly out of ammunition; the other officers reported the same. They were reduced to a few solid shot only. It was now 5 o'clock, P. M., and there was a lull in the storm. The enemy did not seem inclined to renew his efforts, so our guns were withdrawn one by one, and the batteries of Woolfolk and Moody were substituted.

The little whitewashed brick-house to the right of the redoubt we were in was so battered with bullets during the four hours and a half engagement that at the close it was transformed to a bright brick-dust red. An old cast-iron stove lay against the

house, and as the bullets would strike it it would give forth the sound of "bing! bing!" with different tones and variations. During the hottest of the firing old Mr. Florence, our non-combatant friend, was peering around the end of the house (in which, by the way, our wounded took refuge), looking out to see if his son, who was at the gun, was all right. A cannon-ball struck the top of the work, scattering dirt all over us and profusely down our necks, and, striking the end of the house, carried away a cart-load of bricks, just where Mr. Florence had been looking an instant before. We thought surely he had met his fate, but in a moment we were pleased to see his gray head "bob up serenely," determined to see "what was the gage of the battle."

After withdrawing from the hill the command was placed in bivouac, and the men threw themselves upon the ground to take a much-needed rest. We had been under the hottest fire men ever experienced for four hours and a half, and our loss had been three killed and twenty-four wounded. Among them was Sergeant John Wood, our leading spirit in camp theatricals, who was severely injured and never returned to duty. One gun was slightly disabled, and we had exhausted all of our canister, shell and case shot, and nearly every solid shot in our chests. At 5:30 another attack was made by the enemy, but it was easily repulsed, and the battle of Fredericksburg was over, and Burnside was baffled and defeated.



WINTER SPORT IN A CONFEDERATE CAMP.



CONFEDERATE THEATRICALS.

NOTES OF A CONFEDERATE STAFF-OFFICER.

BY W. ROY MASON, MAJOR, C. S. A.

FREDERICKSBURG was the first great battle that I saw in its entire scope. Here the situation of the country—a champaign tract inclosed in hills—offered the opportunity of seeing the troops on both sides, and the movements down the entire lines. I witnessed the magnificent charges made on our left by Meagher's Irish Brigade, and was also a sorrowful witness of the death of our noble T. R. R. Cobb of Georgia, who fell mortally wounded at the foot of the stone-wall just at the door of Mrs. Martha Stevens. This woman, the Molly Pitcher of the war, attended the wounded and the dying fearless of consequences, and refused to leave her house, although, standing just between the advancing line of the enemy and the stone-wall, the position was one of danger. It is said that after using all the materials for bandages at her command, she tore from her person most of her garments, even on that bitter cold day, in her anxiety to administer to necessities greater than her own.

Mrs. Stevens still lives in her old home at the foot of Marye's Heights, honored by every Confederate soldier. Not long ago, hearing that she was very sick, I went out with a party of gentlemen friends who were visitors in Fredericksburg to inquire for her. Being told of our visit, she requested her son-in-law to ask me in. When jocularly asked by him if she was going to invite a gentleman into her sick-room, the old lady replied: "Yes, ask Major Mason in,—we were old soldiers together."

After Burnside had withdrawn his forces across the Rappahannock, General Lee rode over to Marye's Heights, where I then was, and said to me: "Captain, those people [meaning the enemy] have sent over a flag of truce, asking permission to send

a detachment to bury their dead. They have landed near your house, 'The Sentry Box.' Have you any objection to taking this reply down?" As he spoke, he handed me a sealed envelope directed to General Burnside. I accordingly rode into town and made my way down to the river-front of my residence, from which Burnside had only that morning removed his pontoons. There I found a Federal lieutenant-colonel with two soldiers in a boat, holding a flag of truce. I handed him the dispatch and at the same time asked where Burnside was. He answered, "Just up the hill across the river, under an old persimmon-tree, awaiting the dispatch." Telling him my name, I said: "Give my regards to General Burnside, and say to him that I thought he was too familiar with the surroundings of Fredericksburg to butt his brains out deliberately against our stone-walls."

"Do you know General Burnside?" inquired the officer.

"Oh, yes!" I replied, "he is an old acquaintance of mine."

"Then will you wait till I deliver your message and return? He may have something to say."

"I will wait then," was my answer.

In a very short time the flag of truce returned with a request from Burnside that I would come over in the boat to see him. I thoroughly appreciated the fact that I was running the risk of a court-martial from my own side in thus going into the enemy's lines without permission; but being that rather privileged person, a staff-officer, from whom no pass was required and of whom no questions were asked, I determined to accept this invitation and go over.

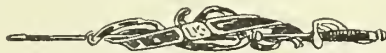
After passing the river and walking leisurely up the hill, the idle Federal soldiers, seeing a Confederate officer on their side and feeling curious about it, ran down in numbers toward the road. For the first time I was frightened by this result of my act, as I feared that our generals on the hills with their strong glasses, seeing the commotion, might inquire into it. As soon as I approached Burnside, who met me with the greatest cordiality, I expressed to him this fear. He at once sent out couriers to order the soldiers back to camp, and we then sat down on an old log, and being provided with crackers, cheese, sardines, and a bottle of brandy (all luxuries to a Confederate), we discussed this lunch as well as the situation. General Burnside seemed terribly mortified and distressed at his failure, but said that he wanted me to tell his old army friends on the other side that he was not responsible for the attack on Fredericksburg in the manner in which it was made, as he was himself under orders, and was not much more than a figure-head, or words to that effect.

We talked pleasantly for an hour about old times, Burnside asking me many questions about former friends and comrades, now on our side of the fratricidal struggle. When I expressed my wish to return, he wrapped up a bottle of brandy to give me at parting, and sent me under escort to the river. Having recrossed, I mounted my horse and rode back to Marye's Heights, but, enjoyable as this escapade had been, I said nothing, of course, about it to my army friends till long afterward.

That day I witnessed with pain the burial of many thousands of Federal dead that had fallen at Fredericksburg. The night before, the thermometer must have fallen to zero, and the bodies of the slain had frozen to the ground. The ground was frozen nearly a foot deep, and it was necessary to use pick-axes. Trenches were dug on the battlefield and the dead collected and laid in line for burial. It was a sad sight to see these brave soldiers thrown into the trenches, without even a blanket or a word of prayer, and the heavy elods thrown upon them; but the most sickening sight of all was when they threw the dead, some four or five hundred in number, into Wallace's empty ice-house, where they were found—a hecatomb of skeletons—after the war. In 1865-66 some shrewd

Yankee contractors obtained government sanction to disinter all the Federal dead on the battle-fields of Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, the Wilderness, and Spotsylvania Court House. They were to be paid *per capita*. When I went out to see the skeletons taken from the ice-house, I found the contractor provided with unpainted boxes of common pine about six feet long and twelve inches wide; but I soon saw that this scoundrel was dividing the remains so as to make as much by his contract as possible. I at once reported what I had seen to Colonel E. V. Sumner, Jr., then in command of the Sub-district of the Rappahannock. He was utterly shocked at this vandalism. I afterward heard that the contract was taken away from the fellow and given to more reliable parties.

One morning about this time I was at breakfast, when the servant, terribly frightened, announced a sergeant and file of soldiers in my porch asking for me. The ladies immediately imagined that this squad had been sent to arrest me, as they had heard more than once that charges would be preferred against me by the United States Government for extreme partisanship. Going to the door, I was told by the sergeant that Colonel Sumner had sent him to me to inquire as to the burial places of the Federal soldiers whom I had found dead upon my lot and in my house after the battle of Fredericksburg. I told him that I had found one Federal soldier stretched on one of my beds. In my parlor, lying on the floor, was another whose entire form left its imprint in blood on the floor,—as may be seen to this day. In my own chamber, sitting up in an old-fashioned easy-chair, I had found a Federal lieutenant-colonel. When I entered, I supposed him to be alive, as the back of his head was toward me. Much startled, I approached him, to find that he had been shot through the neck, and, probably, placed in that upright position that he might better breathe. He was quite dead. I had all these bodies, and five or six others found in my yard, buried in one grave on the wharf. They had been killed, no doubt, by Barksdale's Mississippi brigade, in their retreat from my lot. I made my report at Sumner's headquarters, after which I took the burial squad to the grave, and then returned home to quiet the apprehensions of my family.





NEWSPAPERS IN CAMP. FROM A WAR-TIME SKETCH.

THE REMOVAL OF MCCLELLAN.

BY RICHARD B. IRWIN, LIEUTENANT-COLONEL, ASSISTANT ADJUTANT-GENERAL, U. S. V.

IN some former notes[†] I tried to trace with an impartial hand, and without intruding any prejudice or opinion of my own, the course of the unfortunate differences that had arisen between the Government and the commander of the Army of the Potomac. The acute stage was reached on the Peninsula; Pope's campaign marked the first crisis. On the 1st of September McClellan found himself a general without an army. On the 2d the Government gave him what was left of two armies, and only asked him to defend the capital. On the 5th the troops were in motion; on the 7th, without another word, and thus, as appears probable, overstepping the intentions of the Government, [‡] he set out to meet Lee in Maryland; and, moving deliberately under repeated cautions, ten days later he once more grappled fiercely with his antagonist, who stood waiting on the banks of the Antietam. Antietam strained the back of the Confederacy.

[†] "The Administration in the Peninsular Campaign," Vol. II. of this work, p. 435; "Washington under Banks," Vol. II. of this work, p. 541.

[‡] See Vol. II., p. 542, and note. This is strongly confirmed by Chase's diary, September 2 (Warden's "Life of Chase," p. 549): "The President repeated that the whole scope of the order was simply to direct McClellan to put the troops into the fortifications and command them for the defense of Washington." September 3d (*Ibid.*, p. 460), the diary says: ". . . the President . . . assured him [Pope] . . . that McClellan's command was only temporary, and gave him reason to expect that another army of active operations would be organized at once which he [Pope] would lead." The same evening (September 3d) the President gave General Halleck an order,

Hardly had the echo of the guns died away than again the angry ink began to flow. To follow its track would here be as tedious and unnecessary as it must always be painful. The sullen stage of the disorder had been reached; collapse was soon to follow. As one turns the pages of the history of the seven weeks after Antietam, or the scattered leaves that are some time to be gathered into history, it is impossible not to realize that we are reading of the last days of the first and best-loved commander of the Army of the Potomac; that the last hour is not far off.

Without going into the details, and without attempting to pass judgment, it must be said that no candid person, knowing anything of war and armies, can doubt that the Army of the Potomac, in the last days of September and early October, 1862, needed nearly *everything* before beginning a fresh campaign of its own choice. For some things, such as shoes, the troops were really suffering. It is

which never became known to General McClellan, "to organize an army for active operations . . . independent of the forces he may deem necessary for the defense of Washington, when such active army shall take the field." ("Official Records," Vol. XIX., Part II., p. 169.)

The published extracts from Chase's diary, though voluminous in the earlier stages, are silent on the subject of McClellan's final removal. In Warden's "Life of Chase" (p. 506) we read: "Another chapter² offers a few words relating to our hero's responsibility for that fall," and the foot-note refers us to "² Post Chapter LVII.," but not another word is said, and "Chapter LVI., Conclusion," ends the book. This is at least curious, if not significant.—R. B. I.

equally evident that the duty of providing these essential supplies rested with the administrative services in Washington; that some of the supplies did not reach the troops for a long time, † and that certain subordinate chiefs were at least indulged in expending an amount of energy in combating the earnest representations that came pouring in from the army on the field; that they, or some one, might well have been required to devote to the task of seeing that the supplies reached the troops who needed them, instead of resting content with perfunctory declarations that the stores had "been sent." Nor can any commander of an army be blamed for not liking this. The wonder is, that a railway journey of a few hours should have stood in the way of a complete understanding and swift remedy, on one side or the other.

President Lincoln visited General McClellan on the 1st of October, and went over the battle-fields of South Mountain, Crampton's Gap, and Antietam in his company. When the President left him on the 4th, General McClellan appears to have been under the impression that his military acts and plans were satisfactory. ‡ What these plans were at this time, beyond the reorganization and refitting of his army, in the absence of direct evidence, one can but conjecture from a passage that occurs in a private letter dated October 2d, printed in "McClellan's Own Story" (p. 654). "His [the President's] ostensible purpose is to see the troops and the battle-field; I incline to think that the real purpose of his visit is to push on into a premature advance into Virginia. . . . The real truth is that my army is not fit to advance." ¶ However, on the 6th, two days after Mr. Lincoln's departure, General Halleck telegraphed to General McClellan:

"The President directs that you cross the Potomac and give battle to the enemy or drive him south. Your army must move now, while the roads are good. If you cross the river between the enemy and Washington and cover the latter by your operation, you can be reinforced with 30,000 men. If you move up the valley of the Shenandoah, not more than 12,000 or 15,000 can be sent to you. The President advises the interior line between Washington and the enemy, but does not order it. He is very desirous that your army move as soon as possible."

General McClellan at first selected the valley route, but the tardy delivery of supplies delayed his movement, and when he began crossing the

† In particular the statement of General Rufus Ingalls ("Official Records," Vol. XIX., Part I., p. 95) seems to me conclusive, although the contrary view is strongly held by high authority.—R. B. I.

‡ "We spent some time on the battle-field and conversed fully on the state of affairs. He told me that he was entirely satisfied with me and with all that I had done; that he would stand by me against 'all comers'; that he wished me to continue my preparations for a new campaign, not to stir an inch until fully ready, and when ready to do what I thought best. He repeated that he was entirely satisfied with me; that I should be let alone; that he would stand by me. I have no doubt he meant exactly what he said. He parted from me with the utmost cordiality. We never met again on this earth." ["McClellan's Own Story," pp. 627, 628.]

¶ President Lincoln's views as to the comparative readiness to move of the Federal and Confederate armies may be found tersely expressed in his letter to General McClellan, dated October 13th, 1862, printed on p. 105.

☆ Among other things, Stuart crossed the Potomac

Potomac on the 25th and advanced a few days later, the circumstances had somewhat changed. ☆ Then, leaving the Twelfth Corps to hold Harper's Ferry, he marched down the eastern side of the Blue Ridge, as the President had originally desired, picked up the Third and Eleventh corps and Bayard's division of cavalry on striking the railway opposite Thoroughfare Gap, and on the 5th of November made his headquarters at Rectortown, with all his arrangements in progress for concentrating the army near Warrenton.

This movement in effect (although General McClellan does not appear to have known it definitely until three days later) placed the Army of the Potomac, with a force double that of the Army of Northern Virginia, † between the two halves of that army, farther separated by the Blue Ridge; for Lee, with Longstreet's corps, had moved to Culpeper as soon as it was seen that McClellan was advancing east of the Blue Ridge, ‡ and Jackson was still in the Shenandoah, distant several days' march.

On that very day, November 5th, the President, with his own hand, wrote the following order: ††

"EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, , 186 .

"By direction of the President it is ordered that Major-General McClellan be relieved from the command of the Army of the Potomac, and that Major-General Burnside take command of that army. Also that Major-General Hunter take command of the corps in said army now commanded by General Burnside.

"That Major-General Fitz John Porter be relieved from the command of the corps he now commands in said army, and that Major-General Hooker take command of said corps.

"The general-in-chief is authorized, in [his] discretion, to issue an order substantially as the above, forthwith or as soon as he may deem proper.

"A. LINCOLN.

"November 5th, 1862."

Forthwith the following orders were issued:

"HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
WASHINGTON, November 5th, 1862.

"MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN, Commanding, etc.—GENERAL: On receipt of the order of the President, sent herewith, you will immediately turn over your command to Major-General Burnside, and repair to Trenton, N. J., reporting, on your arrival at that place, by telegraph, for further orders.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"H. W. HALLECK,
"General-in-Chief."

at Williamsport on the 10th of October, on his famous raid into Maryland and Pennsylvania, rode completely round the rear of the Army of the Potomac, and, eluding Pleasanton's vigorous but ineffectual pursuit, safely recrossed the river near the mouth of the Monocacy. One effect of this raid on the mind of the President is indicated in an anecdote related in "Washington under Banks," Vol. II. of this work, p. 544.—R. B. I.

‡ The "Official Records" show that McClellan's effective force was about 145,000, Lee's about 72,000. Longstreet and Jackson each had about 32,000.—R. B. I.

† Lee's orders for Longstreet's movement are dated October 28th. The Army of the Potomac had not then finished crossing the river.—R. B. I.

†† It is virtually certain that General McClellan never saw this order, which, in the form as written by the President, was never promulgated. General Hunter was not placed in command of Burnside's corps. Hooker was ordered to relieve Porter by Special Orders from the War Department, Adjutant-General's Office, dated November 10th, 1862.

This order was inclosed:

"WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, November 5th, 1862.

"GENERAL ORDERS, No. 182: By direction of the President of the United States, it is ordered that Major-General McClellan be relieved from the command of the Army of the Potomac, and that Major-General Burnside take the command of that army.

"By order of the Secretary of War:

"E. D. TOWNSEND,
"Assistant Adjutant-General."

If we except Halleck's report of October 28th, obviously called for and furnished as a record, and containing nothing new, no cause or reason was ever made public either officially or in any one of the many informal modes in which official action so often finds it convenient to let itself be known until the appearance in "The Century" magazine for February, 1889, in which Messrs. Hay and Nicolay make it clear that the President had some time before made up his mind to remove McClellan "if he should permit Lee to cross the Blue Ridge and place himself between Richmond and the Army of the Potomac."

General C. P. Buckingham, the confidential assistant adjutant-general of the Secretary of War, bore these orders from Washington by a special train. He arrived at Rectortown in a blinding snow-storm. First calling upon Burnside to deliver to him a counterpart of the order, late on the night of November 7th these two officers proceeded together to General McClellan's tent. McClellan says: ☆

"I at once [when he heard of Buckingham's arrival] suspected that he brought the order relieving me from command, but kept my own counsel. Late at night I was sitting alone in my tent, writing to my wife. All the staff were asleep. Suddenly some one knocked upon the tent-pole, and upon my invitation to enter there appeared Burnside and Buckingham, both looking very solemn. I received them kindly and commenced conversation upon general subjects in the most unconcerned manner possible. After a few moments Buckingham said to Burnside: 'Well, General, I think

☆ "McClellan's Own Story," pp. 652, 653.

General Buckingham, in a letter printed in the "Chicago Tribune," of September 4th, 1875 (quoted in the "History of the Civil War in America," by the Comte de Paris, Vol. II., p. 555), writes substantially to the same effect. He also states that General Burnside at first declined the command (as there is good reason for believing he had done twice before, namely, in August, and again early in September). He adds: "General McClellan has himself borne testimony to the kind manner in which I communicated the order, and I can bear testimony to his prompt and cheerful obedience to it."—R. B. I.

☆ "History of the Second Army Corps," by General Francis A. Walker, p. 137.

From "McClellan's Last Service to the Republic," by George Ticklor Curtis (N. Y.: D. Appleton & Co.), pp. 81-83, we take the following description of McClellan's farewell to the Army of the Potomac:

"After he had reached Warrenton, a day was spent in viewing the position of the troops and in conferences with General Burnside respecting future operations. In the course of that day the order was published, and General McClellan issued a farewell address to the army. On the evening of Sunday, the 9th, there was an assembly of officers who came to take leave of him. On the 10th he visited some of the various camps, and amid the impassioned cries and demonstrations of the men he took a last look of the troops who had followed him with such unflinching devotion. 'His-

we had better tell General McClellan the object of our visit.' I very pleasantly said that I should be glad to learn it. Whereupon Buckingham handed me the two orders of which he was the bearer. . . .

"I saw that both—especially Buckingham—were watching me most intently while I opened and read the orders. I read the papers with a smile, immediately turned to Burnside, and said: 'Well, Burnside, I turn the command over to you.'"

The movements of troops that had already been begun were completed on the 8th and 9th, at General Burnside's request; but there the execution of General McClellan's plans stopped. Burnside turned to the left and massed his army on the Rappahannock, opposite Fredericksburg; Lee conformed to this movement, called in Jackson, and concentrated on the opposite heights. The disaster of Fredericksburg followed.

On the 10th McClellan bade farewell to the Army of the Potomac. As he rode between the lines, formed almost of their own accord to do honor for the last time to their beloved commander, grief and disappointment were on every face, and many tears stood in many an eye that had learned to look on war without a tremor. In the simple, touching words of the gallant and accomplished Walker: "Every heart was filled with love and grief; every voice was raised in shouts expressive of devotion and indignation; and when the chief had passed out of sight, the romance of war was over for the Army of the Potomac."☆

In all that these brave men did, in all that they suffered, and great were their deeds, unspeakable their sufferings, never, perhaps, were their devotion and loyalty more nobly proved than by their instant obedience to this order, unwisely wrung from the President as many of them believed it to have been, yet still for them, as American soldiers, as American citizens, an implicit mandate. The men who could talk so glibly of "prætorian guards" knew little of the Army of the Potomac.

history,' he said to the officers who crowded around him—'history will do justice to the Army of the Potomac, even if the present generation does not. I feel as if I had been intimately connected with each and all of you. Nothing is more binding than the friendship of companions in arms. May you all in future preserve the high reputation of our army, and serve all as well and faithfully as you have served me.' On the 11th, at Warrenton Junction, he entered with his staff a railroad train that was about to start toward Washington. Here there was stationed a detachment of 2000 troops. They were drawn up in line, and a salute was fired. The men then broke their ranks, surrounded the car in which he was seated, uncoupled it from the train and ran it back, insisting wildly that he should not leave them, and uttering the bitterest imprecations against those who had deprived them of their beloved commander. The scene has been described to us by an officer who was present as one of fearful excitement. The moment was critical. One word, one look of encouragement, the lifting of a finger, would have been the signal for a revolt against lawful authority, the consequences of which no man can measure. McClellan stepped upon the front platform of the car, and there was instant silence. His address was short. It ended in the memorable words, 'Stand by General Burnside as you have stood by me, and all will be well.' The soldiers were calmed. They rolled the car onward, recoupled it to the train, and with one long and mournful buzz bade farewell to their late commander, whom many of them were destined never to behold again. General McClellan reached Washington on the following day, and without tarrying for an hour proceeded at once to Trenton, where he arrived at 4 o'clock in the morning of the 12th. From that time he never again saw Lincoln, or Stanton, or Halleck."—EDITORS.



HOT WORK FOR HAZARD'S BATTERY. SEE P. 115.

SUMNER'S "RIGHT GRAND DIVISION."†

BY DARIUS N. COUCH, MAJOR-GENERAL, U. S. V.

ON the evening of October 15th, 1862, a few days after McClellan had placed me in command of the Second Corps, then at Harper's Ferry, the commanding general sent an order for Hancock to take his division the next morning on a reconnoissance toward Charlestown, about ten miles distant. The division started in good season, as directed. About 10 in the morning General McClellan reined up at my headquarters and asked me to go out with him to see what the troops were doing. Our people had met the enemy's outpost five miles from the Ferry, and while artillery shots were being exchanged, both of us dismounted, walked away by ourselves, and took seats on a ledge of rocks. After a little while McClellan sent to an aide for a map of Virginia. Spreading it before us, he pointed to the strategic features of the valley of the Shenandoah, and indicated the movements he intended to make, which would have the effect of compelling Lee to concentrate in the vicinity, I think, of Gordonsville or Charlottesville, where a great battle would be fought. Continuing the conversation, he said, "But I may not have command of the army much longer. Lincoln is down on me," and, taking a paper from his pocket, he gave me my first intimation of the President's famous letter. ‡

†It is due to General Couch to state that, with limited time in which to prepare this paper, he dictated it to a stenographer in answer to questions by the editors bearing chiefly on his personal recollections.—EDITORS.

‡Lincoln's letter is dated October 13th, 1862, and begins: "MY DEAR SIR,—You remember my speaking to you of what I called your over-cautiousness. Are you not over-cautious when you assume that you cannot do what the enemy is constantly

doing? Should you not claim to be at least his equal in prowess, and act upon the claim?" Further on the President says: "Change positions with the enemy, and think you not he would break your communication with Richmond within the next twenty-four hours? You dread his going into Pennsylvania; but if he does so in full force, he gives up his communication to you absolutely, and you have nothing to do but to follow and ruin him. . . . Exclusive of the water-line, you are

He read it aloud very carefully, and when it was finished I told him I thought there was no ill-feeling in the tone of it. He thought there was, and quickly added, "Yes, Couch, I expect to be relieved from the Army of the Potomac, and to have a command in the West; and I am going to take three or four with me," calling off by their names four prominent officers. I queried if "so and so" would be taken along, naming one who was generally thought to be a great favorite with McClellan. His curt reply was, "No, I sha'n't have him."

This brief conversation opened a new world for me. I had never before been to any extent his confidant, and I pondered whether on a change of the commanders of the Army of the Potomac the War Department would allow him to choose the generals whose names had been mentioned. I wondered what would be the future of himself and those who followed his fortunes in that untried field. These and a crowd of other kindred thoughts quite oppressed me for several days. But as the time wore on, and preparations for the invasion of Virginia were allowed to go on without let or hindrance from Washington, I naturally and gladly inferred that McClellan's fears of hostile working against him were groundless. However, the blow came, and soon enough.

On the 8th of November, just at dark, I had dismounted, and, standing in the snow, was superintending the camp arrangements of my troops, when McClellan came up with his staff, accompanied by General Burnside. McClellan drew in his horse, and the first thing he said was:

"Couch, I am relieved from the command of the army, and Burnside is my successor."

I stepped up to him and took hold of his hand, and said, "General McClellan, I am sorry for it." Then, going around the head of his horse to Burnside, I said, "General Burnside, I congratulate you."

Burnside heard what I said to General McClellan; he turned away his head, and made a broad gesture as he exclaimed:

"Couch, don't say a word about it."

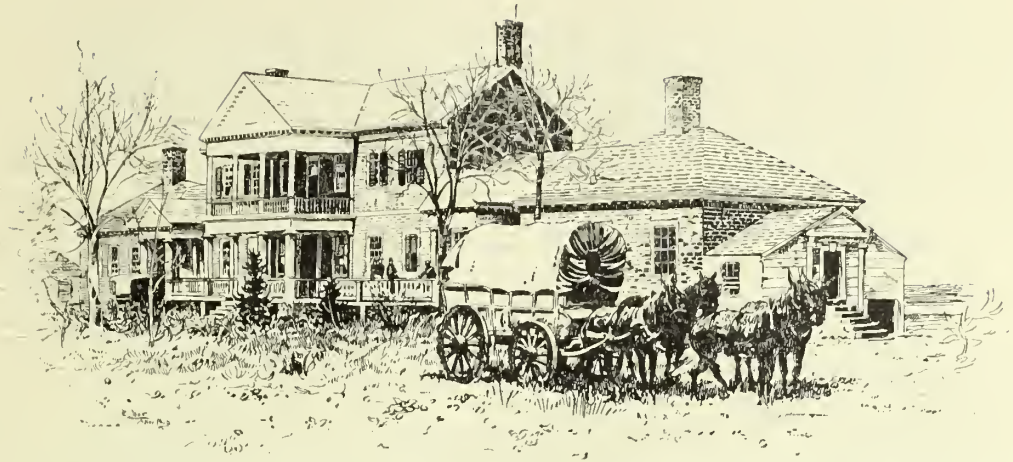
His manner indicated that he did not wish to talk about the change; that he thought it was not good policy to do so, nor the place to do it. He told me afterward that he did not like to take the command, but that he did so to keep it from going to somebody manifestly unfit for it. I assumed that he meant Hooker. Those of us who were well acquainted with Burnside knew that he was a brave, loyal man, but we did not think that he had the military ability to command the Army of the Potomac.

McClellan took leave on the 10th. Fitz John Porter sent notes to the corps commanders, informing them that McClellan was going away, and suggesting that we ride about with him. Such a scene as that leave-taking

now nearer Richmond than the enemy is, by the route that you *can* and he *must* take." And in conclusion: "It is all easy if our troops march as well as the enemy, and it is unmanly to say they cannot do it. This letter is in no sense an order."

In his "Life of Abraham Lincoln" (Chicago: Jan-

sen, McClurg & Company) Isaac N. Arnold makes President Lincoln say: "With all his failings as a soldier, McClellan is a pleasant and scholarly gentleman. He is an admirable engineer, but he seems to have a special talent for a *stationary engine*."—EDITORS.



CHATHAM, OPPOSITE FREDERICKSBURG, ALSO KNOWN AS THE "LACY HOUSE." FROM A WAR-TIME PHOTOGRAPH.

had never been known in our army. Men shed tears and there was great excitement among the troops. [See p. 104.]

I think the soldiers had an idea that McClellan would take care of them,—would not put them in places where they would be unnecessarily cut up; and if a general has the confidence of his men he is pretty strong. But officers and men were determined to serve Burnside loyally.

A day or two afterward Burnside called the corps commanders together, mapped out a course that he intended to pursue; and, among other things, he said that he intended to double the army corps, and he proposed to call the three new commands—or doubles—"grand divisions." Under this arrangement my corps, the Second, and Willeox's, the Ninth, which had been Burnside's, formed the Right Grand Division under General Sumner. When Sumner and I arrived near Falmouth, opposite Fredericksburg, November 17th, we found the enemy in small force in readiness to oppose our crossing the Rappahannock. Everybody knew that Lee would rush right in; we could see it. If the pontoons had been there, we might have crossed at once. [See p. 121.] Yet we lay there nearly a month, while they were fortifying before our eyes; besides, the weather was against us. Under date of December 7th, my diary contains this entry: "Very cold; plenty of snow. Men suffering; cold outdoors, ice indoors in my room."

Sumner's headquarters were at the Lacy House, while the Second Corps lay back of the brow of the hill behind Falmouth.

On the night of the 9th, two nights before the crossing, Sumner called a council to discuss what we were to do, the corps, division, and brigade commanders being present. The result was a plain, free talk all around, in which words were not minced, for the conversation soon drifted into a marked disapprobation of the manner in which Burnside contemplated meeting the enemy.

Sumner seemed to feel badly that the officers did not agree to Burnside's mode of advance. That noble old hero was so faithful and loyal that he wanted, even against impossibilities, to carry out everything Burnside suggested. I

should doubt if his judgment concurred. It was only chivalrous attachment to Burnside, or to any commander. But there were not two opinions among the subordinate officers as to the rashness of the undertaking.

Somebody told Burnside of our views, and he was irritated. He asked us to meet him the next night at the Lacy House. He said he understood, in a general way, that we were opposed to his plans. He seemed to be rather

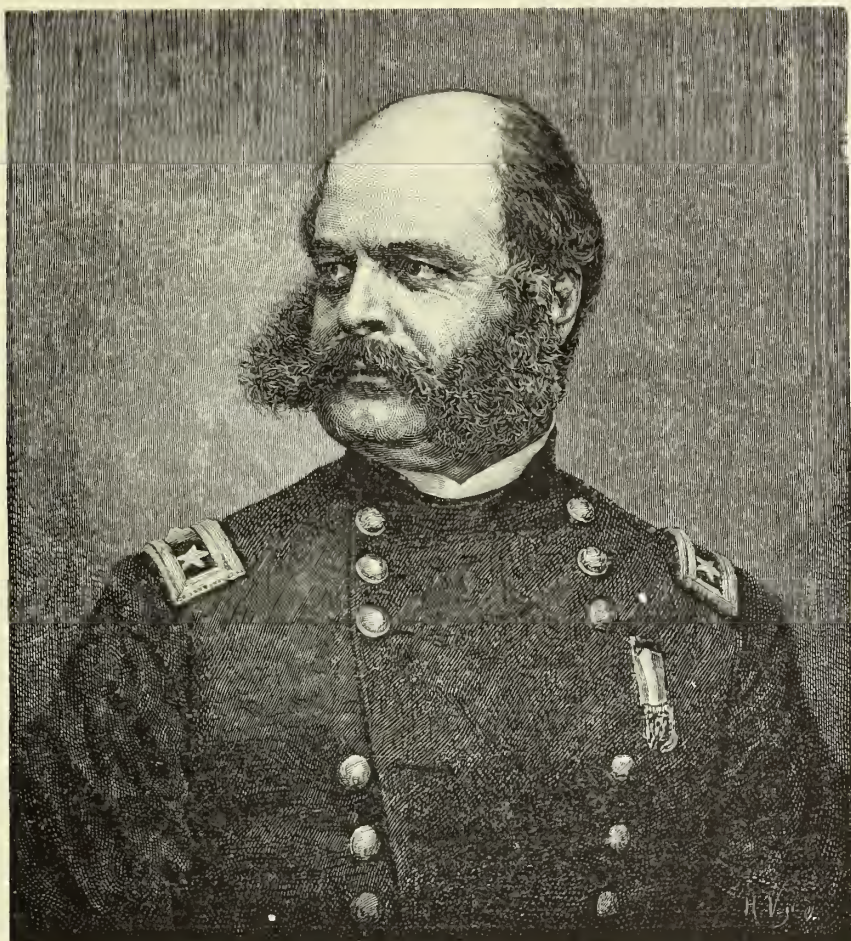
severe on Hancock,—to my surprise, for I did not think that officer had said as much as myself in opposition to the plan of attack. Burnside stated that he had formed his plans, and all he wanted was the devotion of his men. Hancock made a reply in which he disclaimed any personal discourtesy, and said he knew there was a line of fortified heights on the opposite side, and that it



THE PHILLIPS HOUSE, BURNSIDE'S HEADQUARTERS.
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN WHILE THE HOUSE WAS BURNING.

would be pretty difficult for us to go over there and take them. I rose after him, knowing that I was the more guilty, and expressed a desire to serve Burnside, saying, among other things, that if I had ever done anything in any battle, in this one I intended to do twice as much. French came in while I was talking. He was rather late, and in his bluff way exclaimed: "Is this a Methodist camp-meeting?"

The heights on the morning of the 11th, before the bridges were thrown across, did not offer a very animated scene, because the troops were mostly hidden. The bombardment for the purpose of dislodging the sharp-shooters who under cover of the houses were delaying the bridge-making, was terrific, while the smoke settled down and veiled the scene. After the bombardment had failed to dislodge the enemy, the 7th Michigan and the 19th and the 20th Massachusetts of Howard's division sprang into the pontoons, and rowing themselves over drove away Barksdale's sharp-shooters. This gallant action enabled the engineers to complete the bridges. Howard's division was the first to cross by the upper bridge [see map, p. 74], his advance having a lively fight in the streets of Fredericksburg. Hawkins's brigade of Willcox's corps occupied the lower part of the town on the same evening, and the town was not secured without desperate fighting. I went over the next morning, Friday, the 12th, with Hancock's and French's divisions. The remainder of Willcox's corps crossed and occupied the lower part of the town. There was considerable looting. I placed a provost-guard at the bridges, with orders that nobody should go back with plunder. An enormous pile of booty was collected there by evening. But there came a time when we were too busy to guard it, and I suppose it was finally carried off by another set of spoilers. The troops of the two corps bivouacked that night in the streets and were not per-



W. A. Sumner

mitted to make fires. Late on that day we had orders to be ready to cross Hazel Run, which meant that we were to join Franklin. That was the only proper move to make, since we had done just what the enemy wanted us to do,—had divided our army. The conditions were favorable for a change of position unknown to the enemy, since the night was dark and the next morning was foggy. But it would have been very difficult to make the movement. I was much worried in regard to building the necessary bridges over Hazel Run and the dangers attending a flank movement at night in the presence of the enemy. But the order to march never came. The orders that were given by Burnside showed that he had no fixed plan of battle. After getting in the face of the enemy, his intentions seemed to be continually changing.

Early the next morning, Saturday, the 13th, I received orders to make an assault in front. My instructions came from General Sumner, who did not

cross the river during the fight, owing to a special understanding with which I had nothing to do, and which related to his supposed rashness. At Fair Oaks, Antietam, and on other battle-fields he had shown that he was a hard fighter. He was a grand soldier, full of honor and gallantry, and a man of great determination.



FREDERICKSBURG FROM THE EAST BANK OF THE RAPPAHANNOCK—1.

As I have said, on that Saturday morning we were enveloped in a heavy fog. At 8:15, when we were still holding ourselves in readiness to move to the left, I received the following order:

"HEADQUARTERS, RIGHT GRAND DIVISION, NEAR FALMOUTH, VA., December 12th, 1862.

"MAJOR-GENERAL COUCH, Commanding Second Corps d'Armée.

"GENERAL: The major-general commanding directs me to say to you that General Willcox has been ordered to extend to the left, so as to connect with Franklin's right. You will extend your right so far as to prevent the possibility of the enemy occupying the upper part of the town. You will then form a column of a division for the purpose of pushing in the direction of the Plank and Telegraph roads, for the purpose of seizing the heights in rear of the town. This column will advance in three lines, with such intervals as you may judge proper, this movement to be covered by a heavy line of skirmishers in front and on both flanks. You will hold another division in readiness to advance in support of this movement, to be formed in the same manner as the leading division. Particular care and precaution must be taken to prevent collision with our own troops in the fog. The movement will not commence until you receive orders. The watchword will be, 'Scott!' Very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

"J. H. TAYLOR, Chief of Staff and Assistant Adjutant-General.

"P. S. The major-general thinks that, as Howard's division led into the town, it is proper that one of the others take the advance."

French was at once directed to prepare his division in three brigade lines for the advance, and Hancock was to follow with his division in the same order. The distance between the brigade lines was to be about 200 yards.

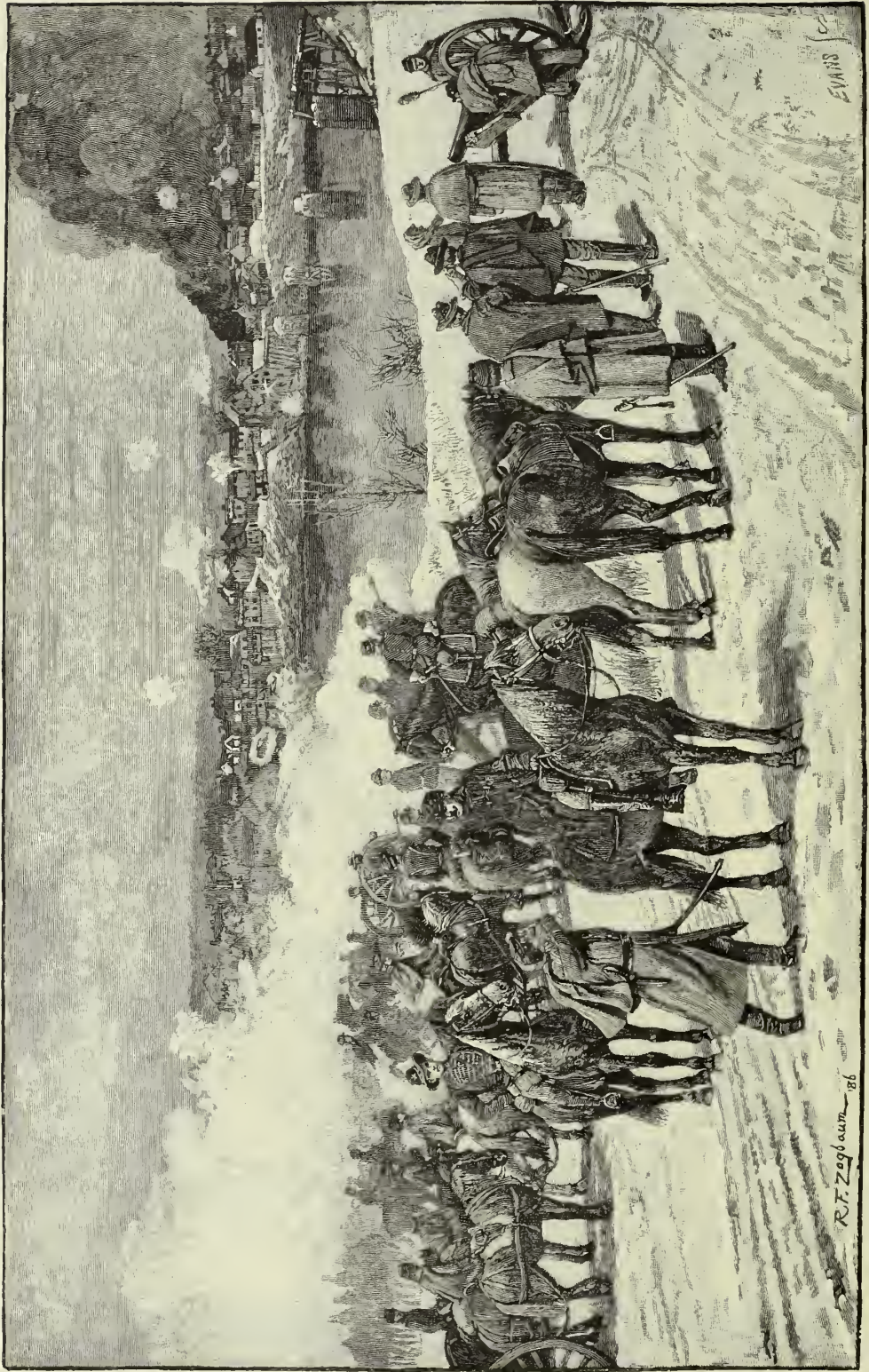
Toward 10 o'clock the fog began to lift; French reported that he was ready, I signaled to Sumner, and about 11 o'clock the movement was ordered to begin. French threw out a strong body of skirmishers, and his brigades filed out of town as rapidly as possible by two parallel streets, the one on the right, which



FREDERICKSBURG FROM THE EAST BANK OF THE RAPPAHANNOCK—II.

was Hanover street, running into the Telegraph road, and both leading direct to Marye's Hill, the stronghold of the enemy. On the outskirts of the town the troops encountered a ditch, or canal, so deep as to be almost impassable except at the street bridges, and, one of the latter being partly torn up, the troops had to cross single file on the stringers. Once across the canal, the attacking forces deployed under the bank bordering the plain over which they were to charge. This plain was obstructed here and there by houses and fences, notably at a fork of the Telegraph road, in the narrow angles of which was a cluster of houses and gardens; and also on the parallel road just south of it, where stood a large square brick house. This cluster of houses and the brick house were the rallying-points for parts of our disordered lines of attack. The fork in the road and the brick house were less than 150 yards from the stone-wall, which covered also as much more of the plain to the left of the brick house. A little in advance of the brick house a slight rise in the ground afforded protection to men lying down, against the musketry behind the stone-wall, but not against the converging fire of the artillery on the heights. My headquarters were in the field on the edge of the town, overlooking the plain.

A few minutes after noon French's division charged in the order of Kimball's, Andrews's, and Palmer's brigades, a part of Kimball's men getting into the cluster of houses in the fork of the road. Hancock followed them in the order of Zook's, Meagher's, and Caldwell's brigades, the two former getting



THE BOMBARDMENT OF FREDERICKSBURG, DECEMBER 11, 1862.

nearer to the stone-wall than any who had gone before, except a few of Kimball's men, and nearer than any brigade which followed them.

Without a clear idea of the state of affairs at the front, since the smoke and light fog veiled everything, I sent word to French and Hancock to carry the enemy's works by storm. Then I climbed the steeple of the court-house, and from above the haze and smoke got a clear view of the field. Howard, who was with me, says I exclaimed, "Oh, great God! see how our men, our poor fellows, are falling!" I remember that the whole plain was covered with men, prostrate and dropping, the live men running here and there, and in front closing upon each other, and the wounded coming back. The commands seemed to be mixed up. I had never before seen fighting like that, nothing approaching it in terrible uproar and destruction. There was no cheering on the part of the men, but a stubborn determination to obey orders and do their duty. I don't think there was much feeling of success. As they charged the artillery fire would break their formation and they would get mixed; then they would close up, go forward, receive the withering infantry fire, and those who were able would run to the houses and fight as best they could; and then the next brigade coming up in succession would do its duty and melt like snow coming down on warm ground.

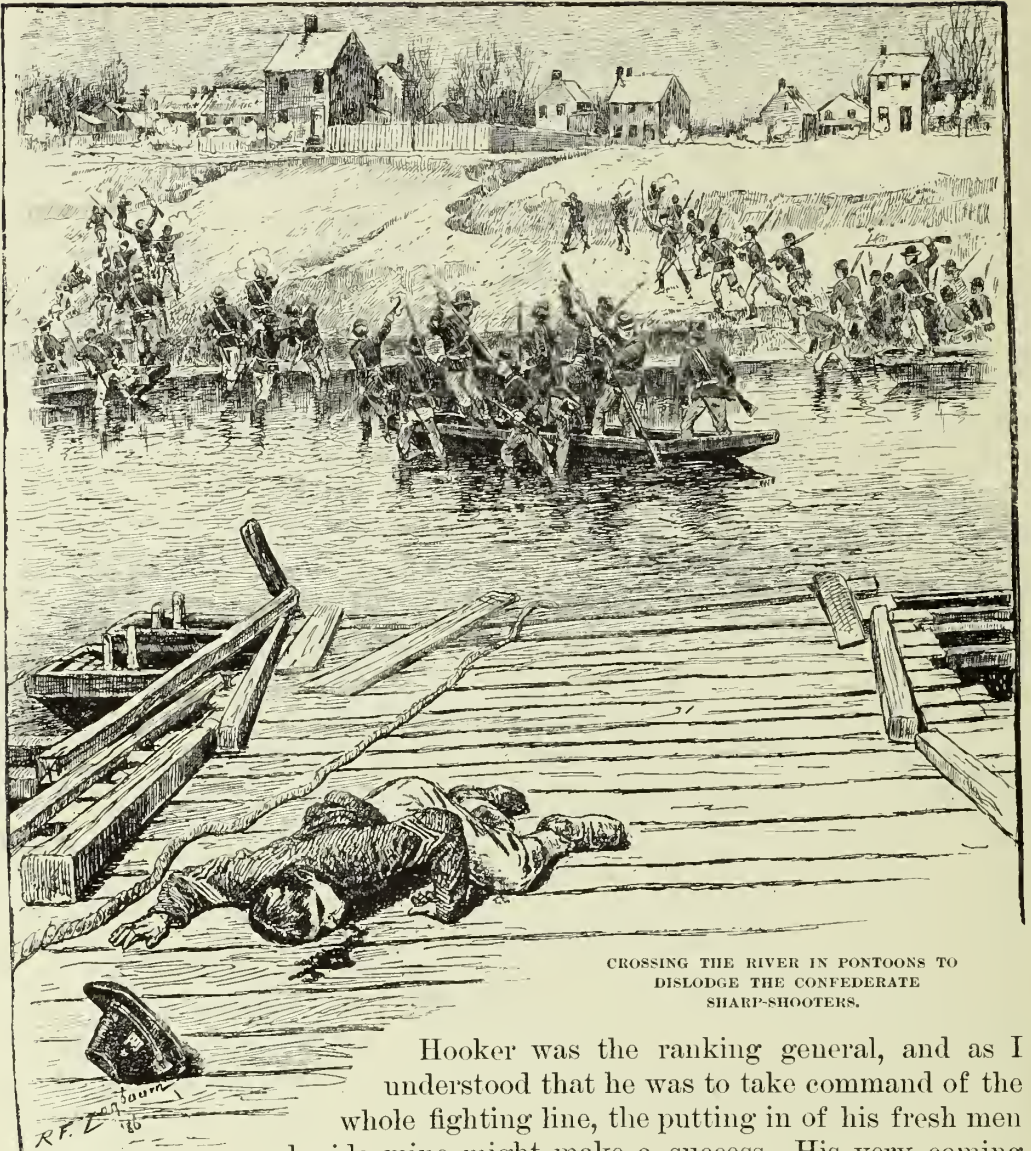
I was in the steeple hardly ten seconds, for I saw at a glance how they were being cut down, and was convinced that we could not be successful in front, and that our only chance lay by the right. I immediately ordered Howard to work in on the right with the brigades of Owen and Hall, and attack the enemy behind the stone-wall in flank, which was done. Before he could begin this movement both Hancock and French had notified me that they must have support or they would not be responsible for the maintenance of their position. Sturgis, of Willcox's corps, who had been supporting my left, sent the brigades of Ferrero and Nagle to the fruitless charge.

About 2 o'clock General Hooker, who was in command of the Center Grand Division (Stoneman's and Butterfield's corps), came upon the field. At an earlier hour Whipple's division of Stoneman's corps had crossed the river and relieved Howard on the right, so that the latter might join in the attack in the center, and Griffin's division of Butterfield's corps had come over to the support of Sturgis. Humphreys and Sykes, of the latter corps, came to my support. Toward 3 o'clock I received the following dispatch:

"HEADQUARTERS, RIGHT GRAND DIVISION, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, Dec. 13th, 1862.—2:40 P. M. GENERAL COUCH: Hooker has been ordered to put in everything. You must hold on until he comes in. By command of Brevet Major-General SUMNER. W. G. JONES, Lieut., Aide-de-camp, etc."

NOTE TO ILLUSTRATION.—The Artillery Reserve posted on the eastern bank of the river comprised four commands, as follows: the Right Division, under Lieutenant-Colonel William Hays, extending from Falmouth down to the ravine, about 500 yards below Falmouth (see map, p. 74), and consisting of 40 rifled guns; the Right Center Division, under Colonel C. H. Tompkins, consisted of 38 guns; the Left Center Division, under Colonel R. O. Tyler, occupying the crest of the ridge from the middle bridge southward to the wooded ravine

near the center of the ridge, and consisting of 27 guns; the Left Division, under Captain G. A. De Russy, numbering 42 guns. When the order was given to fire upon the town, only the guns of the Right Center and Left Center could be brought to bear effectually. Hays's batteries delivered a few shots. Tyler's guns opened fire, doing but little execution. Colonel Tompkins reported that his batteries opened at 12:30 P. M. under orders to burn the town, and ceased firing at 2:30 P. M., at which time several buildings were burning.—EDITORS.



CROSSING THE RIVER IN PONTOONS TO
DISLodge THE CONFEDERATE
SHARP-SHOOTERS.

Hooker was the ranking general, and as I understood that he was to take command of the whole fighting line, the putting in of his fresh men beside mine might make a success. His very coming was to me, therefore, like the breaking out of the sun in a storm. I rode back to meet him, told him what had been done, and said, "I can't carry that hill by a front assault; the only chance we have is to try to get in on the right." Hooker replied, "I will talk with Hancock." He talked with Hancock, and after a few minutes said, "Well, Couch, things are in such a state I must go over and tell Burnside it is no use trying to carry this line here,"—or words to that effect,—and then he went off. His going away left me again in command. Burnside was nearly two miles distant. It was not much after 2 o'clock when he went away, and it was about 4 when he returned. This was after Humphreys had made his charge and the fighting for the day was substantially finished. We were holding our lines.

Hooker left word that Humphreys, whose division was ready to advance,

should take his cue from me. Butterfield also gave Humphreys orders to that effect. After a lull in the battle General Caldwell, a brigade commander under Hancock, sent word to the latter that the enemy were retreating from Marye's house. It was probably only a shifting of the enemy's troops for the relief of the front line. But, assuming that the report was true, I said, "General Humphreys, Hancock reports the enemy is falling back; now is the time for you to go in!" He was ready, and his troops around him were ready. The order had evidently been expected, and after an interval of more than twenty-five years I well recollect the grim determination which settled on the face of that gallant hero when he received the words, "Now is the time for you to go in!" Spurring to his work he led his two brigades, who charged over precisely the same ground, but who did not get quite so near to the stone-wall as some of French's and Hancock's men.↓

The musketry fire was very heavy, and the artillery fire was simply terrible. I sent word several times to our artillery on the right of Falmouth that they were firing into us, and were tearing our own men to pieces. I thought they had made a mistake in the range. But I learned later that the fire came from the guns of the enemy on their extreme left.

Soon after 4 o'clock, or about sunset, while Humphreys was at work, Getty's division of Willcox's corps was ordered to the charge on our left by the unfinished railroad. I could see them being dreadfully cut up, although they had not advanced as far as our men. I determined to send a battery upon the plain to shell the line that was doing them so much harm; so I ordered an aide to tell Colonel Morgan to send a battery across the canal and plant it near the brick house. Morgan came to me and said: "General, a battery can't live there." I replied, "Then it must die there!"

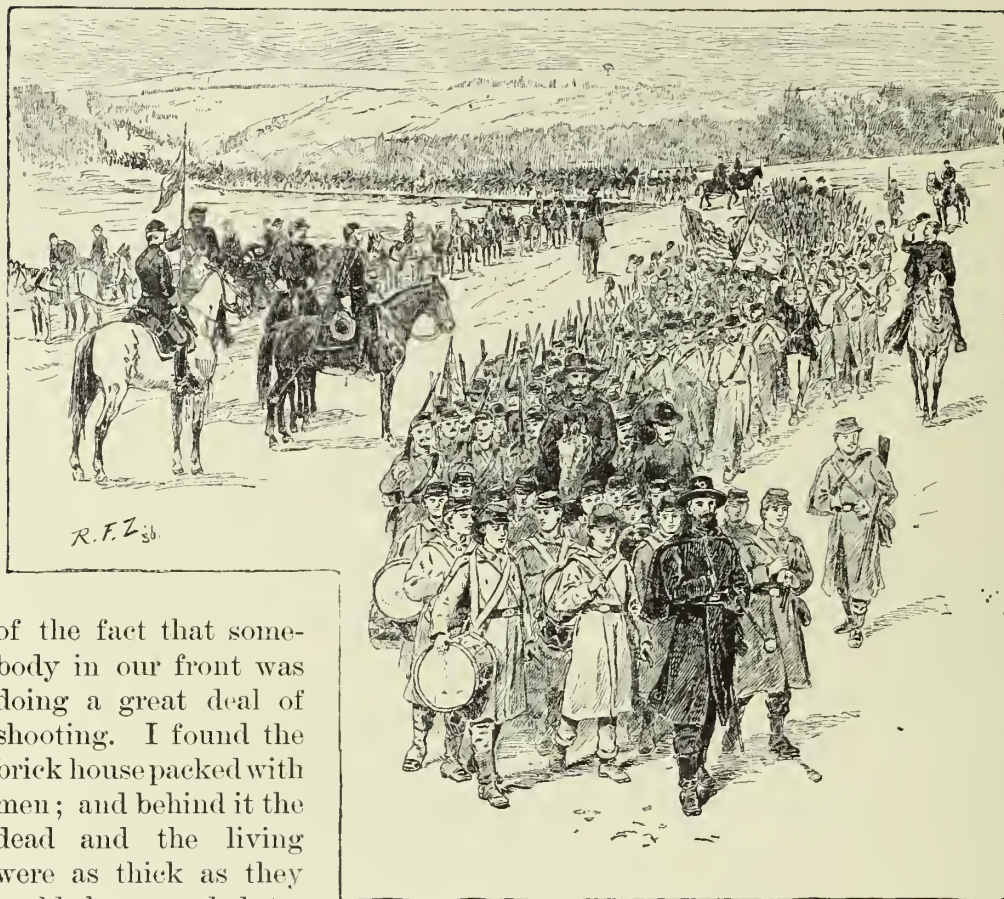
Hazard took his battery out in gallant style and opened fire on the enemy's lines to the left of the Marye House. Men never fought more gallantly, and he lost a great many men and horses. When Hooker came he ordered Frank's battery to join Hazard. But this last effort did not last long. In the midst of it I rode to the brick house, accompanied by Colonel Francis A. Walker, Lieutenant Cushing, and my orderly, Long. The smoke lay so thick that we could not see the enemy, and I think they could not see us, but we were aware

↓ Lieutenant-Colonel Carswell McClellan, Assistant Adjutant-General, serving on General Humphreys's staff at Fredericksburg, writes to the editors to correct a statement made in Walker's "History of the Second Army Corps" [p. 181], as well as by other writers, implying that the charge of Humphreys's division was supported by Sykes. Colonel McClellan says:

"Sykes's division had *not* crossed the Rappahannock when General Humphreys's first assault was made, and the head of his column reached the bridge crossing the mill-race on the Telegraph road, only after the last charge made by General Humphreys had been repulsed. General Sykes's First and Second Brigades *afterward* relieved the troops upon the advanced line on the Telegraph road, and experienced one of the most trying tours of duty exacted from troops

during the war. His Third Brigade remained massed in Fredericksburg during the night of December 13th-14th."

Noticing, also, the denials of General Walker and others that General Humphreys's men approached "nearer to the wall than any other troops had reached," Colonel McClellan cites the fact that General Humphreys, who made this statement, was an eye-witness of the scene from his position in front of his division, while on the other hand the officers of the burial-parties sent out a week later (whose evidence has been relied on to support the opposite view) could hardly have identified the men of the different commands, because nearly all the bodies had in the meantime been stripped of their clothing.—EDITORS.



THE NINTH CORPS CROSSING BY THE PONTOON-BRIDGE TO THE STEAM-BOAT LANDING AT THE LOWER END OF THE TOWN.

of the fact that somebody in our front was doing a great deal of shooting. I found the brick house packed with men; and behind it the dead and the living were as thick as they could be crowded together. The dead were rolled out for shelter, and the dead horses were used for breastworks. I know I tried to shelter myself behind the brick house, but found I could not, on account of the men already there. The plain thereabouts was dotted with our fallen. I started to cross to the fork of the road where our men, under Colonel John R. Brooke, were holding the cluster of houses.

When it became dark the wounded were being brought off the plain, and Hooker was talking about relieving my men in front by putting in Sykes's division, and I said, "No! No men shall take the place of the Second Corps unless General Sumner gives the orders. It has fought and gained that ground and it shall hold it." Later the order came for Sykes to relieve the Second Corps, which was done about 11 o'clock.

That night was bitter cold and a fearful one for the front line hugging the hollows in the ground, and for the wounded who could not be reached. It was a night of dreadful suffering. Many died of wounds and exposure, and as fast as men died they stiffened in the wintry air, and on the front line were rolled forward for protection to the living. Frozen men were placed for dumb sentries.

My corps again bivouacked in the town, and they were not allowed fires lest they should draw the fire of the enemy's artillery.

At 2 o'clock in the morning Burnside came to my headquarters near the center of the town. I was lying down at the time. He asked me to tell him about the battle, and we talked for about an hour. I told him everything that had occurred. "And now," I said, "General Burnside, you must know that everything that could be done by troops was done by the Second Corps." He said, "Couch, I know that; I am perfectly satisfied that you did your best." He gave no intimation of his plans for the next day. He was cheerful in his tone and did not seem greatly oppressed, but it was plain that he felt he had led us to a great disaster, and one knowing him so long and well as myself could see that he wished his body was also lying in front of Marye's Heights. I never felt so badly for a man in my life.

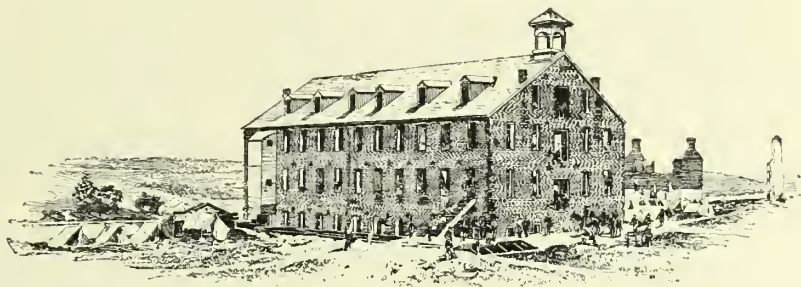
The next day, Sunday, the 14th, our men began digging trenches along the edge of the town. We were on the alert, for there was some fear of an assault. Of course

there is no need of denying that after the battle the men became strained. The pressure of a fight carries you through, but after it is all over and you have been whipped you do

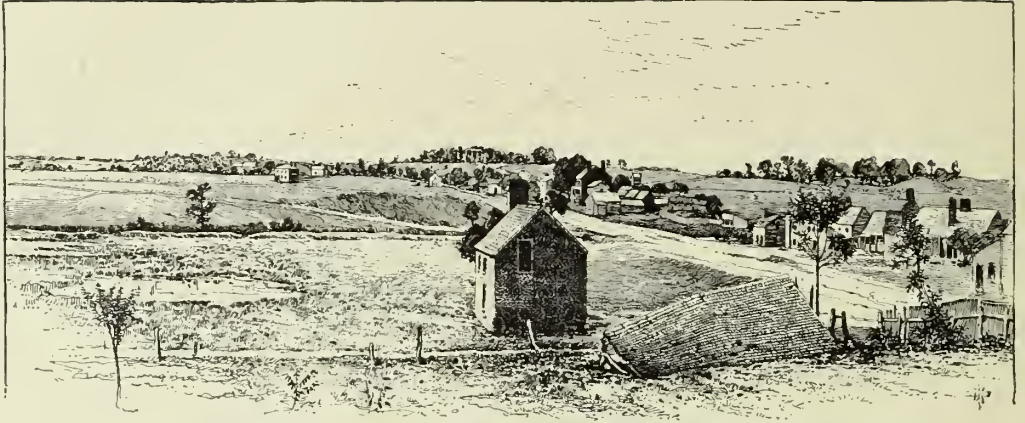
not feel very pugnacious. The men, knowing that they had been unsuccessful, were in a nervous state, and officers suffered also from the reaction, the worst of it being that the mass of the army had lost confidence in its commander.

About midday of the 14th Burnside called a council of war, in which it was decided to fall back, but to hold Fredericksburg. No attack was made by us that day, though Burnside had said that he should renew the assault on Marye's Hill, with his old Ninth Corps, and that he would place himself at its head. General Getty of that corps, a very gallant officer, touched me as I passed him and said: "I understand that Burnside has given out that he intends to lead seventeen regiments to the attack." He urged me strongly to dissuade him if possible, as it would be a perfect slaughter of men.

At the council Hooker expressed himself as against the movement of retreat, saying, "We must fight those people. We are over there and we must fight them." But, as I remember, he did not advocate the plan of holding Fredericksburg if we were not to renew the fight. I urged that the army was not in a condition, after our repulse, to renew the assault, but that we ought to hold Fredericksburg at all hazards. I had an argument with General Burnside upon that point, telling him that I was willing to have him throw all the responsibility upon me; that if we held the town we should



WAREHOUSE IN FREDERICKSBURG USED AS A HOSPITAL.



THE GROUND BETWEEN FREDERICKSBURG AND MARYE'S HEIGHTS. FROM A WAR-TIME PHOTOGRAPH.

The portico of the Marye mansion is faintly marked among the trees of the hill in the middle-background. The road on the right is the end of Hanover street and the beginning of the Telegraph road, by which most of the attacking troops crossed the canal, or ditch, and, filing to the left, formed line under the low bank. In the middle-ground, to the left of the road, is seen the square brick house mentioned by General Conch. Part of the troops crossed the canal by a street on the left parallel with Hanover street, and a few waded. Most of the dead lay a short distance beyond the brick house.

Colonel John R. Brooke, of Hancock's division, was

sent on the fourth day after the battle with a large detail to bury the dead. In his official report he says: "Those bodies nearest the enemy's works were recognized as belonging to Kimball's brigade of French's division and to the different regiments of Hancock's division." In the two days occupied by the burial he says he "found and buried 913 of our soldiers, and brought to this side of the river the bodies of five officers, making a total of 918. Nearly all the dead were stripped entirely naked by the enemy." A woman who lived in one of the houses near the stone-wall has related that "the morning after the battle the field was blue; but the morning after the Federals withdrew the field was white."—EDITORS.

have a little something to show for the sacrifice of the day before; that the people would feel we had not failed utterly. It was agreed that Fredericksburg should be held. Then Burnside dismissed us and sent Hooker and myself to Fredericksburg to arrange for the defense. We held a council at the corner of Hanover street.

It was decided that Hooker's troops should hold the town. The question was how many men would he leave for that purpose, opinions varying from ten to eighteen thousand. My limit was ten thousand men. General Tyler turned to me and said: "Make it higher, General." We compromised on twelve thousand. We remained in the town on the 15th, and that evening my corps and the Ninth Corps recrossed the river. Next morning we found that Fredericksburg had been evacuated. When Willcox and I left, we thought, of course, it would be held. The talk was that during the night Hooker prevailed upon Burnside to evacuate the town.

Our wing of the army thought the failure of the campaign was due in part to the fact that we were put in where we ought not to have been. We were asked to achieve an impossibility. We had something to do that was not possible for us to do.

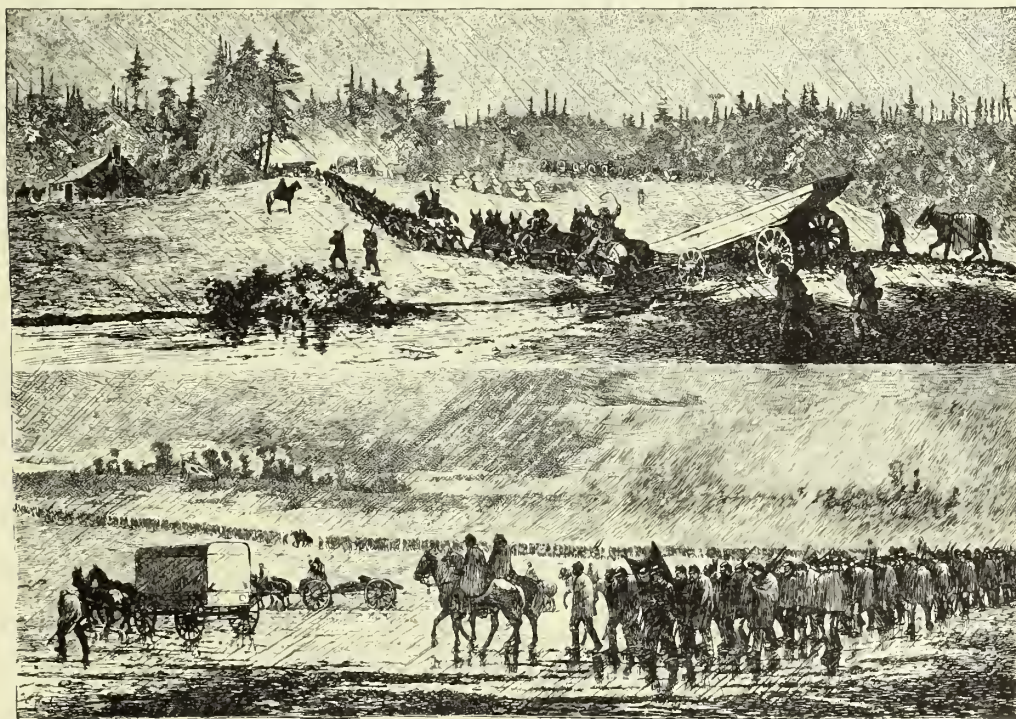
After the battle Burnside tried to regain the confidence of the army, and there is no doubt that Sumner did a good deal to help him. Burnside conceived the plan of crossing the Rappahannock a few miles above Fredericksburg, where the enemy were unprepared to receive us. The result was the "mud march" of January 20th-21st. It was Burnside's effort to redeem himself. To start off in the mud as we did with the army in its discouraged

state was perfect folly. There did not seem to be anything in the move to recommend itself. If the weather had happened to turn cold, possibly he might have surprised Lee and gotten across the river, above Fredericksburg, but it was a hazardous move, with the army out of confidence with its commander and the enemy elated with brilliant success. The general demoralization that had come upon us made two or three months of rest a necessity.¶

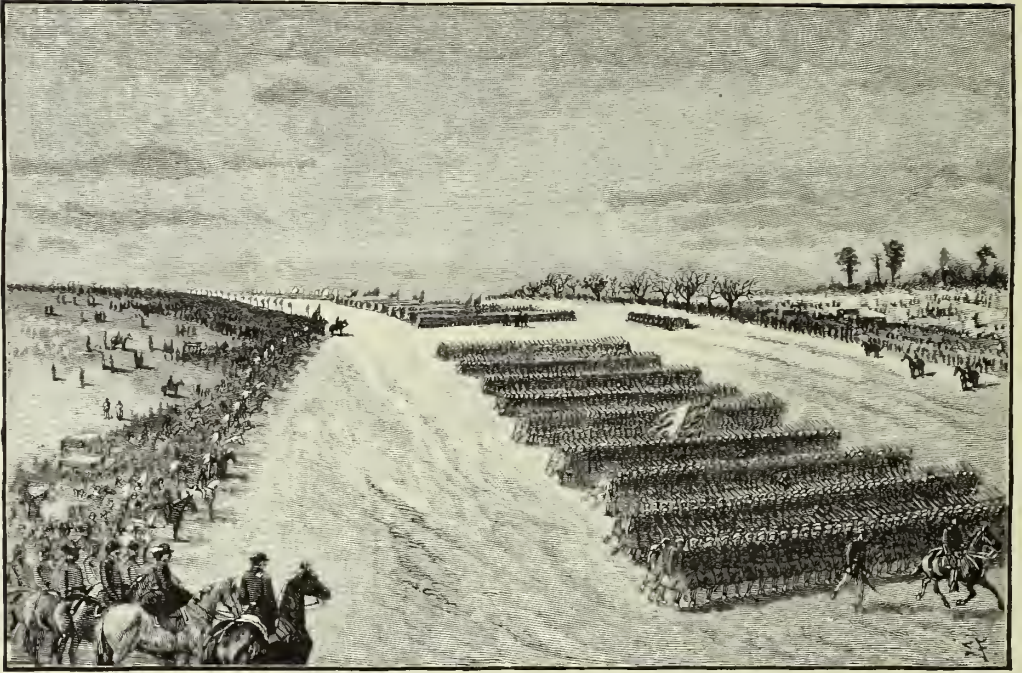
When Hooker, on January 25th, was placed in command of the army, many of us were very much surprised; I think the superior officers did not regard him competent for the task. He had fine qualities as an officer, but not the weight of character to take charge of that army. Nevertheless, under his administration the army assumed wonderful vigor. I have never known men to change from a condition of the lowest depression to that of a healthy fighting state in so short a time. President Lincoln with his wife came down to spend a few days with General Hooker, and to see the different officers and talk with them. To further that, General Hooker gave a dinner party at

¶ In the course of a correspondence, relating to their several controversies with General Burnside, Franklin wrote to Halleck, under date of June 1st, 1863: "I was of your opinion with regard to the honesty and integrity of purpose of General Burnside, until after his relief from the command of the Army of the Potomac. I lost all confidence in his ability at the first Fredericksburg battle. There was not a man in my command who did not believe that everything he would undertake would fail,

and General Hooker informed me that that was the general feeling in his command. General Sumner's feelings were not so decided, but they were nearly so. You can imagine that the beds of the grand division commanders were not of roses, and I came to the conclusion that Burnside was fast losing his mind. So I looked upon the rain which stopped his second attempt to cross the river [the 'mud march'] as almost a providential interference in our behalf."—EDITORS.



STUCK IN THE MUD—A PLANK MARCH ACROSS COUNTRY. FROM A WAR-TIME SKETCH.



THE GRAND REVIEW AT FALMOUTH DURING PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S VISIT.
FROM A WAR-TIME SKETCH.

which all the corps commanders were present, and also Mrs. Lincoln. Mr. Lincoln would talk to the officers on the subject that was uppermost in our minds—how we were to get the better of the enemy on the opposite hills. Before he went away he sent for Hooker and for me, I being second in command, and almost his last injunction was: "Gentlemen, in your next battle *put in all your men*." Yet that is exactly what we did not do at Chancellorsville.

We had a grand review of the army in honor of the President. The Second Corps paraded with Howard's Eleventh Corps, I think, for after I had saluted at the head of my corps I rode to the side of the President, who was on horseback, and while near him General Schurz approached at the head of his division. I said: "Mr. Lincoln, that is General Schurz," pronouncing it *Shurz*, after the American fashion. Mr. Lincoln turned to me and said: "Not *Shurz*, General Couch, but *Shoortz*." But he did it very pleasantly, and I was just a little surprised that our Western President should have the advantage of me. It was a beautiful day, and the review was a stirring sight. Mr. Lincoln, sitting there with his hat off, head bent, and seemingly meditating, suddenly turned to me and said: "General Couch, what do you suppose will become of all these men when the war is over?" And it struck me as very pleasant that somebody had an idea that the war would sometime end.

THE CROSSING OF THE RAPPAHANNOCK BY THE 19TH MASSACHUSETTS.

BY H. G. O. WEYMOUTH, CAPTAIN, 19TH MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENT.

ON the morning of the 11th of December, 1862, about two hours before daylight, the regimental commanders of Colonel Norman J. Hall's Third Brigade, of Howard's Second Division, Second Army Corps, were assembled at brigade headquarters to receive preliminary orders for the approaching battle. Our brigade commander informed us that our regiment was to be the first to cross the upper pontoon-bridge, which was to be laid by the engineer corps by daylight, and that we were to hold and occupy the right of the town until the whole army should have crossed, when the Right Grand Division, comprising the Second and Ninth Corps, would charge the heights, supported by artillery in front and on the right flank. On our arrival at the river at daylight we found but a very small section of the bridge laid, in consequence of the commanding position which the enemy held on the right bank of the river, secreted as they were behind fences made musket-proof by piling cord-wood and other materials against them. After a fruitless attempt of eight hours' duration to lay the bridge where the enemy had absolute control of the river front, the idea was abandoned, and notice was sent down to us at the river that the enemy would be shelled from the heights, with orders to take to the pontoon-boats and cross and dislodge the enemy in order to enable the engineer corps to complete the bridge. The instant the artillery ceased firing, the 7th Michigan and 19th Massachusetts took to the boats and poled across the river under a heavy musketry fire from the enemy. The 7th Michigan was the first to make a landing, and marched up Farquhar street in a direct line from the bridge. They immediately became severely engaged, and the first two companies of the 19th Massachusetts that had crossed went

forward and joined them. A few minutes later the remainder of the 19th crossed, formed in line on the bank of the river, left resting on Farquhar street, and advanced, deploying as skirmishers in order to drive back the enemy from the western part of the city. We were met with such resistance by Barksdale's brigade, very aptly styled by General Longstreet "Confederate hornets," that it was nearly dusk before we gained the north side of Caroline street. It was now apparent that our thin line could not make any farther advance against the formidable barricades the enemy had erected on the south side of the street, consisting of barrels and boxes, filled with earth and stones, placed between the houses, so as to form a continuous line of defense, and the left of our line was forced to fall back down Farquhar street, fully one-half the distance from Caroline street. On reporting our position to a staff-officer our brigade commander ordered the 20th Massachusetts to clear the streets. They marched up Farquhar street in company or division front, and on reaching Caroline street wheeled to the right; but before the full regiment had entered the street the enemy, from their snug retreats, poured such a deadly fire on them as to force them to retire with great loss.

This action of the 20th enabled our left to regain our position on Caroline street, which was maintained until Barksdale withdrew his command to the heights, about an hour after dark. At about 11 o'clock General Howard crossed over to learn our position. Informing him that the enemy had retired in our front, I asked him if we should move forward. After making some inquiries concerning our right, he thought nothing would be gained by doing so. We remained in this position until about noon of the 13th.

THE PONTONIERS AT FREDERICKSBURG.

BY WESLEY BRAINERD, MAJOR 50TH, AND COLONEL 15TH, NEW YORK ENGINEERS.

FROM certain remarks made by various writers [see pp. 107 and 126] on the battle of Fredericksburg, it might be inferred that there was some foundation for the general impression that had the pontoons arrived in time, the crossing could have been made before the enemy concentrated, and the disastrous defeat which followed might thus have been avoided.

The fact is that the engineers (15th and 50th New York), with two full trains and material for two pontoon-bridges, each 420 feet in length, arrived opposite Fredericksburg and bivouacked in rear of the Laey house on the afternoon of November 27th, and could have thrown two bridges across the stream without opposition that night had they been allowed to do so. There was no force of the enemy in the city, and General Longstreet, with the advance of the Confederate army,

had by a forced march occupied a portion of the heights in rear of the city on the 21st.

I distinctly remember that General Sumner rode up to our position soon after our arrival on the 27th and asked Major Ira Spaulding, of the 50th New York, and myself if we could throw a bridge across the river that night, to which we replied that we could throw two bridges across in three hours if he would give us the order to do so. After a little hesitation, he replied that he would like to give us the order, as there was certainly nothing to oppose its execution, but that he did not care to assume the responsibility, fearing that it might conflict with General Burnside's plans. He also remarked that he could have forded the stream with a part of his command at Falmouth several days before had he been allowed to do so; he then rode away. We were ordered back into camp, and the "golden

opportunity" passed—a blunder for which we were in no way responsible, but for which we were destined to suffer.

We did not receive the order to leave Berlin, six miles below Harper's Ferry, until late on the *seventh day* after it was issued.† We took up two bridges, each 1100 feet long, loaded and moved them by canal and land transportation to Washington, where we received 500 unbroken mules. We then fitted up two trains, moved through the mud to Occoquan, where we divided the trains, part going by water and part by land to Aquia Creek, where we again reloaded the entire equipment, and arrived at the Lacy house but six days behind Longstreet's advance, which had made a forced march from the vicinity of Culpeper to reach the heights in rear of Fredericksburg. These being the facts, it can hardly be said, with justice, that the engineers were slow in their movements.

The idea of crossing immediately in front of the town seemed to have passed, temporarily at least, from General Burnside's mind, and "demonstrations" on an extensive scale were made to the right and left.

Twice I crossed the river below the town and

†The "Official Records" show that this order, issued by Captain J. C. Duane, Chief-Engineer of the Army of the Potomac at Rectortown, on the 6th of November, did

examine the country for some distance inland, it being rather difficult to find ground suitable for the passage of artillery on both sides of the stream at all stages of the tide. The second time I crossed at "Skinker's Neck," and made a thorough examination of the country for several miles around, pacing off the distances, and furnished General Burnside, in person, with my sketches. These expeditions were, of course, made in the night.

"Skinker's Neck" seemed to me to be the proper place for a crossing. At the time of my visit it was not occupied by the enemy, except by a cavalry patrol, which I easily avoided.

Six or eight miles above, where I made my first crossing, it was somewhat difficult to make my way through the picket lines. General Burnside appeared to be greatly pleased and relieved when I reported favorably on the "Skinker's Neck" crossing. He gave me to understand that we should throw our bridges there, and we made our arrangements accordingly.

What was my surprise when, a few days after, the orders came that mine was to be one of two bridges that were to be thrown across directly in front of the city, near the Lacy house.

not reach Major Spaulding, at Berlin, until the afternoon of November 12th. General Halleck's report exonerates the engineers from all blame.—EDITORS.

IN FRONT OF THE STONE WALL AT FREDERICKSBURG.‡

BY JOHN W. AMES, BREVET BRIGADIER-GENERAL, U. S. V.

ON Saturday, December 13th, our brigade↓ had been held in reserve, but late in the day we were hurried to the battle only to see a field full of flying men and the sun low in the west shining red through columns of smoke,—six deserted field-pieces on a slight rise of ground in front of us, and a cheering column of troops in regular march disappearing on our left. But the day was then over and the battle lost, and our line felt hardly bullets enough to draw blood before darkness put an end to the uproar of all hostile sounds, save desultory shell-firing. For an hour or two afterward shells from Marye's Heights traced bright lines across the black sky with their burning fuses. Then, by command, we sank down in our lines, to get what sleep the soggy ground and the danger might allow us. Experience had taught us that when the silent line of fire from the shells had flashed across the sky and disappeared behind us the scream and explosion that followed were harmless, but still it required some effort to overcome the discomfort of the damp ground, and the flash and report of bursting shells, and to drop quietly asleep at an order. We finally slept, but we were roused before midnight, and formed into line with whispered commands, and then filed to the right, and, reaching the

highway, marched away from the town. There were many dead horses at exposed points of our turning and many more dead men. Here stood a low brick house, with an open door in its gable end, from which shone a light, and into which we peered when passing. Inside sat a woman, gaunt and hard-featured, with crazy hair and a Meg Merrilies face, still sitting by a smoking candle, though it was nearly two hours past midnight. But what woman could sleep, though never so masenline and tough of fiber, alone in a house between two hostile armies,—two corpses lying across her door-steps, and within, almost at her feet, four more! So, with wild eyes and face lighted by her smoky candle, she stared across the dead barrier into the darkness outside with the look of one who heard and saw not, and to whom all sounds were a terror.

We formed in two lines,—the right of each resting near and in front of this small brick house, and the left extending into the field at right angles with the highway. Here we again bivouacked, finding room for our beds with no little difficulty, because of the shattered forms of those who were here taking their last long sleep. We rose early. The heavy fog was penetrating and chilly, and the damp turf was no warm mattress to tempt us to

‡ Condensed from the "Overland Monthly," 1869, Vol. III., p. 432, by permission of Fisher Ames. General John W. Ames, U. S. Surveyor-General of California, died in San Rafael, in that State, in 1878.

↓ The 2d Brigade of regulars (Sykes's division, Fifth Army Corps), commanded by Major George L. Andrews, 17th U. S. Infantry. General Ames was then a captain in the 11th U. S. Infantry.—EDITORS.

a morning nap. So we shook off sloth from our moistened bodies willingly, and rolling up the gray blankets set about breakfast. The bivouac breakfast is a nearer approach to its civilized congener than the bivouac bed. Coffee can be made hot and good in blackened tins; pork can be properly frizzled only on a stick over an open fire; hard-tack is a better, sweeter morsel than the average American housewife has yet achieved with her saleratus, sour-milk, "empty ins," and what-not; and a pipe!—who can estimate what that little implement has done for mankind? Certainly none better than those who have sought its solace after the bivouac breakfast that succeeds a bivouac bed, in December.

We now began to take note, through the misty veil, of the wreck of men and horses cumbering the ground about us, and a slight lifting of the gray fog showed us the story of yesterday's repeated assaults and repeated failures. When our pipes were exhausted we got up to inspect and criticize the situation. Just here was the wreck of a fence, which seemed to have been the high-tide mark of our advance-wave of battle. The fence was a barrier which, slight as it was, had turned back the already wavering and mutilated lines of assault. Almost an army lay about us and scattered back over the plain toward the town. Not only corpses, but many of the badly wounded, hardly distinguishable from the dead, were here too. To die, groveling on the ground or fallen in the mire, is dreadful indeed. The pallid faces, and the clammy hands clenching their muskets, looked ghastly by the fog-light. The new, bright, blue overcoats only made the sight the ghastlier.

About eighty yards in front the plowed field was bounded by a stone-wall, and behind the wall were men in gray uniforms moving carelessly about. This picture is one of my most distinct memories of the war—the men in gray behind this wall, talking, laughing, cooking, cleaning muskets, clicking locks,—there they were!—Lee's soldiers!—the Army of Northern Virginia! We were so absurdly near this host of yesterday's victors that we seemed wholly in their hands and a part of their great mass; cut off and remote from the Federal army, and almost within the lines of the enemy—prisoners, of course. That was the immediate impression, as we stupidly gazed in the first moment of the awkward discovery.

But the sharp whistle of a bullet sounded in our ears, and a rebel's face peered through the puff of smoke, as he removed the rifle from his shoulder; then rapidly half-a-dozen more bullets whistled by us, and the warning sent us all to earth. The order to lie down is theoretically infrequent, but practically it is often given in modern warfare. Napoleon's maxim that "an army travels on its belly" was metaphorical, but long-range and repeating rifles have gone far to make it true in a literal sense. Our double lines of battle sought the shelter of the ground as soon as blood was drawn. This had the effect of hiding us from

the enemy, or partially so, for the fusillade slackened.

It was irksome to keep one position, even at full length, but the watch over us was very vigilant; hardly a movement was made at any part of our line that did not draw fire from the wall. Necessity compelled us, however, to keep up something of a lookout upon the enemy at any risk. A cautious inspection showed great carelessness in their lines, the men still strolling and lounging—a group at cards, even, evidently ignorant or careless of our proximity.

What to do about it was to us a topic second only in interest to the probable action of the enemy. Could we long lie thus without waking up the big guns, whose black muzzles looked down at us from the hill-tops on our right? And if not, what then? From these guns there would be no possible shelter. Retreat alone was more dangerous than to remain as we were, or even to advance. The field behind us stretched away toward the town, level and exposed—the focus of an arc of battery-crowned hills, with no inequality of ground to protect us from a convergence of fire that would be singularly effective.

The situation had already forced upon us a policy of masterly inactivity, which alone seemed to meet our immediate difficulties. So we drifted into a common understanding that no doubt an abler council of war would have approved. Shots might rouse the enemy from his carelessness or ignorance; certainly a volley from our line would not go unanswered, and the odds were great. Let them stick to their cards and forget us if they would! But we arrived at this policy only as the least of many evils.

The enemy riddled every moving thing in sight: horses tied to the wheels of a broken gun-carriage behind us; pigs that incautiously came grunting from across the road; even chickens were brought down with an accuracy of aim that told of a fatally short range, and of a better practice than it would have been wise for our numbers to face. They applauded their own success with a hilarity we could hardly share in, as their chicken-shooting was across our backs, leaving us no extra room for turning. But this was mere wantonness of slaughter, not indulged in when the higher game in blue uniform was in sight. The men who had left our ranks for water, or from any cause, before we were pinned to the earth, came back at great peril. Indeed, I believe not one of them reached our line again unhurt. Some were killed outright; others were mortally wounded, and died within a few steps of us; and several who tried to drag themselves away flat upon their faces were put out of their misery. This, too, showed us plainly what we might expect, and fixed our bounds to such segments of the field as were hidden from the enemy. This was not alike throughout the line. At one point the exposure was absolute, and stillness as absolute was the only safety. A slight barrier was afterward formed at this point by a

† The force here consisted of Buchanan's and Andrews's brigades of regulars, of Sykes's division, and Stockton's brigade of volunteers, of Griffin's division, Fifth Army Corps.—EDITORS.

disposal of the dead bodies in front, so that the dead actually sheltered the living.

After two or three hours of this experience we became somewhat accustomed to the situation,—for man becomes accustomed to almost anything that savors of routine,—and learned with considerable exactness the limit inside which we might move with safety, and the limit also of endurable constraint. It was somewhat curious to see how strong the tobacco hunger was with many,—perhaps with most. Men would jump to their feet and run the length of a regiment to borrow tobacco, and in so doing run the gauntlet of a hundred shots. This was so rarely accomplished in entire safety that it won the applause of our line and hearty congratulations to any one fortunate enough to save his life and sweeten it with the savory morsel.

All this would have been ludicrous but for the actual suffering inflicted upon so many. Men were mortally hit, and there was no chance to bind up their wounds; they were almost as far beyond our help as if they had been miles away. A little was accomplished for their relief by passing canteens from hand to hand, keeping them close to the ground out of sight, and some of the wounded were where a little manipulation could be done in safety. It was sad to hear the cries fade away to low moans, and then to silence, without a chance to help. The laugh over a successful chase for tobacco would die away only to change into a murmur of indignation at the next cruel slaughter. A young officer, boyish and ruddy, fresh from a visit home, with brighter sword and shoulder-straps than most of us, raised his head to look at the enemy, and a bullet at once pierced his brain. Without a word or groan his head sank again, his rosy cheek grew livid, and his blood crimsoned his folded hands. Next a leg or arm was shattered as it became exposed in shifting from the wearisomeness of our position. Presently a system of reporting the casualties became established; the names of the injured were passed from mouth to mouth;—"Captain M—, 17th, just killed"; "Private—, Co. C, 11th—, knocked over." Those who were fortunate enough to have paper and pencil, and elbow-room enough to get them from pocket-depths, kept a list of the names of the killed and wounded; the occupation this gave proved a blessing, for the hours were very long and weary.

I suppose *ennui* is hardly the word where nerves are on the rack, and danger pinions one to a single spot of earth, yet something like *ennui* came over us. By chance I found a fragment of newspaper which proved a charm that for a time banished the irksome present with its ghastly field of dead men and its ceaseless danger. Through this ragged patch of advertisements I sailed away from Fredericksburg with the good bark *Neptune*, which had had quick dispatch a month before,—for the paper was of ancient date,—and was well on her way to summer seas, when I obeyed the printed injunction and applied on board for passage. And oh, pleasant summer meadows of the peaceful North! who would have suspected you to lurk in

extracts of sarsaparilla and ointment for eruptive skins? But I found you there, and forgot the sunshine and the chill earth, the grim war, the rifle's crack and the bullet's whistle,—forgot even the dead hand that had stretched itself toward me all the morning with its clutch of grass.

I was called back to the dull wet earth and the crouching line at Fredericksburg by a request from Sergeant Read, who "guessed he could hit that cuss with a spy-glass,"—pointing, as he spoke, to the batteries that threatened our right flank. Then I saw that there was commotion at that part of the Confederate works, and an officer on the parapet, with a glass, was taking note of us. Had they discovered us at last, after letting us lie here till high noon, and were we now to receive the plunging fire we had looked for all the morning? Desirable in itself as it might be to have "that cuss with a spy-glass" removed, it seemed wiser to repress Read's ambition. The shooting of an officer would dispel any doubts they might have of our presence, and we needed the benefit of all their doubts. Happily, they seemed to think us not worth their powder and iron.

Were we really destined to see the friendly shades of night come on and bring us release from our imprisonment? For the first time we began to feel it probable when the groups left the guns without a shot. I grew easy enough in mind to find that sleep was possible, and I was glad to welcome it as a surer refuge from the surroundings than the scrap of newspaper. It was a little discouraging to see a sleeping officer near me awakened by a bullet, but as his only misfortune, besides a disturbed nap, seemed to be a torn cap and scratched face, he soon wooed back the startled goddess. I had enjoyed sleep for its quiet and rest, but never before for mere oblivion.

When I returned to consciousness I found the situation unchanged, except that the list of casualties had been swelled by the constant rifle practice, which was still as pitiless and as continuous as before. It was almost startling to see, on looking at the brick house, the Meg Merrilies of the night before standing at her threshold. With the same lost look of helpless horror that her face had worn by candle-light, she gazed up and down our prostrate lines, and the disenchantment of day and sunshine failed to make her situation seem in any way prosaic and commonplace. The desolate part she had to play suited well her gaunt and witch-like features. Shading her eyes with her hand at last, as if to banish a vision and call her senses back to earth, she searched our lines once more; then, with a hopeless shake of the head, she moved slowly back into the dismal little tomb she was forced to occupy. In which army was her husband serving? Did she search our lines and the dead ranks for any friend of hers? Was maternal anxiety added to the physical terrors of her forced isolation?

Slowly the sun declined. He had been our friend all day, shining through the December air with an autumn glow that almost warmed the chill earth; but at his last half-hour he seemed to hang motionless in the western sky. His going down would

set us free; free from the fire that was galling and decimating us; free from the fear of guns on the right, and advance from the front; free from numbness, and constraint, and irksomeness, and free from the cold, wet earth. Also it would bring us messengers from the town to call us back from the exposed position and the field of dead bodies. But he lingered and stood upon the order of his going, until it seemed as if a Joshua of the Confederates had caused him to stand still.

When at last the great disc stood, large and red, upon the horizon, every face was turned toward it, forgetting constraint, thirst, tobacco, and rebel fire, in the eagerness to see the end of a day that had brought us a new experience of a soldier's life, and had combined the dangers of a battle-field and the discomfort of a winter's bivouac with many new horrors of its own.

At last the lingering sun went down. December twilights are short; the Federal line sprang to its feet with almost a shout of relief. The rebel fire grew brisker as they saw such a swarm of blue-coats rising from the ground, but it was too late to see the fore-sights on the rifles, and shots unaimed were not so terrible as the hated ground. So we contemptuously emptied our rifles at them, and before the smoke rolled away the coming darkness had blotted out the wall and the hostile line.

With our line rose also a few men from the ghastly pile of yesterday's dead, who hobbled up on muskets used as crutches. These poor fellows had bound up their own wounds, and the coffee we had given them had cheered them into life and hope. Their cheerfulness grew into hilarity and merriment as they found themselves clear, at last, from the dead, and facing toward home, with a hope not by any means so impossible of realization as it had seemed not long before. Poor fellows! their joy was more touching than their sufferings,—which, indeed, they seemed to have forgotten.

In our own brigade we found we had lost nearly 150, ¹ out of a present-for-duty strength of about 1000 men. This would have been a fair average loss in any ordinary battle, but we had suffered it as we lay on the ground inactive, without the excitement and dash of battle and without the chance to reply: a strain upon nerves and physical endurance which we afterward remembered as severer than many more fatal fields. In the midst of our buzz of relief and mutual congratulation, the expected summons came for us to fall back to the town. Once more we formed an upright line of battle, then faced by the rear rank and marched

in retreat, with muffled canteens and many halts and facings about toward a possible pursuit. Reaching a slight bank, we descended to the meadow through which the Fredericksburg race-way was dug, and here we changed to a flank march and filed into the highway. The highway soon became a street, and we were once more in Fredericksburg.

We marched past the court-house,—past churches, schools, bank-buildings, private houses,—all lighted for hospital purposes, and all in use, though a part of the wounded had been transferred across the river. Even the door-yards had their litter-beds, and were well filled with wounded men, and the dead were laid in rows for burial. The hospital lights and camp-fires in the streets, and the smoldering ruins of burned buildings, with the mixture of the lawless rioting of the demoralized stragglers, and the suffering and death in the hospitals, gave the sacked and gutted town the look of pandemonium.

In our new freedom we wandered about for the first half of the night, loath to lie on the earth again after our day's experience. At last we spread our blankets on a sidewalk and slept in the lurid firelight with a sense of safety not warranted by our position. The next morning we made our toilets in wanton plenty. Water from a pump! and we bathed in the falling splash. Our "contraband" brought us a box of soap and an uncut, unhemmed bolt of toweling from the despised plunder of a store. The same source gave us a table-cloth for our breakfast. This we spread upon the sidewalk and furnished with variously assorted crockery from an ownerless pantry. Cabbage fresh from a kitchen garden, with vinegar from the deserted kitchen, added a welcome and unusual luxury to the meal. And at the end we rolled dishes and debris together into the paved gutter by a comprehensive pull at the table-cloth. Then we smoked the emblem of peace, tilted back against the buildings in borrowed chairs, and were very comfortable and happy. This was the holiday of war,—vastly better than yesterday! But we were hardly safer here, though more comfortable. Lee might open his guns at any moment. The drum-beat made us tip down our chairs and fall into line. We had roll-call and something like a dress parade without music, then stacked arms along the curb-stone and mounted sentinels over them. A bright, beautiful day and the freedom of an uninhabited and plundered city were before us.

¹ The "Official Records" (Vol. XXI., Pt. I., p. 136) give the loss as 12 killed, 114 wounded, 14 missing; total, 140.—EDITORS.

WHY BURNSIDE DID NOT RENEW THE ATTACK AT FREDERICKSBURG.

BY RUSH C. HAWKINS, BREVET BRIGADIER-GENERAL, U. S. V.

NOVEMBER 22d, 1862, the whole Union army had reached Falmouth, opposite Fredericksburg, and General Lee, who had proved upon more than one occasion his watchfulness and enterprise, took means to insure the arrival, about the same time, of the Army of Northern Virginia on the heights in the immediate rear of Fredericksburg.

Without the slightest delay the enemy's line of defense was marked out, nor did their labors cease until their defensive lines were made formidable and complete by the mounting of a large number of guns. In the meantime the Army of the Potomac had drawn its abundant supply of daily rations, subjected itself to some drilling and several reviews, while its commander had been carrying on an animated correspondence with the powers at Washington, chiefly in relation to pontoons which had been promised but had failed to reach Falmouth until long after the arrival of both armies at the points they then occupied. [See p. 121.] Some time during the first week in December the much-looked-for pontoon train appeared, and then came the oft-repeated camp rumor of a "movement over the river," which in a few days assumed a more definite form, the actual plan of attack becoming the topic of many a camp-fire. It was freely stated that the whole army was to cross the river about such a time, and that the chief attack was to be made by General Sumner's Right Grand Division upon the enemy's center immediately back of Fredericksburg, where the hills were steepest and the fortifications strongest.

There were a few officers in the Army of the Potomac who had watched the gradual growth of the enemy's lines, and knew something of the natural formations in that direction,—a succession of steep hills which, in themselves, were almost as potent for defensive purposes as the average artificial fortifications. I, for one, had been over that ground several times the August before while engaged in ascertaining the best line for a grand guard for the protection of the roads leading from the back country into Fredericksburg. The three or four officers who were possessed of this knowledge expressed themselves very strongly in opposition to the plan of attack as foreshadowed by the gossips of the camp, and the news of these adverse opinions having come to General Burnside, he sent a circular to the general officers of the Right Grand Division and colonels commanding brigades to meet him at the Phillips house on the evening of December 9th. At the time appointed the large room of that mansion was filled with general officers, with here and there a colonel and a few grand division staff-officers. General Burnside made a speech in which he partly disclosed and explained his plan for the coming battle. It was received without any particular criticism or comment, but General French, who was very enthusiastic, said the battle would be won in forty-eight hours, and called for three cheers for the commander, which were given.

The meeting ended, Colonel J. H. Taylor, assist-

ant adjutant-general of the Right Grand Division, and myself were standing together in the hall of the house, when General Burnside came along and said to me, "What do you think of it?" I answered, "If you make the attack as contemplated it will be the greatest slaughter of the war; there isn't infantry enough in our whole army to carry those heights if they are well defended." He then turned to Colonel Taylor and said, "Colonel, what do you say about it?" The response came quickly and was sufficiently definite, "I quite agree with Colonel Hawkins. The carrying out of your plan will be murder, not warfare." The commanding general was very much surprised and irritated at these answers, and made a remark about my readiness to throw cold water upon his "plans"; he repeated the assertion of French about victory within forty-eight hours, and passed on.

The meeting dispersed, the officers who had composed it going to their respective commands and giving their final orders for the movement of the following day. Besides attending to the details of moving my command on the morrow, I found time to write three letters—one to my mother, another to my wife, and a third to Charles P. Kirkland, of the city of New York. In each of these defeat was distinctly and without qualification predicted. The first letter in the order mentioned has been preserved, and from it the following quotations are given:

"CAMP, NEAR FALMOUTH, VA., December 10th, 1862.

"DEAR MOTHER.—. . . To-morrow, if our present plans are carried out, the great battle of the war will commence. . . . I have little hope of the plans succeeding. I do not think them good,—there will be a great loss of life and nothing accomplished. I am sure we are to fight against all chances of success. There is a rumor and a hope that Banks may have landed on the James River; if so, a large part of the enemy's force will be diverted from this point, but if they have a force anywhere near our own in number we are pretty certain to get whipped."

The letter to Judge Kirkland was much stronger and more explicit, and evoked an answer from which one paragraph is quoted:

"NEW YORK, December 18th, 1862.

"How wonderfully *prophetic* is your letter, written on the 10th of December. It *foretells* exactly the awful disaster and reverse that our cause has met with. How is it possible, if you thus knew all this, that those *having control* were ignorant of it? This whole transaction seems now almost incredible. To think of the thousands of splendid, brave, patriotic fellows absolutely butchered without the least beneficial result: on the contrary, with a result disgraceful and disheartening to us, but I fervently trust a result from which we can recover."

This matter of the letters is here referred to, not in a spirit of pride, but simply to show a want of knowledge, judgment, and foresight on the part of those high in command.

We now pass over the bombardment of December 11th, the many disastrous attempts to lay the pontoons in front of Fredericksburg, and come to 3 o'clock of that day, when volunteers were called for to cross the river in open boats for the purpose of

dislodging the enemy from the opposite bank. For this service the 7th Michigan, 19th and 20th Massachusetts of General Howard's division, and the 89th New York of my brigade answered the call. The first three regiments crossed under fire where the first bridge was afterward laid, and the fourth under sharper fire where the second was completed. By 9 o'clock that night the division of General Howard and my brigade had obtained possession of the town, the former taking the right of the line and the latter the left. The whole of the 12th of December into the night was occupied in crossing the army, and on the morning of the 13th the battle began and continued at intervals until darkness set in. During a considerable portion of that day, while the attacks upon the enemy's center, known as "Marye's Heights," were being made, General George W. Getty, my division commander, and myself were on the roof of the Slaughter house, a high residence at the lower end of the city, named after its owner. From this prominent position our repeated repulses and the terrible destruction of the Union troops had been witnessed. At about half-past 3 o'clock the order came for General Getty's Third Division of the Ninth Corps to make an attack upon that part of the enemy's line to the left of where the principal attacks had been made. The order was obeyed, but not until I had tried to induce General Getty to protest against its obedience and the further useless waste of life. The attack of our division closed a battle which was one of the most disastrous defeats to the Union forces during the war. The sadness which prevailed throughout the whole army on that night can neither be described nor imagined. The surgeons were the happiest of all, for they were so busy that they had no time to think of our terrible defeat.

About 9 o'clock that evening I found myself near a building situated upon the main street of the town, where several of the generals of the Right Grand Division had assembled for the purpose of discussing the attack to be made the next morning. When I entered the room these officers were looking at a map upon a table, showing the position of the enemy. There were present Generals Willeox, Humphreys, Getty, Butterfield, Meade, and three or four others. They were seriously discussing the proposed renewal of the attack the next day as though it had been decided upon. I listened until I was thoroughly irritated because of the ignorance displayed in regard to our situation, and then uttered a solemn, earnest, and emphatic protest against even the consideration of another attack. With a pencil I made a rough drawing of the first line then occupied by the enemy, and also showed a second position a little to the rear, to which they could fall back and make a strong stand in the event of their being driven out of their first line. It did not take long to convince these officers that a second attack would probably end more disastrously than the first, and they united in a request that I should go at once to try to persuade Burnside that the attack ought not to be renewed.

It was a cheerless ride in the wet and cold, and through the deep mud of an army-traveled road that dark night, for I was already weary from much care, watching, and loss of sleep, and besides I was fully aware of the unpleasant fact that an officer of very inferior rank was bent upon an ungrateful errand to a general commanding one of the largest armies of modern times. But a solemn sense of duty, and a human desire to save further useless slaughter, convinced me that any sacrifice of self ought to be made in the interest of the men who were fighting our battles.

I arrived at the Phillips house about 11 o'clock to learn that I had probably passed General Burnside on the road, who had gone to perfect the details for a second attack. Those present at the Phillips house were Generals Sumner, Hooker, Franklin, Hardie, and Colonel Taylor. I made a brief statement and explanation of the object of my mission, which deeply interested all present. They united in a desire that I should wait until the arrival of General Burnside, which occurred about 1 o'clock. As he came through the door he said: "Well, it's all arranged; we attack at early dawn, the Ninth Corps in the center, which I shall lead in person"; and then seeing me he said: "Hawkins, your brigade shall lead with the 9th New York on the right of the line, and we'll make up for the bad work of to-day."

When he had ceased there was perfect silence, and he was evidently astounded that no one approved. With hesitation and great delicacy General Sumner then stated the object of my visit, and suggested that General Burnside should examine the rough drawing then upon the table, and listen to some reasons why the attack contemplated ought not to be made. After I had explained the enemy's positions, called attention to several pertinent circumstances, and made something of an argument, General Burnside asked General Sumner what he thought, and he replied that the troops had undergone such great fatigue and privation, and met with such a disaster, that it would not be prudent to make another attack so soon. General Hooker, who was lying full length upon a bed in one corner of the room, upon being appealed to by General Burnside, sat up and said in the most frank and decided manner that the attack ought not to be renewed that morning. Then a general consultation took place, in which all who were present joined, the result of which was a verbal order, transmitted through me, countermanding the arrangements for a second attack.

Of those present at the first interview, on the Fredericksburg side, Generals Getty, Willeox, Butterfield, and probably several others whom I do not now remember, are living. The only survivors of the Phillips house interview are General Franklin and myself. In one of his letters to me, dated Hartford, Conn., December 17th, 1866, he says:

" . . . I distinctly recollect your talk to Burnside, to which you refer, and had he been so talked to before he crossed the river, many lives would have been saved, as well as much credit to himself and reputation to the gallant Army of the Potomac."



FRANKLIN'S MEN CHARGING ACROSS THE RAILROAD.

FRANKLIN'S "LEFT GRAND DIVISION."

BY WILLIAM FARRAR SMITH, BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL, U. S. A.

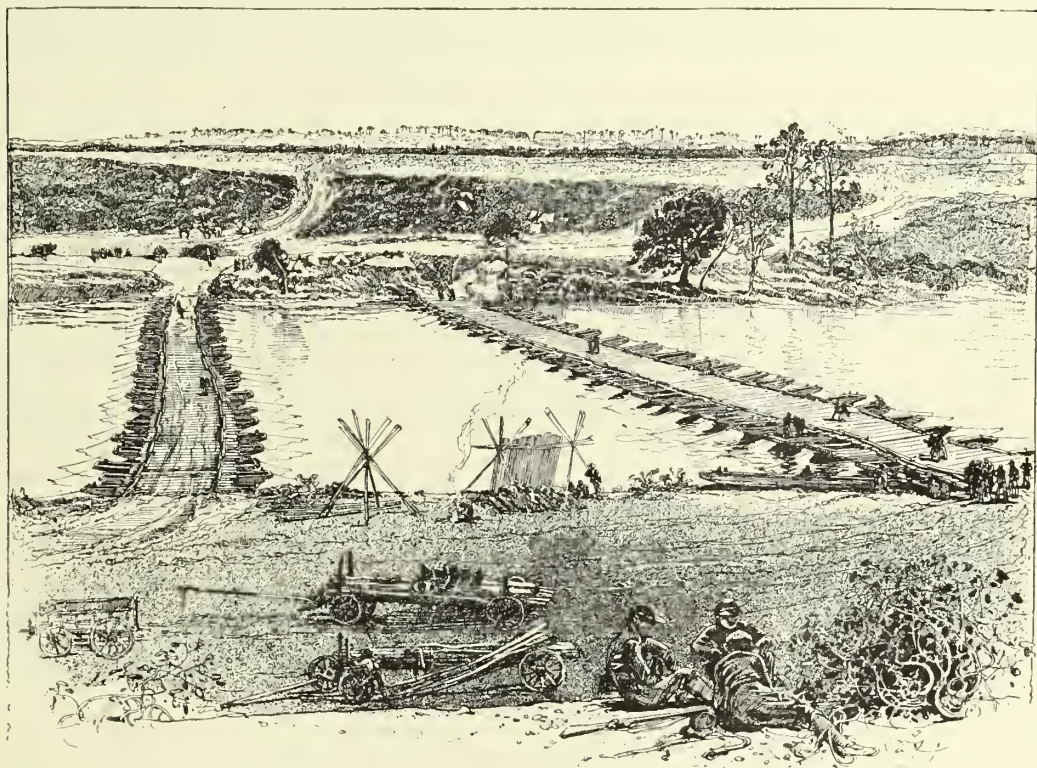
WHEN General Burnside assumed the command of the Army of the Potomac on the 9th of November, 1862, he gave up the immense strategic advantage which McClellan had gained, and led the army to Falmouth on the Rappahannock River, opposite the city of Fredericksburg. A few days after his arrival on the Rappahannock he called a council of war. It was a conference rather than a council, for he stated that he called the generals together to make known something of his plans, and not to put any question before them for decision. The grand division commanders, Sumner, Franklin, and Hooker, were present, and also, I think, the corps commanders. I was present as commander of the Sixth Army Corps. The entire army was massed within a few miles of Falmouth, and the first object was to cross the river in our front, and gain a fair field for a battle. From the same ground Hooker afterward marched north-west, and by a series of fine movements placed himself in a position to offer battle at Chancellorsville on at least equal terms. The outcome of Hooker's campaign belied its beginning, but it led to the battle of Gettysburg, which more than compensated in results for the previous failure.†

General Burnside opened the conference by stating that within a few days he proposed to cross the river to offer battle to General Lee, and that after a close study of the reports of his engineers he had chosen Skinker's Neck as

† When General Burnside determined to occupy Fredericksburg it was not held by a large force of the enemy. A body of cavalry, sent from Warrenton, could have seized the place without serious opposition, and could have held it until the advance of the infantry came up. In the preliminary discussion of the move from Warrenton to Fredericksburg, the notion that a serious battle was necessary to enable the army to get into Fredericksburg was not entertained by any one. Sumner, who had the advance, reported that when he arrived at Falmouth he could even then have occupied Fredericksburg without opposition, had his orders justified him in crossing the river.—W. B. FRANKLIN.

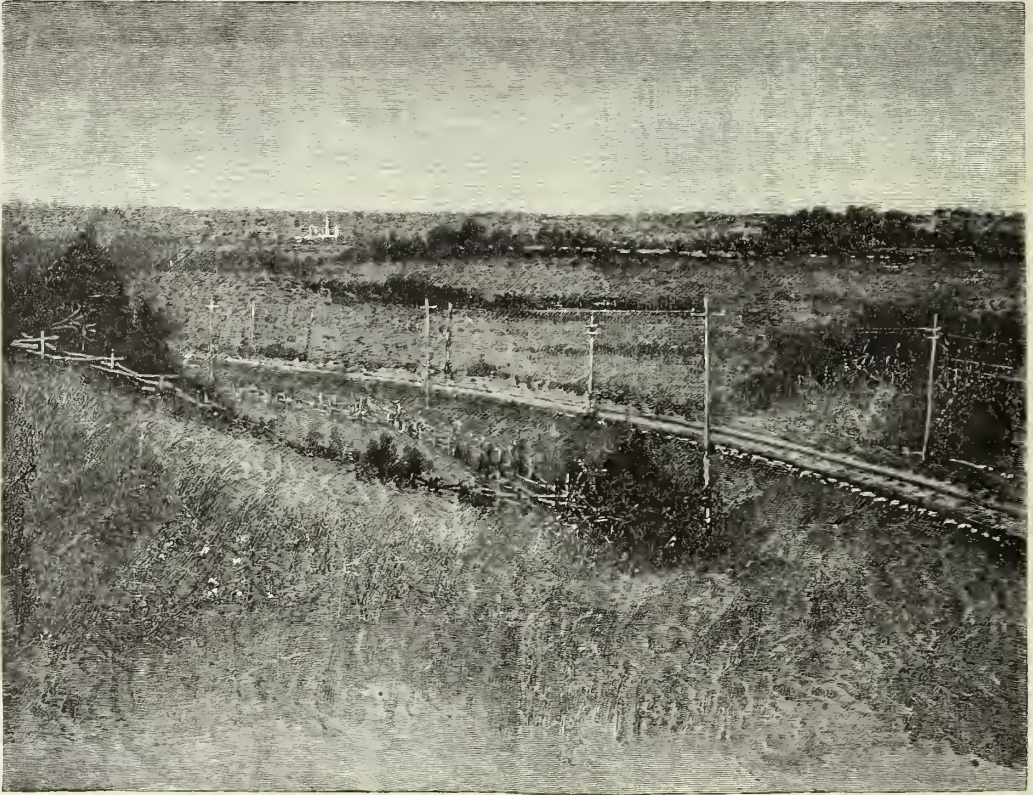
the point of crossing. Skinker's Neck is a shoe-shaped bend in the Rappahannock River, about twelve miles below Fredericksburg. It offered all the necessary military features for forcing a crossing, but, like Butler's famous "bottle" at Bermuda Hundred, also presented great facilities for preventing the egress of an army which had effected an entrance on its peninsula. After developing to a limited extent his plans, the general said that any one present was at liberty to express his views on the subject. General Sumner, if I recollect aright, remarked only that he would do his utmost to carry out the plans of the commanding general. General Franklin said that we could doubtless effect a crossing at the designated place; he assumed that the movements, after crossing, had been carefully studied, and he stood ready to execute any orders he might receive. General Hooker then said, in substance, that it was preposterous to talk about our crossing the river in the face of Lee's army; that he would like to be in command of fifty thousand men on the other side of the river, and have an enemy make the attempt. I then stated that I would guarantee the crossing of the river if my command had the advance. General Burnside closed the conference by stating that his mind was made up; that we must prepare our commands for the work before them; and that we should receive the proper orders in due time.

Three or four days after that I was at Burnside's headquarters, and he invited me to take a ride with him. Riding along on the hills near the river,



THE PONTOON-BRIDGES AT FRANKLIN'S CROSSING. FROM A WAR-TIME PHOTOGRAPH.

The hills occupied by Stonewall Jackson's command are seen in the distance.



FRANKLIN'S BATTLE-FIELD AS SEEN FROM HAMILTON'S CROSSING—FREDERICKSBURG STEEPLES IN THE DISTANCE. FROM A SKETCH MADE IN 1884.

he pointed out some fine positions for artillery, and said: "My reserve artillery has as yet had no chance to show its value, and I am going to make the crossing here and below, under cover of the guns of the reserve artillery."

To this I replied, "You can cross here without great difficulty, for this bank dominates the other, but when your army is across your troubles will begin," calling his attention at the same time to the range of hills on the other side, a mile or more back from the river.

"Oh!" said Burnside, "I know where Lee's forces are, and I expect to surprise him. I expect to cross and occupy the hills before Lee can bring anything serious to meet me."

I then said, "If you are sure of that, there is no more to be said on the subject."

On parting General Burnside said, "I wish you to say nothing to any one about my change of plan. I will make it known at the proper time."

Though General Franklin and myself were on the most intimate terms, and occupied the same tent, I gave him no hint of the change. Two or three days before the movement General Franklin was notified of the point selected for his crossing, and I then told him the story of the change of plan.

He merely said, "Your command is the strongest, and you must take the advance."

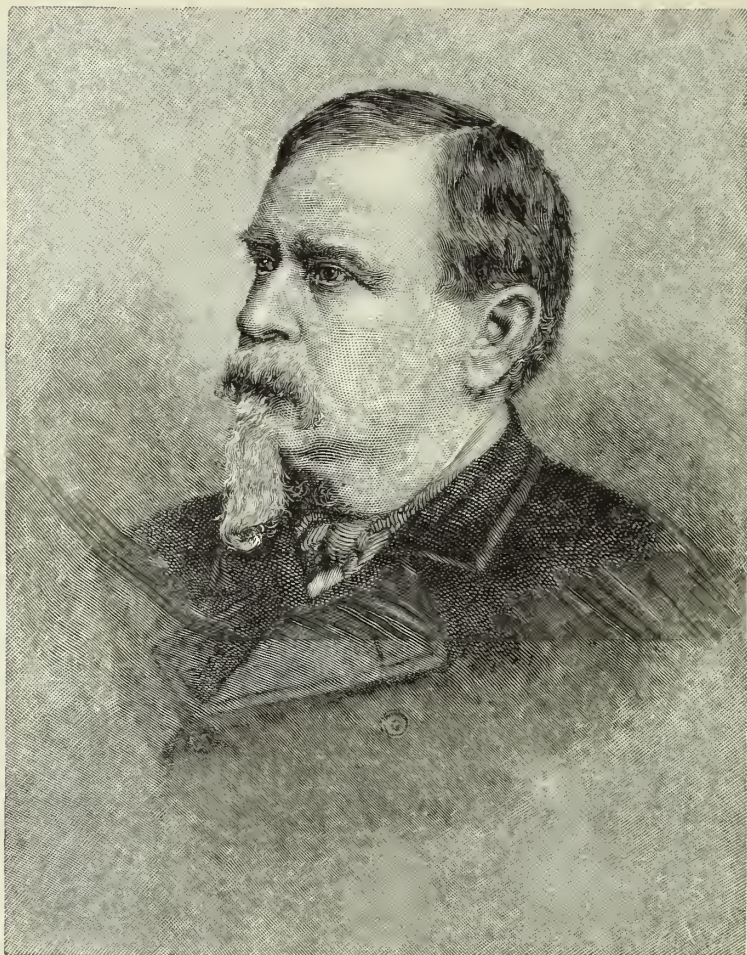
As I remember, it was on the afternoon of the 10th of December that General Franklin received an order to have the head of his command at a designated point on the river, about one and a half miles below Fredericksburg, and since known as Franklin's Crossing, at daylight on the morning of the 11th, where he would at once begin crossing by bridges which would be found ready.

On the morning of the 11th of December, at 5 o'clock, the First Corps, under Major-General John F. Reynolds, marched to take position at the bridges, and cover the crossing of the Sixth Corps over the Rappahannock. A brigade of the corps had moved at 2 o'clock A. M., to protect the engineer troops while throwing the bridges, which were expected to be finished by daylight. The work was for a while suspended on account of the fire of sharpshooters, covered by some fishing-huts and a thicket on the opposite shore. Two batteries placed on the bank opened with canister and shell, and caused the enemy to disappear, and work was resumed. When the head of the Sixth Corps reached the bank at 7:30 A. M., only three or four pontoons of each bridge had been placed in position, and the bridges were not completed till about 1 P. M. It was not until about 4 P. M. that I received orders to begin the crossing.

General Devens's brigade held the post of honor and began the movement, using both bridges. One of the commanders of the leading regiments, more patriotic than wise, had placed his band at the head of the column, and it was ordered to begin playing as it reached the bridge. This threw the men on the bridges into "step," and for some minutes it looked as though both bridges must go down. Fortunately, through the reckless riding of a "Wild Irishman" on the staff, an order reached the colonel, and the music was stopped before any harm was done.

The troops were rapidly thrown across, when an order came to recross all but one brigade. This was done and General Devens's brigade was left to keep the bridge-head. The cause of this was that the upper bridges opposite the town, intended for the use of the right wing, had not yet been finished. Sharpshooters in the brick houses near the river had interfered with the work, and the heavy guns of the reserve artillery could not make the same impression on masonry walls that our field-batteries had produced on thicket and hut. Some volunteers finally crossed the river to Fredericksburg in boats and cleared the other bank, and the bridge was rapidly laid.

Of course all chance of effecting a surprise was now over, and if we persisted in crossing we must fight for the hills south of the river. There was, however, a very fine opportunity for turning what had been done into a feint, and crossing the main army elsewhere. But this was not done, and early on the morning of the 12th the Sixth Corps recommenced the passage of the river, marched to the front about a mile, and formed line of battle. Its right was thrown across Deep Run, which, between the Sixth Corps and the river, was an impassable stream, separating us, until bridged, from the right wing of the army. In the right front was an open field, traversed by Deep Run from left to right, bounded by the hills and narrowing as it



FROM A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN ABOUT 1864.

W B Franklin

approached a gorge a mile or more away. In front of the left and right at a distance of perhaps half a mile was the ridge of hills occupied by the enemy.

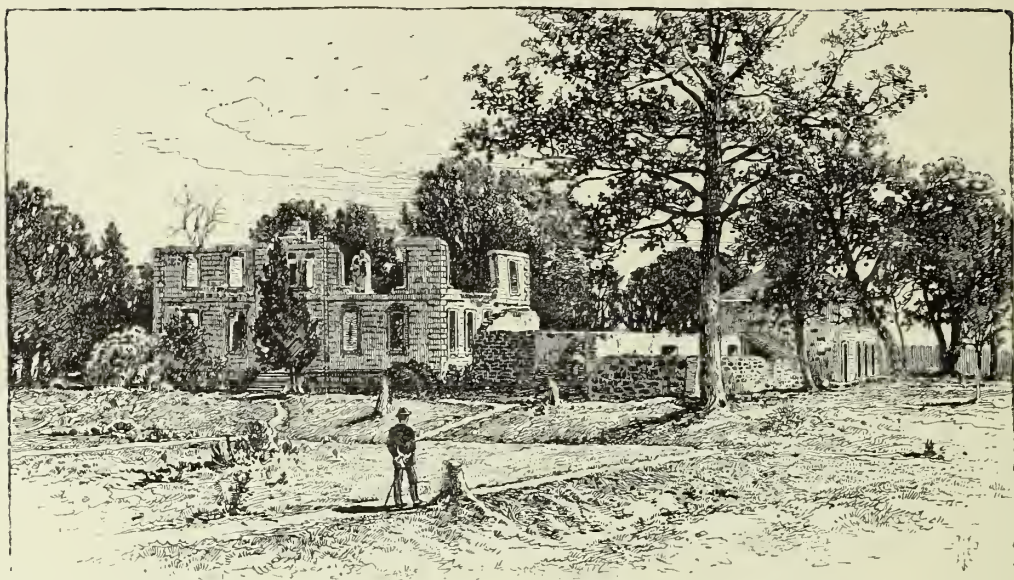
The First Corps, under Major-General John F. Reynolds, followed the Sixth, and, forming on its left, curved back across the Richmond road and rested its left on the Rappahannock River. In its right front was the range of hills at a short distance, which broke away, leaving an open space on the left between it and the river. Here were two corps with an impassable stream on their right, a formidable range of hills occupied by the enemy covering almost their entire front, and at their back a river with two frail bridges connecting its shores. It takes soldiers who do not believe that war is an art to be perfectly at their ease under such circumstances.

General Franklin, General Reynolds, and myself were on the most intimate social and official terms. We always discussed questions of general interest to the command, and after General Reynolds had placed his corps in position

we met and looked over the situation as it then appeared to us. We unanimously agreed that there was but one thing to do, and that was to put the forty thousand men of the Left Grand Division into columns of assault on the right and left of the Richmond road, carry the ridge, and turn Lee's right flank at any cost. To do this the Sixth Corps must be relieved from its position in line, where it was covering the bridge. This could only be done after dark, but as it would take some time to get the columns formed, and as it was necessary that the men should get some rest before morning, the work of preparation must begin directly after dusk. In coming to this conclusion we had considered the fact that Lee being on the exterior had longer lines than those of our army, and that therefore he could not have force enough on his right to resist an assault by forty thousand men, and that the demonstration made on his left would prevent the withdrawal of any of his force from that flank. Besides this we had in front of Reynolds open country of sufficient width to turn the hills which terminated to the right of the Richmond road.

About 5 P. M. General Burnside came to the left wing, and after he had taken a hurried gallop along the lines General Franklin asked him to go to his tent, and there gave him the above-described plan as the only one that in our judgment offered a fair hope of success. When General Burnside left us we were all of the opinion that he agreed with us, and the last request, urgently pressed upon him, was that he should at once give the order for Birney's and Sickles's divisions of the Third Corps (Hooker's Center Grand Division) to cross the bridge and be ready to begin to relieve the Sixth Corps in the lines at dusk. Under the supposition that the orders asked for would soon be received, General Franklin gave General Reynolds and myself orders to do all the preliminary work possible; which being done, we returned to General Franklin's headquarters to await the arrival of the messenger from General Burnside. As the precious time passed by we fell to discussing the condition of affairs. Burnside had proposed to effect a surprise, and now before Lee could be attacked he would have had forty-eight hours for concentration against us and for fortifying his positions on the hills. Burnside had persisted in crossing the river after all hope of a surprise had faded away, and now we must fight our way out under great disadvantages. Had Burnside been forced into a move by the Administration? Under the circumstances would he make a desperate fight or only go far enough to keep up appearances? Whatever was in store for us the Left Grand Division was a unit in sentiment; the men were brave and well disciplined, and we felt sure that with our forty thousand men we could force back Lee's right flank and get a better position for a general battle, if one were then necessary. Would Burnside adopt our plan, and if so, why this delay which was costing us so much valuable time? We had all known Burnside socially, long and intimately, but in his new position of grave responsibility he was to us entirely unknown.

The weary hours of that long winter night wore away in this profitless manner until about 3 o'clock, when General Reynolds said: "I know I have hard work ahead of me and I must get some sleep. Send for me if I am



RUINS OF "MANSFIELD," ALSO KNOWN AS THE "BERNARD HOUSE." FROM A WAR-TIME PHOTOGRAPH.

wanted." General Franklin then sent an aide to headquarters, who returned with the answer that the orders would "come presently."

The order came, I think, at 7:45 A. M.: "Keep your whole command in position for a rapid movement down the old Richmond road." Two-thirds of the command (the Sixth Corps) was so placed that it could not move, without danger of losing the bridges, until relieved by other troops or until Lee's right wing should be in full retreat. "And you will send out at once a division, at least, to pass below Smithfield,"—a hamlet occupied by Reynolds on the previous evening,—*"to seize if possible the heights near Captain Hamilton's, on this side of the Massaponax, taking care to keep it well supported and its line of retreat open."*

The peculiar wording of the order is positive evidence that when it was penned Burnside's mind was still filled with the fallacy of effecting a surprise. The order recites that the division to be sent out by Franklin—and also one to be pushed forward by Sumner on the right—was to *seize*, or attempt to seize, certain heights. The military man is habituated to use the word *seize* when an unguarded position is to be occupied, or a point in the lines of the enemy left weak through ignorance or neglect is to be taken by a sudden rush. Both of these operations are in the nature of a military surprise. When an advantage is to be gained by hard fighting or the weight of a mass of troops, the word *carry* is instinctively used. In corroboration of this proposition, I will state that in the third interview I had with Burnside, after the battle, he said, "I should have ordered Franklin to carry the heights at Captain Hamilton's at all hazards."∧

∧ Just as General Burnside was leaving, shortly after nightfall, I asked to be permitted to order General Stoneman's corps (the Third) to cross at once. He declined to give the permission, but as-

sured me I would have the orders before midnight. Had the permission been granted, the First and Sixth Corps would have been in position for the attack by daylight, the Third Corps taking the place of

The Sixth Corps had two divisions in line and one in reserve. It remained in an exposed position during the day, and suffered severely from artillery fire, while the enemy in its front were well covered by woods and rifle-pits.

In obedience to his orders Reynolds moved to the attack at 8:30 A. M., with his center division under Meade, which was to be supported by the division of Gibbon on the right and next to the Sixth Corps. The third division, under Doubleday, was in reserve and guarding Meade's left. ☆ Meade crossed the ravine in his front, and directed his course toward a point of woods coming down from the heights. The artillery on the crest was silenced by three batteries, and Meade pushed on, supported on his right by Gibbon, and, after severe fighting, carried the crest, capturing flags and prisoners. In the dense woods on the height, the connection with Gibbon



A JACK-KNIFE RECORD ON THE STONE WALL
OF THE BERNARD HOUSE.

was lost, and Meade, after a stubborn contest, was finally driven back, Gibbon yet holding his ground. Two regiments from the Third Corps arriving were sent to Gibbon's left, but were soon overpowered, and they were forced back with Gibbon. The enemy made a strong show of following up their success, but the arrival of two fresh brigades from the Third Corps checked them and drove them back to their sheltered positions. Gibbon's division, after its retreat, was relieved by Sickles's division of the Third Corps. Newton's division, the reserves of the Sixth Corps, arrived late in the afternoon and took position on the left, but was not engaged. The enemy's batteries on their extreme right, having a reverse fire upon Meade, when he advanced up the crest, maintained their position throughout the battle. Owing to the foggy character of the day our artillery on the left bank of the Rappahannock was obliged to fire somewhat at random, and for the same reason the fire from the enemy's batteries was not very well directed. The contest ended at nightfall, our troops having made no material permanent advance.

The military reader will see that had Meade and Gibbon had behind them, when they carried the enemy's lines, the 25,000 men of the Sixth Corps instead of 2 regiments, simply, of the Third Corps, the probabilities would all

the Sixth, which would have attacked with the First Corps. Had the necessary orders been received, even by midnight, the movements would have been made under cover of the darkness, and the whole night after midnight would have been required to make them. It seems that General Burnside went to bed as soon as he arrived at his headquarters, and did not write the orders until the next morning. None of my urgent messages sent to him during the night were delivered to him, although their receipt at headquarters was acknowledged.

It will be seen that the order sent by General Burnside under which the attack was made is

entirely different from that for an attack by forty thousand men, which I had a right to expect from what took place at our interview of the previous evening. And its receipt at 7:45 in the morning [it was dated 5:55 A. M.], instead of midnight, was unaccountable, except under the supposition that Burnside, for some reason that was unknown to us on the left, disapproved of the plan to which we thought he had assented, or that no serious attack was to be made from the left.—W. B. FRANKLIN.

☆ It came into action shortly after Meade's advance, to repel a threatened attack from a large force of cavalry which developed between our left and the Massaponax Creek.—W. B. FRANKLIN.



BRIGADIER-GENERAL GEORGE D. BAYARD, KILLED AT FREDERICKSBURG.
FROM AN ENGRAVING BY H. B. HALL.

have been in favor of a success. When night fell there were no longer forty thousand men in the Left Grand Division, and we had gained no important advance.

After Meade's division had been withdrawn from the front he came to General Franklin's headquarters, and on being asked some question about the fight said, "I found it quite hot enough for me," taking off his slouched hat and showing two bullet-holes between which and the top of his head there must have been little space. During one of the feeble, skirmishing attacks made on the lines of the Sixth Corps later in the day,

Meade, who was still at headquarters, was expressing great uneasiness lest the enemy should break through and capture the bridges. General Franklin quieted him by saying that the Sixth Corps could not be driven from its position.

"Mansfield," as the Bernard house was called, was a large, stone mansion, that looked down on the Rappahannock River close beneath it, and was approached by an imposing drive, while behind was an open grove of magnificent trees; in this grove was the headquarters of General Franklin. The house was evidently one of Virginia's ancestral homes, and had been in former days the center of generous hospitality. Though under artillery fire, it was used as a temporary hospital, and in it the brave Bayard died. The grove was filled with saddled horses, not for the use of fair ladies and gay cavaliers, as in the olden time, but for staff-officers and orderlies to carry orders into the fight and bring back reports from the field. The testy owner, who remained about the house during the early part of the day, and whose word had been law for so many years to all the country side, did not realize, when he demanded the immediate evacuation of his premises, that he spoke to a man who commanded 40,000 men, and one who on that day had little regard for proprietary rights, and did not stand much in awe of a Virginia magnate or constable.†

† When I first arrived at the Bernard house I found Mr. Bernard holding a lively interview with Reynolds. It seemed that Mr. Bernard protested against the use of his house and grounds by the troops because they would spoil them, and insisted

upon staying at the house to protect it. Reynolds on such occasions was a man of few words, and I presently saw Mr. Bernard hurrying toward the pontoon-bridges between two soldiers, and he was not seen again in that vicinity.—W. B. FRANKLIN.

During this day, as in all days of battle, many sad and many humorous incidents occurred. Some of the shots that were fired too high for the line of battle went hurtling through the headquarters of General Franklin into the open grove of large trees. General George D. Bayard, much endeared to us by his social qualities and his rare merits as a cavalry leader, was mortally wounded by a round shot through the thigh. Bayard and his friend, Captain H. G. Gibson, commanding a battery of flying artillery, were within ten feet of Franklin, and were just rising from the ground to go to luncheon when the shot came. It severed Gibson's sword-belt without injury to him, and struck Bayard. Many generals could have better been spared from the service.

A few days before the battle there had come to the Sixth Corps the first importation of bounty men. They had been placed in the front to save the veterans for heavy work, and as their wounded men were carried back through the ranks of the old soldiers, the latter would cry out, "Take good care of those men; they have cost the Government a great deal of money." The bounty men were at first a by-word and a cause of irritation to the real volunteers. During the afternoon, hearing some heavy musketry firing in my front, I went to ascertain the cause, and while riding along behind a regiment lying with their faces to the ground, a round shot struck the knapsack of a soldier, and, cutting it open, sent a cloud of underclothes into the air, and high above them floated a scattered pack of cards. The soldier, hearing the shouts of laughter, turned over to see what was the matter, and when he saw the mishap which had befallen him made a feeble effort to join in the laugh.

Between 1 and 2 A. M. of December 14th a council of war of the grand division commanders was ordered, and General Burnside announced his intention of leading the Ninth Corps (his old command) in an assault against the works which the Second Corps, led by such men as Couch and Hancock, had failed to carry. For some reason the project was abandoned. [See p. 127.] During the next two days the Left Grand Division remained in position, with no disturbance except that produced by an angry skirmish line with an occasional artillery engagement.



FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

C. H. Jackson

Killed at Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862.
See p. 141.

On Monday afternoon (the 15th) I received an order from General Franklin, then detained at headquarters, to withdraw the Left Grand Division after dark to the left bank of the river, and what remained of the forty thousand men of that command recrossed during the night without loss and without molestation from the enemy.

After the battle I had four interviews with Burnside. The first was on Sunday, the 14th of December. I found him alone in his tent walking up and down, apparently in great distress of mind, and turning to me he said, "Oh! those men! oh! those men!" I asked what he meant, and he said, "Those men over there!" pointing across the river where so many thousands lay dead and wounded, "I am thinking of them all the time."

I made some remark about the fate of soldiers and changed the subject. Burnside also said that he did not lead the Ninth Corps to the charge as he had said he would, because the generals on the right made such statements with reference to the demoralization of their commands that he feared to make the attempt. After we had recrossed the river I saw him again, when he told me that he had it in his mind to relieve Sumner from command, place Hooker in arrest, and Franklin in command of the army.

In the third interview General Reynolds was with me. Burnside said that the men on the left did not fight well enough. To this we replied that the list of killed and wounded proved the contrary. He then said, "I did not mean that; I meant there were not muskets enough fired," adding, "I made a mistake in my order to Franklin; I should have directed him to carry the hill at Hamilton's at all hazards." ☆

At the fourth interview he stated that the mistake was that Franklin did not get the order early enough; that he had started it at 4 o'clock in the morning, but that General Hardie, to whom the order was committed, had stopped an hour and a half in camp to get breakfast. I then told him that we should have had the order before midnight in order to form such a column of attack as we had proposed.

For a few days General Burnside was dazed by the defeat and grief-stricken at the loss of life; but he soon recovered, and planned and attempted to carry out his harmless "Mud Campaign," his last at the head of the Army of the Potomac.

☆ The Committee on the Conduct of the War received from General Burnside responses to questions as follows:

Q. "Do I understand you to say that you expected General Franklin to carry the point at the extreme left of the ridge in the rear of the town, and thereby enable our troops to storm and carry their fortifications?"

A. "I did expect him to carry that point; which being done would have placed our forces in rear of their extreme right, and which I thought at the time would shake

their forces to such an extent that the position in front could be easily stormed and carried."

Q. "To what do you attribute his failure to accomplish that?"

A. "To the great strength of the position, and the accumulation of the enemy's forces there."

General Burnside then explained that the delay in building the bridges gave the enemy time to accumulate his forces before he was able to order the attack.—W. B. FRANKLIN.



TRAFFIC BETWEEN THE LINES DURING A TRUCE.

WITH JACKSON AT HAMILTON'S CROSSING. }

BY J. H. MOORE, C. S. A.

THE morning of the 13th [of December] dawned with a dense fog enveloping the plain and city of Fredericksburg, through which the brilliant rays of the sun struggled about 10 in the morning. In front of the right of the Confederate army was displayed the vast force of Franklin, marching and countermarching, hastily seeking the places assigned for the coming conflict. Here was a vast plain, now peopled with an army worthy of its grand dimensions. A slight but dazzling snow beneath, and a brilliant sun above, intensified the leaping reflections from thousands of gleaming bayonets. Officers, on restless horses, rushed from point to point in gay uniforms. Field-artillery was whisked into position as so many fragile toys. Rank and file, foot and horse, small-arms and field-ordnance presented so magnificent a pageant as to call forth the unbounded admiration of their adversaries. In a word, this was the grandest martial scene of the war. The contrast between Stonewall Jackson's corps and Franklin's grand division was very marked, and so far as appearances went the former was hardly better than a caricature of the latter.

When all was in readiness, adjutants stepped to the front and, plainly in our view, read the orders of the day. This done, the fatal advance across the plain commenced. With gay pennants, State, regimental, and brigade standards flying, this magnifi-

cent army advanced in three closely compacted lines of battle. At intervals, in front, preceded by horse-artillery and flanked on either side by numerous field-pieces, hundreds of heavy field-pieces from the north bank of the Rappahannock belched forth their missiles of destruction and swept the plain in advance of Franklin's columns, while at the same moment his smaller field-pieces in front and on the flanks joined in to sweep the open space on all sides. This mighty cannonading was answered by the Confederate ordnance. Onward, steady and unwavering, these three lines advanced, preceded by a heavy skirmish line, till they neared the railroad, when Jackson's right and right center poured into these sturdy ranks a deadly volley from small-arms. Spaces, gaps, and wide chasms instantly told the tale of a most fatal encounter. Volley after volley of small-arms continued the work of destruction, while Jackson's artillery posted on the Federal left and at right angles to their line of advance kept up a withering fire on the lessening ranks. The enemy advanced far in front of the River road [and crossing the railroad charged the slopes upon which our troops were posted], but at length wavered, halted, and suddenly retreated to the protection of the railroad embankments. The struggle was kept up by sharpshooters for some time, when another general advance was made against a furious cannonade of

! Condensed from an article in the "Southern Bivouac" for August, 1886.



HAYS'S BRIGADE OF STONEWALL JACKSON'S CORPS, AT HAMILTON'S CROSSING. SEE MAP, P. 74.

small-arms and artillery. Again the scene of destruction was repeated; still the Federals crossed the railroad, when a gap in Jackson's line between Archer's and Thomas's brigades was discovered by some of the assailants. [See map, p. 74.] This interval was rushed for by a part of Franklin's troops as a haven of safety, while the rest of his command was repulsed in confusion.

The left of Archer's brigade, that is, the 14th Tennessee and 19th Georgia, commanded by Colonel Forbes, ☆ and a part of the 7th Tennessee, commanded by Colonel Goodner, believing they were about to be surrounded, gave way. Their comrades on the right, unaware of the condition of affairs on the left, and seeing the enemy routed in their front, were amazed at this confusion. Officers and men on the right were enraged at what seemed to be cowardice, and, rushing toward the broken lines, leveled their pistols and muskets and fired into these fleeing comrades.

Presently the true condition of affairs appeared when the victorious brigades of Franklin emerged from the woods. Line and field officers rushed to and fro, wildly shouting, "Into line, into line!" and, even in the face of a flanking foe, the gallant Colonel Turney, who temporarily commanded Archer's brigade, succeeded in re-forming his regiments at right angles to the former line of attack. This gave a brief check to the victors. Still the infantry and artillery fire scourged the line. The rout

or capture of the Confederates seemed inevitable. Turney was struck by a minie-ball, which entered his mouth and came out at his neck, and his apparently lifeless body was hurriedly placed on a blanket, and four of his devoted followers attempted to carry him to the rear. They had not proceeded far when a shell burst among them, and they in turn lay helpless by the side of their bleeding commander. ‡ Colonel Goodner also did gallant service in preventing a rout, for, with a part of the 7th that still held its ground, he formed a line at right angles to their former position, and aided in checking this dangerous reverse.

Up to the time of the break in our line no one in the ranks apprehended any danger. Those in front and near this scene of defeat and confusion made desperate efforts to rally the men and prevent a stampede, for we looked for nothing but defeat or capture. We were unaware of the fact that we had any reserves. Presently Early's division, in the very mood and spirit that had characterized Archer's brigade before the breaking of the lines, came at double-quick to our relief, jesting and yelling at us: "Here comes old Jubal! Let old Jubal straighten that fence! Jubal's boys are always getting Hill out o' trouble!"

A desperate encounter followed. The Federals fought manfully, but the artillery on our right, together with the small-arms, literally mowed them down. Officers and men lost courage at the sight of their lessening ranks, and in the utmost confusion

☆ Colonel W. A. Forbes, of the 14th Tennessee, was mortally wounded at the second battle of Bull Run, and the regiment was commanded at Fredericksburg by Lieutenant-Colonel J. W. Lockert.—EDITORS.

‡ Colonel Turney, thus painfully and dangerously wounded, has, for the last fifteen years, served the State of Tennessee as one of its supreme judges.—J. H. M.

they again sought the shelter of the railroad. Archer's brigade, of Jackson's corps, was on the extreme right of A. P. Hill's front line, composed of the following regiments, posted in the order named: 19th Georgia, 14th Tennessee, 7th Tennessee, 1st Tennessee, and extended from the interval or space left unoccupied by Gregg's brigade to the railroad curve near Hamilton's Crossing. We occupied ground slightly higher than the level of the plain over which the Federals had to pass. In our immediate rear and left was an irregular growth of timber of varied size, which obstructed the view in the direction of the Gregg interval.

As the battle opened in the morning, the enemy was plainly in our view, and we could distinctly see their approach to the railroad in our front and to the left, where in every attempt to advance they halted. Now and then they would make an effort to advance from the railroad to our lines. We who were on the right had no trouble to repulse those in our front, and, in fact, we successfully met every assault made on the right, and that, too, with little or no loss. We regarded the efforts of the Federals, so far as the right was concerned, as futile in the extreme. In fact, their assaults on this part of the line appeared like the marching of men to certain defeat and slaughter. Our infantry fire, aided by fifteen pieces of artillery placed at our right, did terrible execution as the poor fellows emerged from a slight railroad cut in front of a part of our line. ↓

↓ The report of General John F. Reynolds, commanding the First Corps, contains the following account of the engagement of his troops at Hamilton's Crossing: "About 8:30 A. M. Meade's division advanced across the Smithfield ravine, formed in column of two brigades, with the artillery between them, the Third Brigade marching by the flank on the left and rear. It moved down the river some 500 or 600 yards, when it turned sharp to the right and crossed the Bowling Green road. The enemy's artillery opened fire from the crest and the angle of the Bowling Green road. I directed General Meade to put his column directly for the nearest point of wood, and, having gained the crest, to extend his attack along it to the extreme point of the heights, where most of the enemy's artillery was posted. As the column crossed the Bowling Green road the artillery of his division was ordered into position on the rise of the ground between this road and the railroad; Cooper's and Ransom's batteries, to the front, soon joined by Amsden's, to oppose those of the enemy on the crest, while Simpson's had to be thrown to the left, to oppose that on the Bowling Green road, which was taking the column in flank. Hall's battery was at the same time thrown to the front, on the left of Gibbon's division, which was advancing in line on Meade's right. The artillery combat here raged furiously for some time, until that of the enemy was silenced, when all of our batteries were directed to shell the wood, where his infantry was supposed to be posted. This was continued some half-hour, when the column of Meade, advancing in fine order and with gallant determination, was directed into the point of wood which extended this side of the railroad, with instructions, when they carried the crest and road which ran along it in their front, to move the First Brigade along the road, the Second Brigade to advance and hold the road, while the Third moved across the open field, to support the First in carrying the extreme point of the ridge. At this time I sent orders to General Gibbon to advance, in connection with General Meade, and carry the wood in his front. The advance was made under the fire of the enemy's batteries on his right and front, to which Gib-

On the morning of the 13th General Jackson rode down his lines dressed in a new suit, presented to him, as we understood, by General Stuart. Some of our men facetiously remarked that they preferred seeing him with his rusty old cap on, as they feared he wouldn't get down to work. He inspected all of his positions, riding alone. After halting near the extreme right, the artillery fire was begun, and here I had an excellent opportunity to see him under fire. I watched him closely, and was unable to detect the slightest change in his demeanor. In a few minutes he rode off in the direction of Lee's headquarters.

A very general impression prevails, and it is in a great measure confirmed by writers on Fredericksburg, that Jackson's lines were strongly fortified. This is not correct; we had no time to construct anything like fortifications. D. H. Hill's division had been at Port Royal, eighteen miles below Fredericksburg, to prevent the Federals from crossing at that point; he left Port Royal after the enemy had abandoned the project of crossing there, and did not reach the position assigned him until about daylight of the morning of the battle.

The next morning the scenes of carnage were heart-sickening. To intensify the horrible picture, the dead and the mortally wounded were in many instances burned in the sedge-grass, which was set on fire by bursting shells.

bou's batteries replied, while those of Smith joined in on the right.

"Meade's division successfully carried the wood in front, crossed the railroad, charged up the slope of the hill, and gained the road and edge of the wood, driving the enemy from his strong positions in the ditches and railroad cut, capturing the flags of 2 regiments and sending about 200 prisoners to the rear. At the same time Gibbon's division had crossed the railroad and entered the wood, driving back the first line of the enemy and capturing a number of prisoners; but, from the dense character of the wood, the connection between his division and Meade's was broken. The infantry combat was here kept up with great spirit for a short time, when Meade's column was vigorously assailed by the enemy's masked force, and, after a severe contest, forced back. Two regiments of Berry's brigade, Birney's division, arrived about this time, and were immediately thrown into the wood on Gibbon's left, to the support of the line; but they, too, were soon overpowered, and the whole line retired from the wood, Meade's in some confusion, and, after an ineffectual effort by General Meade and myself to rally them under the enemy's fire, that of the artillery having resumed almost its original intensity, I directed General Meade to re-form his division across the Bowling Green road, and ordered the remainder of Berry's brigade, which had come up, to the support of the batteries.

"The enemy, showing himself in strong force in the wood, seemed disposed to follow our retiring troops, but the arrival of the other brigades of Birney's division on the ground at this critical moment, to occupy our line of battle, materially aided in saving Hall's battery, which was now seriously threatened by the enemy, and, together with our artillery fire, soon drove him to his sheltered positions and cover, from which his infantry did not again appear.

"General Gibbon's division was assailed in turn in the same manner, and compelled to retire from the wood soon after Meade's." General C. Feger Jackson commanding the Third Brigade of Meade's division, was killed within the enemy's lines.—EDITORS.

IN THE RANKS AT FREDERICKSBURG.

I. BY GEORGE E. SMITH, PRIVATE, CO. E, 2D WISCONSIN VOLUNTEERS.

GENERAL W. F. SMITH, in his article on "Franklin's Left Grand Division" [p. 137], makes mention of a round shot that ripped open a soldier's knapsack and distributed his clothing and cards. It was not a round shot, but the second "bolt" that came from the Whitworth gun that the "Johnnies" had run in on our flank. And although we were surprised and dumfounded at this attack from a new arm that appeared to take in about five miles of our line, the boys could not forego their little joke; so when that column of cards was thrown some twenty feet in the air, on all sides could be heard the cry, "Oh, deal me a hand!"

Three other shots in that battle did queer work. Ours was the last brigade (the "Iron Brigade" under Meredith) to cross on the pontoons and we came to a halt upon the river-bank, for a few moments, before going into position among the big cotton-wood trees at the Bernard House. We had been paid off that day, and the gamblers began to play at cards the moment we halted. A man who was about to "straddle" a "fifty-cent blind" had his knapsack knocked from under him by a solid shot, and he "straddled" half a dozen soldiers, who were covered with a cart-load of dirt. This was the first shot from the "Johnnies" on our left. Their second passed over the river and struck a paymaster's tent. The struggle between the paymaster and the stragglers for possession of the flying greenbacks was both exciting and ridiculous.

The next day, December 13th, our officers and the enemy's batteries kept us on the jump. During a moment's halt, behind a slight rise of ground, we lay down. A soldier facing to the rear was in earnest conversation with a comrade. Suddenly he made a terrific leap in air, and from the spot of ground on which he had been sitting a solid shot scooped a wheelbarrow-load of dirt. It was a clear case of premonition, for the man could give no reason for having jumped.

General Smith also speaks of the veterans' ridicule of the bounty men. The 24th Michigan became part of our brigade shortly after Antietam, and we were told they were mostly bounty men. [See below.] We made unmerciful sport of them, but never a joke or word of abuse did I hear after the 24th had shown its mettle in the battle of Fredericksburg.

On the evening of December 14th, General Doubleday wanted our regiment (the 2d Wisconsin) to go on picket and make an effort to stop the firing upon the picket-line, for the shots of the Confederates covered the whole field, and no one could get any rest. We had not been in the picket-line more than twenty minutes before we made a bargain with the "Rebs," and the firing ceased, and neither they nor ourselves pretended to keep under cover. But at daylight the 24th Michigan came to relieve us. Before they were fairly in line they opened fire upon the Confederates without the warning we had agreed to give. We yelled lustily, but the rattle of musketry drowned the sound, and many a confiding enemy was hit. This irritated the Confederates, who opened a savage fire, and the 24th Michigan were put upon their good behavior; it was with difficulty a general engagement was prevented. All that day, until about 4 o'clock, the picket-firing was intense; it was abruptly ended by a Confederate challenging a 6th Wisconsin man to a fist-fight in the middle of the turnpike. The combatants got the attention of both picket-lines, who declared the fight a "draw." They ended the matter with a coffee and tobacco trade and an agreement to do no more firing at picket-lines, unless an advance should be ordered. It was this agreement that enabled Lieutenant Rogers to save a long picket-line that was to have been sacrificed when we fell back.

RACINE, WIS., October 3d, 1886.

II. BY ORSON B. CURTIS, CORPORAL, CO. D, 24TH MICHIGAN.

SINCE Private Smith, above, mentions the 24th Michigan as "bounty men," let me state that in July, 1862, a war meeting held in Detroit to promote enlistments under Lincoln's call for 300,000 men was broken up by the disturbance created by a large number of Confederate refugees from Windsor, Canada, with the aid of some anti-war men here. To wipe out the unexpected insult, a second war meeting was held, which resolved to raise immediately an entire regiment,—the 24th Michigan,—in Wayne County alone, *in addition to its regular quota*; and within 20 days said regiment was recruited and mustered, 1027 strong. Not a man of us received a cent of State or county bounty. Each man, however, did receive, in advance, one month's pay and \$25 of the regular \$100 government bounty promised to all soldiers enlisting for two years; 673 of the men who were credited to Detroit received sums varying from \$25 to \$50 apiece as a gratuity from patriotic friends, while the remaining 354 of us never received a cent.

Assigned to the "Iron Brigade," our regiment shared its hardships till the spring of 1865, when its remnant was sent to guard conscripts at Springfield, Ill., and formed the escort at President Lincoln's funeral. At Gettysburg it suffered probably as great a loss as any regiment of its size. One of the first infantry regiments to engage the enemy in the first day's fight, it went into that battle with 28 officers and 468 men; total, 496. It lost that day 24 officers and 339 men; total, 363, of which number 272, or about 55 per cent. of the command, were killed and wounded; 91 were taken prisoners, over a third of whom died in Southern prisons; twice that day was its entire color-guard shot down, and only 3 officers and 95 men were left to respond at roll-call. General Wadsworth thus commended its conduct on that day: "Colonel Morrow, the only fault I find with you is that you fought the 24th Michigan too long, but God only knows what would have become of us had you not held the ground as long as you did."

THE OPPOSING FORCES AT FREDERICKSBURG, VA.

The composition, losses, and strength of each army as here stated give the gist of all the data obtainable in the Official Records. K stands for killed; w for wounded; m w for mortally wounded; m for captured or missing; c for captured.

THE UNION ARMY.

ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.—Major-General Ambrose E. Burnside.

Escort, etc.: Oneida (N. Y.) Cav., Capt. Daniel P. Mann; 1st U. S. Cav. (detachment), Capt. Marens A. Reno; A and E, 4th U. S. Cav., Capt. James B. McIntyre. *Provost Guard*, Brig.-Gen. Marsena R. Patrick; A and B, McClellan (Ill.) Dragoons, Capts. George W. Shears and David C. Brown; G, 9th N. Y., Capt. Charles Child; 93d N. Y., Col. John S. Crocker; 2d U. S. Cav., Maj. Charles J. Whiting; 8th U. S., Capt. Royal T. Frank. *Volunteer Engineer Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. Daniel P. Woodbury; 15th N. Y., Maj. James A. Magruder; 50th N. Y., Maj. Ira Spaulding. Brigade loss: k, 8; w, 48 = 56. *Battalion U. S. Engineers*, Lieut. Charles E. Cross. Loss: w, 1; m, 2 = 3.

ARTILLERY, Brig.-Gen. Henry J. Hunt. *Artillery Reserve*, Lieut.-Col. William Hays: 5th N. Y., Capt. Elijah D. Taft; A, 1st Batt. N. Y., Capt. Otto Diederichs; B, 1st Batt. N. Y., Capt. Adolph Voegelée; C, 1st Batt. N. Y., Lieut. Bernhard Wever; D, 1st Batt. N. Y., Capt. Charles Kusserow; K, 1st U. S., Capt. William M. Graham; A, 2d U. S., Capt. John C. Tidball; G, 4th U. S., Lieut. Marcus P. Miller; K, 5th U. S., Lieut. David H. Kinzie; C, 32d Mass. (train guard), Capt. Josiah C. Fuller. *Unattached Artillery*, Maj. Thomas S. Trumbull: B, 1st Conn. Heavy, Capt. Albert F. Brooker; M, 1st Conn. Heavy, Capt. Franklin A. Pratt. Artillery reserve loss: w, 8.

RIGHT GRAND DIVISION, Major-Gen. Edwin V. Sumner.

SECOND ARMY CORPS, Maj.-Gen. Darius N. Couch. Staff loss: w, 1.

FIRST DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. Winfield S. Hancock. Staff loss: w, 3.

First Brigade, Brig.-Gen. John C. Caldwell (w), Col. George W. von Schack: 5th N. H., Col. Edward E. Cross (w), Maj. E. E. Sturtevant (k), Capt. James E. Larkin, Capt. Horace T. H. Pierce; 7th N. Y., Col. George W. von Schack, Capt. G. A. von Bransen; 61st N. Y., Col. Nelson A. Miles; (w); 64th N. Y., Lieut.-Col. Enos C. Brooks; J, 81st Pa., Col. H. Boyd McKeen (w), Capt. William Wilson; 145th Pa., Col. Hiram L. Brown (w), Lieut.-Col. David B. McCreary. Brigade loss: k, 108; w, 729; m, 115 = 952. *Second Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. Thomas F. Meagher: 28th Mass., Col. Richard Byrnes; 63d N. Y., Maj. Joseph O'Neill (w), Capt. Patrick J. Condon; 69th N. Y., Col. Robert Nugent (w), Capt. James Saunders; 88th N. Y., Col. Patrick Kelly; 116th Pa., Col. Dennis Heenan (w), Lieut.-Col. St. Clair A. Mulholland (w), Lieut. Francis T. Quinlan. Brigade loss: k, 50; w, 421; m, 74 = 545. *Third Brigade*, Col. Samuel K. Zook: 25th Conn., Col. Richard S. Bostwick; 2d Del., Col. William P. Baily (w); 52d N. Y., Col. Paul Frank; 57th N. Y., Lieut.-Col. Alford B. Chapman (w), Maj. N. Garrow Throop (w), Capt. James W. Britt; 66th N. Y., Lieut.-Col. James H. Bull (k), Capt. Julius Wehle (k), Capt. John S. Hammell (w), Lieut. James G. Derriekson; 53d Pa., Col. John R. Brooke. Brigade loss: k, 60; w, 427; m, 40 = 527. *Artillery*: B, 1st N. Y., Capt. Rufus D. Pettit; C, 4th U. S., Lieut. Evan Thomas. Artillery loss: k, 1; w, 4 = 5.

SECOND DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. Oliver O. Howard. Staff loss: w, 1.

First Brigade, Brig.-Gen. Alfred Sully: 19th Me., Col. Frederick D. Sewall, Lieut.-Col. Francis E. Heath; 15th Mass., Maj. Chase Philbrick (w), Capt. John Murkland, Capt. Charles H. Watson; 1st Co. Mass. Sharpshooters, Capt. William Plumer; 1st Minn., Col. George N. Morgan; 2d Co. Minn. Sharpshooters, Capt. William F.

Russell; 34th N. Y., Col. James A. Suiter; 82d N. Y. (2d Militia), Lieut.-Col. James Huston. Brigade loss: k, 14; w, 77; m, 31 = 122. *Second Brigade*, Col. Joshua T. Owen: 69th Pa., Lieut.-Col. Dennis O'Kane; 71st Pa., Lieut.-Col. John Markoe; 72d Pa., Col. De Witt C. Baxter; 106th Pa., Col. Turner G. Morehead. Brigade loss: k, 27; w, 203; m, 28 = 258. *Third Brigade*, Col. Norman J. Hall: 19th Mass., Capt. H. G. O. Weymouth; 20th Mass., Capt. George N. Macy; 7th Mich., Lieut.-Col. Henry Baxter (w), Maj. Thomas H. Hunt; 42d N. Y., Lieut.-Col. George N. Bomford; 59th N. Y., Lieut.-Col. William Northedge; 127th Pa., Col. William W. Jennings. Brigade loss: k, 63; w, 419; m, 33 = 515. *Artillery*: A, 1st R. I., Capt. William A. Arnold; B, 1st R. I., Capt. John G. Hazard. Artillery loss: w, 18.

THIRD DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. William H. French.

First Brigade, Brig.-Gen. Nathan Kimball (w), Col. John S. Mason; 14th Ind., Maj. Elijah H. C. Cavins; 24th N. J., Col. Wm. B. Robertson; 28th N. J., Col. Moses N. Wisewell (w), Lieut.-Col. E. A. L. Roberts; 4th Ohio, Col. John S. Mason, Lieut.-Col. James H. Godman (w), Capt. Gordon A. Stewart; 8th Ohio, Lieut.-Col. Franklin Sawyer; 7th W. Va., Col. Joseph Snider (w), Lieut.-Col. Jonathan H. Lockwood. Brigade loss: k, 36; w, 420; m, 64 = 520. *Second Brigade*, Col. Oliver H. Palmer: 14th Conn., Lieut.-Col. Sanford H. Perkins (w), Capt. Samuel H. Davis; 108th N. Y., Lieut.-Col. Charles J. Powers; 130th Pa., Col. Henry I. Zinn (k), Capt. William M. Porter. Brigade loss: k, 20; w, 207; m, 64 = 291. *Third Brigade*, Col. John W. Andrews, Lieut.-Col. William Jameson, Lieut.-Col. John W. Marshall: 1st Del., Maj. Thomas A. Smyth; 4th N. Y., Col. John D. MacGregor (w), Lieut.-Col. William Jameson, Maj. Charles W. Kruger; 10th N. Y., Col. John E. Bendix (w), Capt. Salmon Winchester (m w), Capt. George F. Hopper; 132d Pa., Lieut.-Col. Charles Albright. Brigade loss: k, 32; w, 271; m, 39 = 342. *Artillery*: G, 1st N. Y., Capt. John D. Frank; G, 1st R. I., Capt. Charles D. Owen. Artillery loss: k, 1; w, 6 = 7.

ARTILLERY RESERVE, Capt. Charles H. Morgan: I, 1st U. S., Lieut. Edmund Kirby; A, 4th U. S., Lieut. Rufus King, Jr. Artillery Reserve loss: w, 7.

NINTH ARMY CORPS, Brig.-Gen. Orlando B. Willcox. *Escort*: B, 6th N. Y. Cav., Capt. Hillman A. Hall; C, 6th N. Y. Cav., Capt. William L. Heermance. **FIRST DIVISION**, Brig.-Gen. William W. Burns.

First Brigade, Col. Orlando M. Poe: 2d Mich., Lieut.-Col. Louis Dillman; 17th Mich., Col. William H. Withington; 20th Mich., Col. Adolphus W. Williams; 79th N. Y., Lieut.-Col. David Morrison. Brigade loss: k, 1; w, 12 = 13. *Second Brigade*, Col. Benjamin C. Christ: 29th Mass., Lieut.-Col. Joseph H. Barnes; 8th Mich., Maj. Ralph Ely; 27th N. J., Col. George W. Mindil; 46th N. Y., Lieut.-Col. Joseph Gerhardt; 50th Pa., Lieut.-Col. Thomas S. Brenholtz. Brigade loss: w, 7; m, 1 = 8. *Third Brigade*, Col. Daniel Leasure: 36th Mass., Col. Henry Bowman; 45th Pa., Col. Thomas Welsh; 100th Pa., Lieut.-Col. David A. Leekey. Brigade loss: w, 3. *Artillery*: D, 1st N. Y., Capt. Thomas W. Osborn; L and M, 3d U. S., Lieut. Horace J. Hayden. Artillery loss: w, 2; m, 1 = 3.

SECOND DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. Samuel D. Sturgis. Staff loss: w, 1.

First Brigade, Brig.-Gen. James Nagle: 2d Md., Col. Thomas B. Allard; 6th N. H., Col. Simon G. Griffin; 9th N. H., Lieut.-Col. John W. Babbitt; 48th Pa., Col. Joshua K. Sigfried; 7th R. I., Col. Zeas R. Bliss; 12th R. I., Col.

† Commanded 61st and 64th N. Y., consolidated.

George H. Browne. Brigade loss: k, 31; w, 421; m, 48 = 500. *Second Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. Edward Ferrero: 21st Mass., Col. William S. Clark; 35th Mass., Maj. Sidney Willard (k), Capt. Stephen H. Andrews; 11th N. H., Col. Walter Harriman; 51st N. Y., Col. Robert B. Potter; 51st Pa., Col. John F. Hartranft. Brigade loss: k, 60; w, 393; m, 38 = 491. *Artillery*: L, 2d N. Y., Capt. Jacob Roemer; D, Pa., Capt. George W. Durell; D, 1st R. I., Capt. William W. Buckley; E, 4th U. S., Lieut. George Dickenson (k), Lieut. John Egan. Artillery loss: k, 3; w, 12 = 15.

THIRD DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. George W. Getty.

First Brigade, Col. Rush C. Hawkins: 10th N. H., Col. Michael T. Donohoe; 13th N. H., Col. Aaron F. Stevens; 25th N. J., Col. Andrew Derrom; 9th N. Y., Lieut.-Col. Edgar A. Kimball; 89th N. Y., Col. Harrison S. Fairchild; 103d N. Y., Col. Benjamin Ringold. Brigade loss: k, 14; w, 187; m, 54 = 255. *Second Brigade*, Col. Edward Harland: 8th Conn., Maj. John E. Ward, Capt. Henry M. Hoyt; 11th Conn., Col. Griffin A. Stedman, Jr.; 15th Conn., Lieut.-Col. Samuel Tolles; 16th Conn., Capt. Charles L. Upham; 21st Conn., Col. Arthur H. Dutton; 4th R. I., Lieut.-Col. Joseph B. Curtis (k), Maj. Martin P. Buffum. Brigade loss: k, 2; w, 29; m, 10 = 41. *Artillery*: E, 2d U. S., Lieut. Samuel N. Benjamin; A, 5th U. S., Lieut. James Gilliss.

CAVALRY DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. Alfred Pleasanton.

First Brigade, Brig.-Gen. John F. Farnsworth: 8th Ill., Col. William Gamble; 3d Ind., Maj. George H. Chapman; 8th N. Y., Col. Benjamin F. Davis. *Second Brigade*, Col. David McM. Gregg, Col. Thomas C. Devin; 6th N. Y., Col. Thomas C. Devin, Lieut.-Col. Duncan McVear; 8th Pa., Lieut.-Col. Amos E. Griffiths; 6th U. S., Capt. George C. Cram. *Artillery*: M, 2d U. S., Lieut. Alexander C. M. Pennington, Jr.

CENTER GRAND DIVISION, Maj.-Gen. Jos. Hooker.

THIRD ARMY CORPS, Brig.-Gen. George Stoneman.

FIRST DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. David B. Birney.

First Brigade, Brig.-Gen. John C. Robinson: 20th Ind., Col. John Van Valkenburg; 63d Pa., Maj. John A. Danks; 68th Pa., Col. Andrew H. Tipping; 105th Pa., Col. Anor A. McKnight; 114th Pa., Col. Charles H. T. Collins; 141st Pa., Col. Henry J. Madill. Brigade loss: k, 14; w, 106; m, 26 = 146. *Second Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. J. H. Hobart Ward: 3d Me., Col. Moses B. Lake-man; 4th Me., Col. Elijah Walker; 38th N. Y., Lieut.-Col. William Birney (w); 40th N. Y., Lieut.-Col. Nelson A. Gesner (w); 55th N. Y., Col. P. Regis de Trobriand; 57th Pa., Col. Charles T. Campbell (w), Lieut.-Col. Peter Sides; 99th Pa., Col. Asher S. Leidy (w), Lieut.-Col. Edwin R. Biles. Brigade loss: k, 79; w, 397; m, 153 = 629. *Third Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. Hiram G. Berry: 17th Me., Col. Thomas A. Roberts; 3d Mich., Maj. Moses B. Houghton; 5th Mich., Lieut.-Col. John Gihuly (k), Maj. Edward T. Sherlock; 1st N. Y., Col. J. Frederick Pierson; 37th N. Y., Col. Samuel B. Hayman; 101st N. Y., Col. George F. Chester. Brigade loss: k, 19; w, 144; m, 2 = 165. *Artillery*, Capt. George E. Randolph: E, 1st R. I., Lieut. Pardon S. Jastram; F and K, 3d U. S., Lieut. John G. Turnbull. Artillery loss: k, 2; w, 8 = 10.

SECOND DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. Daniel E. Sickles.

First Brigade, Brig.-Gen. Joseph B. Carr: 1st Mass., Lieut.-Col. Clark B. Baldwin, Col. Napoleon B. McLangh-ten; 11th Mass., Col. William Blaisdell; 16th Mass., Col. Thomas R. Tannatt; 2d N. H., Col. Gilman Marston; 11th N. J., Col. Robert McAllister; 26th Pa., Lieut.-Col. Benjamin C. Tilghman. Brigade loss: k, 11; w, 68; m, 2 = 81. *Second Brigade*, Col. George B. Hall: 70th N. Y., Col. J. Egbert Farnum; 71st N. Y., Maj. Thomas Rafferty; 72d N. Y., Col. William O. Stevens; 73d N. Y., Col. William R. Brewster; 74th N. Y., Lieut.-Col. William H. Lounsbury; 120th N. Y., Col. George H. Sharpe. Brigade loss: w, 16. *Third Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. Joseph W. Revere: 5th N. J., Col. William J. Sewell; 6th N. J., Col. George C. Burling; 7th N. J., Col. Louis R. Francine; 8th N. J., Col. Adolphus J. Johnson; 2d N. Y., Col. Sidney W. Park; 115th Pa., Lieut.-Col. William A. Olmsted. Brigade loss: k, 1; w, 1 = 2. *Artillery*, Capt. James E. Smith: 2d N. J., Capt. A. Judson Clark; 4th N. Y., Lieut. Joseph E. Nairn; H, 1st U. S., Lieut. Justin E. Dimick; K, 4th U. S., Lieut. Francis W. Seeley. Artillery loss: m, 1.

THIRD DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. Amiel W. Whipple. Staff loss: m, 1.

First Brigade, Brig.-Gen. A. Sanders Piatt, Col. Emlen Franklin: 86th N. Y., Lieut.-Col. Barua J. Chapin; 124th N. Y., Col. A. Van Horne Ellis; 122d Pa., Col. Emlen Franklin. Brigade loss: w, 3; m, 6 = 9. *Second Brigade*, Col. Samuel S. Carroll: 12th N. H., Col. Joseph H. Potter; 163d N. Y., Maj. James J. Byrne; 84th Pa., Col. Samuel M. Bowman; 110th Pa., Lieut.-Col. James Crowther. Brigade loss: k, 19; w, 88; m, 11 = 118. *Artillery*: 10th N. Y., Capt. John T. Brnen; 11th N. Y., Capt. Albert A. von Pnttkammer; H, 1st Ohio, Lieut. George W. Norton. Artillery loss: w, 1.

FIFTH ARMY CORPS, Brig.-Gen. Daniel Butterfield. Staff loss: k, 1; w, 1 = 2.

FIRST DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. Charles Griffin.

First Brigade, Col. James Barnes: 2d Me., Lieut.-Col. George Varney (w), Maj. Daniel F. Sargent; 2d Co. Mass. Sharpshooters, Capt. Lewis E. Wentworth; 18th Mass., Lieut.-Col. Joseph Hayes; 22d Mass., Lieut.-Col. William S. Tilton; 1st Mich., Lieut.-Col. Ira C. Abbott (w); 13th N. Y., Col. Elisha G. Marshall (w), Lieut.-Col. Francis A. Sehoeffel; 25th N. Y., Capt. Patrick Connelly; 118th Pa., Lieut.-Col. James Gwyn. Brigade loss: k, 30; w, 381; m, 89 = 500. *Second Brigade*, Col. Jacob B. Sweitzer: 9th Mass., Col. Patrick R. Guiney; 32d Mass., Col. Francis J. Parker; 4th Mich., Lieut.-Col. George W. Lumbard; 14th N. Y., Lieut.-Col. Thomas M. Davies; 62d Pa., Lieut.-Col. James C. Hull. Brigade loss: k, 23; w, 193; m, 6 = 222. *Third Brigade*, Col. T. B. W. Stockton: 20th Me., Col. Adelbert Ames; Brady's Co. Mich. Sharpshooters, Lieut. Jonas H. Titus, Jr.; 16th Mich., Lieut.-Col. Norval E. Welch; 12th N. Y., Lieut.-Col. Robert M. Richardson; 17th N. Y., Capt. John Vickers; 44th N. Y., Lieut.-Col. Freeman Conner (w), Maj. Edward B. Knox; 83d Pa., Col. Strong Vincent. Brigade loss: k, 18; w, 158; m, 25 = 201. *Artillery*: 3d Mass., Capt. Augustus P. Martin; 5th Mass., Capt. Charles A. Phillips; C, 1st R. I., Capt. Richard Waterman; D, 5th U. S., Lieut. Charles E. Hazlett. Artillery loss: k, 2; w, 1 = 3. *Sharpshooters*: 1st U. S., Lieut.-Col. Casper Trepp.

SECOND DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. George Sykes.

First Brigade, Lieut.-Col. Robert C. Buchanan: 3d U. S., Capt. John D. Wilkins; 4th U. S., Capt. Hiram Dryer; 1st Battalion, 12th U. S., Capt. Matthew M. Blunt; 2d Battalion, 12th U. S., Capt. Thomas M. Anderson; 1st Battalion, 14th U. S., Capt. John D. O'Connell; 2d Battalion, 14th U. S., Capt. Giles B. Overton. Brigade loss: k, 5; w, 42; m, 4 = 51. *Second Brigade*, Maj. George L. Andrews, Maj. Charles S. Lovell: 1st and 2d U. S. (battalion), Capt. Salem S. Marsh; 6th U. S., Capt. Levi C. Bootes; 7th U. S. (battalion), Capt. David P. Hancock; 10th U. S., Capt. Henry E. Maynard; 11th U. S., Capt. Charles S. Russell; 17th and 19th U. S. (battalion), Capt. John P. Wales. Brigade loss: k, 12; w, 114; m, 14 = 140. *Third Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. Gouverneur K. Warren: 5th N. Y., Col. Cleveland Winslow; 140th N. Y., Col. Patrick H. O'Rourke; 146th N. Y., Col. Kenner Garrard. Brigade loss: w, 6; m, 30 = 36. *Artillery*: L, 1st Ohio, Lieut. Frederick Dorries; I, 5th U. S., Lieut. Malbone F. Watson. Artillery loss: w, 1.

THIRD DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. Andrew A. Humphreys. Staff loss: w, 3.

First Brigade, Brig.-Gen. Erastus B. Tyler: 91st Pa., Col. Edgar M. Gregory (w); 126th Pa., Col. James G. Elder (w), Lieut.-Col. David W. Rowe; 129th Pa., Col. Jacob G. Frick; 134th Pa., Lieut.-Col. Edward O'Brien. Brigade loss: k, 52; w, 321; m, 81 = 454. *Second Brigade*, Col. Peter H. Allabaeh: 123d Pa., Col. John B. Clark; 131st Pa., Lieut.-Col. William B. Shant; 133d Pa., Col. Franklin B. Speakman; 155th Pa., Col. Edward J. Allen. Brigade loss: k, 63; w, 448; m, 51 = 562. *Artillery*: C, 1st N. Y., Lieut. William H. Phillips; E and G, 1st U. S., Capt. Alanson M. Randol.

CAVALRY BRIGADE, Brig.-Gen. William W. Averell: 1st Mass., Col. Horace B. Sargent; 3d Pa., Lieut.-Col. Edward S. Jones; 4th Pa., Col. James K. Kerr; 5th U. S., Capt. James E. Harrison. Brigade loss: k, 1. *Artillery*: B and L, 2d U. S., Capt. James M. Robertson.

LEFT GRAND DIVISION, Maj.-Gen. William B. Franklin.

Escort: 6th Pa. Cav., Col. Richard H. Rush.

FIRST ARMY CORPS, Maj.-Gen. John F. Reynolds.

Escort: L, 1st Me. Cav., Capt. Constantine Taylor. *Escort loss:* w, 3.

FIRST DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. Abner Doubleday.

First Brigade, Col. Walter Phelps, Jr.: 22d N. Y., Lieut.-Col. John McKie, Jr.; 24th N. Y., Lieut.-Col. Samuel R. Beardsley; 30th N. Y., Lieut.-Col. Morgan H. Chrysler; 84th N. Y. (44th Militia), Lieut. Col. William H. de Bevoise; 2d U. S. Sharpshooters, Maj. Homer R. Stoughton. *Brigade loss:* k, 3; w, 24; m, 3=30. *Second Brigade,* Col. James Gavin: 7th Ind., Lieut.-Col. John P. Cheek; 76th N. Y., Col. William P. Wainwright; 95th N. Y., Col. George H. Biddle; 56th Pa., Lieut.-Col. J. William Hoffmann. *Brigade loss:* k, 5; w, 21=26. *Third Brigade,* Col. William F. Rogers: 21st N. Y., Capt. George N. Layton; 23d N. Y., Col. Henry C. Hoffman; 35th N. Y., Col. Newton B. Lord; 80th N. Y. (20th Militia), Lieut.-Col. Jacob B. Hardenbergh. *Brigade loss:* k, 10; w, 54; m, 3=67. *Fourth Brigade,* Brig.-Gen. Solomon Meredith, Col. Lysander Cutler: 19th Ind., Lieut.-Col. Samuel J. Williams; 24th Mich., Col. Henry A. Morrow; 2d Wis., Col. Lucius Fairchild; 6th Wis., Col. Lysander Cutler, Lieut.-Col. Edward S. Bragg; 7th Wis., Col. William W. Robinson. *Brigade loss:* k, 9; w, 40; m, 16=65. *Artillery,* Capt. George A. Gerrish (w), Capt. John A. Reynolds: 1st N. H., Lieut. Frederick M. Edgell; L, 1st N. Y., Capt. John A. Reynolds; B, 4th U. S., Lieut. James Stewart. *Artillery loss:* k, 4; w, 22=26.

SECOND DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. John Gibbon (w), Brig.-Gen. Nelson Taylor. *Staff loss:* w, 1.

First Brigade, Col. Adrian R. Root: 16th Me., Lieut.-Col. Charles W. Tilden; 94th N. Y., Maj. John A. Kress; 104th N. Y., Maj. Gilbert G. Prey; 105th N. Y., Maj. Daniel A. Sharp (w), Capt. Abraham Moore; 107th Pa., Col. Thomas F. McCoy. *Brigade loss:* k, 47; w, 373; m, 55=475. *Second Brigade,* Col. Peter Lyle: 12th Mass., Col. James L. Bates; 26th N. Y., Lieut.-Col. Gilbert S. Jennings, Maj. Ezra F. Wetmore; 90th Pa., Lieut.-Col. William A. Leech; 136th Pa., Col. Thomas M. Bayne. *Brigade loss:* k, 51; w, 377; m, 32=460. *Third Brigade,* Brig.-Gen. Nelson Taylor, Col. Samuel H. Leonard; 13th Mass., Col. Samuel H. Leonard, Lieut.-Col. N. Walter Batchelder; 83d N. Y. (9th Militia), Capt. John Hendrickson (w), Capt. Joseph A. Moesch (w), Lieut. Isaac E. Hoagland; 97th N. Y., Col. Charles Wheelock; 11th Pa., Col. Richard Conliver (w), Capt. Christian Kuhn; 88th Pa., Maj. David A. Griffith. *Brigade loss:* k, 41; w, 258; m, 15=314. *Artillery,* Capt. George F. Leppien: 2d Me., Capt. James A. Hall; 5th Me., Capt. George F. Leppien; C, Pa., Capt. James Thompson; F, 1st Pa., Lieut. R. Bruce Ricketts. *Artillery loss:* k, 2; w, 15=17.

THIRD DIVISION, Maj.-Gen. George G. Meade.

First Brigade, Col. William Sinclair (w), Col. William McCandless: 1st Pa. Reserves, Capt. William C. Talley; 2d Pa. Reserves, Col. William McCandless, Capt. Timothy Mealey; 6th Pa. Reserves, Maj. Wellington H. Ent; 13th Pa. Reserves (1st Rifles), Capt. Charles F. Taylor; 121st Pa., Col. Chapman Biddle. *Brigade loss:* k, 47; w, 386; m, 77=510. *Second Brigade,* Col. Albert L. Magilton: 3d Pa. Reserves, Col. Horatio G. Sickel; 4th Pa. Reserves, Lieut.-Col. Richard H. Woolworth; 7th Pa. Reserves, Col. Henry C. Bolinger; 8th Pa. Reserves, Maj. Silas M. Baily; 142d Pa., Col. Robert P. Cummins. *Brigade loss:* k, 65; w, 426; m, 141=632. *Third Brigade,* Brig.-Gen. C. Feger Jackson (k), Col. Joseph W. Fisher, Lieut.-Col. Robert Anderson: 5th Pa. Reserves, Col. Joseph W. Fisher, Lieut.-Col. George Dare; 9th Pa. Reserves, Lieut.-Col. Robert Anderson, Maj. James McK. Snodgrass; 10th Pa. Reserves, Maj. James B. Knox; 11th Pa. Reserves, Lieut.-Col. Samuel M. Jackson; 12th Pa. Reserves, Capt. Richard Gustin. *Brigade loss:* k, 56; w, 410; m, 215=681. *Artillery:* A, 1st Pa., Lieut. John G. Simpson; B, 1st Pa., Capt. James H. Cooper; G, 1st Pa., Capt. Frank P. Ansdan; C, 5th U. S., Capt. Dunbar R. Ransom. *Artillery loss:* k, 7; w, 19; m, 4=30.

SIXTH ARMY CORPS, Maj.-Gen. William F. Smith.

Escort: L, 10th N. Y. Cav., Lieut. George Vanderbilt; I, 6th Pa. Cav., Capt. James Starr; K, 6th Pa. Cav., Capt. Frederick C. Newhall.

FIRST DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. William T. H. Brooks.

First Brigade, Col. Alfred T. A. Torbert: 1st N. J., Lieut.-Col. Mark W. Collet; 2d N. J., Col. Samuel L. Buck; 3d N. J., Col. Henry W. Brown; 4th N. J., Col. William B. Hatch (w), Lieut.-Col. James N. Duffy; 15th N. J., Lieut.-Col. Edward L. Campbell; 23d N. J., Col. Henry O. Ryerson. *Brigade loss:* k, 18; w, 94; m, 50=162. *Second Brigade,* Col. Henry L. Cake: 5th Me., Col. Edward A. Seammun; 16th N. Y., Col. Joel J. Seaver; 27th N. Y., Col. Alexander D. Adams; 121st N. Y., Col. Emory Upton; 96th Pa., Lieut.-Col. Peter A. Filbert. *Brigade loss:* k, 4; w, 13=17. *Third Brigade,* Brig.-Gen. David A. Russell: 18th N. Y., Col. George R. Myers; 31st N. Y., Lieut.-Col. Leopold C. Newman; 32d N. Y., Capt. Charles Hubbs; 95th Pa., Lieut.-Col. Elisha Hall. *Brigade loss:* w, 10. *Artillery:* A, Md., Capt. John W. Wolcott; 1st Mass., Capt. William H. McCartney; 1st N. J., Capt. William Hexamer; D, 2d U. S., Lieut. Edward B. Williston. *Artillery loss:* k, 2; w, 6=8.

SECOND DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. Albion P. Howe.

First Brigade, Brig.-Gen. Calvin E. Pratt: 6th Me., Col. Hiram Burnham; 43d N. Y., Col. Benjamin F. Baker; 49th Pa., Col. William H. Irwin; 119th Pa., Col. Peter C. Ellmaker; 5th Wis., Col. Amasa Cobb. *Brigade loss:* w, 23; m, 3=26. *Second Brigade,* Col. Henry Whiting: 26th N. J., Col. Andrew J. Morrison; 2d Vt., Lieut.-Col. Charles H. Joyce; 3d Vt., Col. Breed N. Hyde; 4th Vt., Col. Charles B. Stoughton; 5th Vt., Col. Lewis A. Grant; 6th Vt., Col. Nathan Lord, Jr. *Brigade loss:* k, 21; w, 121; m, 2=144. *Third Brigade,* Brig.-Gen. Francis L. Vinton (w), Col. Robert F. Taylor, Brig.-Gen. Thomas H. Neill: 21st N. J., Col. Gilliam Van Houten; 20th N. Y., Col. Ernst von Vegesack; 33d N. Y., Col. Robert F. Taylor; 49th N. Y., Col. Daniel D. Bidwell; 77th N. Y., Lieut.-Col. Winsor B. French. *Brigade loss:* k, 1; w, 14=15. *Artillery:* B, Md., Capt. Alonzo Snow; 1st N. Y., Capt. Andrew Cowan; 3d N. Y., Lieut. William A. Harn; F, 5th U. S., Lieut. Leonard Martin. *Artillery loss:* w, 1.

THIRD DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. John Neehran.

First Brigade, Brig.-Gen. John Cochrane: 65th N. Y., Col. Alexander Shaler; 67th N. Y., Col. Nelson Cross; 122d N. Y., Col. Silas Titus; 23d Pa., Maj. John F. Glenn; 61st Pa., Col. George C. Spear; 82d Pa., Col. David H. Williams. *Brigade loss:* k, 2; w, 19; m, 3=24. *Second Brigade,* Brig.-Gen. Charles Devens, Jr.: 7th Mass., Lieut.-Col. Franklin P. Harlow; 10th Mass., Col. Henry L. Eustis; 37th Mass., Colonel Oliver Edwards; 36th N. Y., Col. William H. Browne; 2d R. I., Col. Frank Wheaton, Lieut.-Col. Nelson Viall. *Brigade loss:* k, 3; w, 14=17. *Third Brigade,* Col. Thomas A. Rowley, Brig.-Gen. Frank Wheaton: 62d N. Y., Maj. Wilson Hubbell; 93d Pa., Maj. John M. Mark; 98th Pa., Lieut.-Col. Adolph Mehler; 102d Pa., Lieut.-Col. Joseph M. Kinkead; 139th Pa., Lieut.-Col. James D. Owens. *Brigade loss:* w, 6; m, 6=12. *Artillery:* C, 1st Pa., Capt. Jeremiah McCarthy; D, 1st Pa., Capt. Michael Hall; G, 2d U. S., Lieut. John H. Butler. *Artillery loss:* k, 2; w, 8=10.

CAVALRY BRIGADE, Brig.-Gen. George D. Bayard (k), Col. David McM. Gregg: Indep't Co., D. C., Lieut. Williams H. Orton; 1st Me., Lieut.-Col. Calvin S. Danty; 1st N. J., Lieut.-Col. Joseph Kargé; 2d N. Y., Maj. Henry E. Davies; 10th N. Y., Lieut.-Col. William Irvine; 1st Pa., Col. Owen Jones. *Brigade loss:* k, 1; w, 3=4. *Artillery:* C, 3d U. S., Capt. Horatio G. Gibson.

Total Union loss: killed, 1284; wounded, 9600; captured or missing, 1769=12,653.

Regarding the strength of his army on the morning of December 13th, General Burnside says ("Official Records," Vol. XXI, p. 90): "The forces now under command of General Franklin consisted of about 60,000 men, as shown by the morning reports, and was composed as follows: Sixth Corps, 24,000; First Corps, 18,500; Third Corps (two divisions), 10,000; Ninth Corps (Burns's division), 4000; Bayard's cavalry, 3500. General Sumner had about 27,000 men, comprising his own grand division,

except Burns's division of the Ninth Corps. General Hooker's command was about 26,000 strong, two of General Stoneman's divisions having reported to General Franklin." These numbers aggregate 113,000.

According to Burnside's return for December 10th ("Official Records," Vol. XXI., p. 1121), the "present for duty equipped," or available for line of battle, was 104,903 infantry, 5884 cavalry, and 5896 artillery = 116,683.

THE CONFEDERATE ARMY.

ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA.—General Robert E. Lee.

FIRST ARMY CORPS, Lieut.-Gen. James Longstreet.
McLAW'S DIVISION, Maj.-Gen. Lafayette McLaws. Staff loss: k, 1; w, 1 = 2.

Kershaw's Brigade, Brig.-Gen. Joseph B. Kershaw: 2d S. C., Col. John D. Kennedy; 3d S. C., Col. James D. Nance (w), Lieut.-Col. William D. Rutherford (w), Maj. Robert C. Maffett (w), Capt. William W. Hance (w), Capt. John C. Sumner (k), Capt. John K. G. Nance; 7th S. C., Lieut.-Col. Elbert Bland; 8th S. C., Capt. E. T. Stackhouse; 15th S. C., Col. W. D. De Saussure; 3d S. C. Battalion, Lieut.-Col. W. G. Rice. Brigade loss: k, 38; w, 341 = 379. **Barksdale's Brigade**, Brig.-Gen. William Barksdale: 13th Miss., Col. J. W. Carter; 17th Miss., Lieut.-Col. John C. Fiser; 18th Miss., Lieut.-Col. William H. Luse; 21st Miss., Col. Benjamin G. Humphreys. Brigade loss: k, 29; w, 151; m, 62 = 242. **Cobb's Brigade**, Brig.-Gen. Thomas R. R. Cobb (m w), Col. Robert McMillan: 16th Ga., Col. Goode Bryan; 18th Ga., Lieut.-Col. S. Z. Ruff; 24th Ga., Col. Robert McMillan; Cobb (Ga.) Legion, —; Φ Phillips (Ga.) Legion, Col. B. F. Cook. Brigade loss: k, 33; w, 198; m, 4 = 235. **Semmes's Brigade**, Brig.-Gen. Paul J. Semmes: 10th Ga., —; 50th Ga., —; 51st Ga., —; 53d Ga., —. Brigade loss: w, 4. **Artillery**, Col. Henry C. Cabell: N. C. Battery, Capt. Basil C. Manly; Ga. Battery, Capt. J. P. W. Read; 1st Richmond (Va.) Howitzers, Capt. E. S. McCarthy; Ga. Battery (Troup Art'y), Capt. Henry H. Carlton. Artillery loss: w, 2. (Colonel Cabell also commanded Nelson's battalion, and Branch's, Cooper's, Dearing's, Ellis's, Eubank's, Lane's, Macon's, and Ross's batteries.)

ANDERSON'S DIVISION, Maj.-Gen. Richard H. Anderson.
Wileox's Brigade, Brig.-Gen. Cadmus M. Wileox: 8th Ala., —; 9th Ala., —; 10th Ala., —; 11th Ala., —; 14th Ala., —. Brigade loss: k, 3; w, 15 = 18. **Mahone's Brigade**, Brig.-Gen. William Mahone: 6th Va., —; 12th Va., —; 16th Va., —; 41st Va., —; 61st Va., —. Brigade loss: k, 2; w, 6 = 8. **Featherston's Brigade**, Brig.-Gen. W. S. Featherston: 12th Miss., —; 16th Miss., —; 19th Miss., —; 48th Miss. (5 co's), —. Brigade loss: k, 5; w, 38 = 43. **Wright's Brigade**, Brig.-Gen. A. R. Wright: 3d Ga., Col. Edward J. Walker; 22d Ga., —; 48th Ga., Capt. M. R. Hall; 2d Ga. Battalion, Capt. C. J. Moffett. Brigade loss: k, 2; w, 1 = 3. **Perry's Brigade**, Brig.-Gen. E. A. Perry: 2d Fla., —; 5th Fla., —; 8th Fla., Capt. David Lang (w), Capt. Thomas R. Love. Brigade loss: k, 7; w, 38; m, 44 = 89. **Artillery**: La. Battery (Donaldsonville Art'y), Capt. Victor Manrin; Va. Battery, Capt. Frank Hnger; Va. Battery, Capt. John W. Lewis; Va. Battery (Norfolk Light Art'y Blues), Lieut. William T. Peet. Artillery loss: k, 1; w, 8 = 9.

PICKETT'S DIVISION, Maj.-Gen. George E. Pickett.
Garnett's Brigade, Brig.-Gen. Richard B. Garnett: 8th Va., —; 18th Va., —; 19th Va., —; 28th Va., —; 56th Va., —. **Armistead's Brigade**, Brig.-Gen. Lewis A. Armistead: 9th Va., —; 14th Va., —; 38th Va., —; 53d Va., —; 57th Va., —. **Kemper's Brigade**, Brig.-Gen. James L. Kemper: 1st Va., —; 3d Va., —; 7th Va., —; 11th Va., —; 24th Va., —. **Jenkins's Brigade**, Brig.-Gen. Micah Jenkins: 1st S. C. (Hagood's); 2d S. C. Rifles, —; 5th S. C., —; 6th S. C., —; Hampton (S. C.) Legion, —; Palmetto (S. C.) Sharpshooters, —. **Corse's Brigade**, Brig.-Gen. Montgomery D. Corse: 15th Va., —; 17th Va., —; 30th Va., —; 32d Va., —. **Artillery** (composition incomplete): Va. Battery, Capt.

James Dearing; Va. Battery (Fanquier Art'y), Capt. R. M. Stribling; Va. Battery (Richmond Fayette Art'y), Capt. Miles C. Macon. Division loss: k, 3; w, 50; m, 1 = 54.

HOOD'S DIVISION, Maj.-Gen. John B. Hood.
Law's Brigade, Brig.-Gen. E. Melver Law: 4th Ala., —; 44th Ala., —; 6th N. C., —; 54th N. C., Col. J. C. S. McDowell; 57th N. C., Col. A. C. Godwin. Brigade loss: k, 50; w, 164; m, 5 = 219. **Robertson's Brigade**, Brig.-Gen. J. B. Robertson: 3d Ark., —; 1st Tex., —; 4th Tex., —; 5th Tex., —. Brigade loss: k, 1; w, 4 = 5. **Anderson's Brigade**, Brig.-Gen. George T. Anderson: 1st Ga. (Regulars), —; 7th Ga., —; 8th Ga., —; 9th Ga., —; 11th Ga., —. Brigade loss: k, 2; w, 8; m, 4 = 14. **Toombs's Brigade**, Col. H. L. Benning: 2d Ga., —; 15th Ga., —; 17th Ga., —; 20th Ga., —. Brigade loss: k, 1; w, 12; m, 2 = 15. **Artillery**: S. C. Battery (German Art'y), Capt. W. K. Baehman; S. C. Battery (Palmetto Light Art'y), Capt. Hugh R. Garden; N. C. Battery (Rowan Art'y), Capt. James Reilly.

RANSOM'S DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. Robert Ransom, Jr.
Ransom's Brigade, Brig.-Gen. Robert Ransom, Jr.: 24th N. C., —; 25th N. C., Lieut.-Col. Samuel C. Bryson; 35th N. C., —; 49th N. C., —; Va. Battery, Capt. J. R. Branch. Brigade loss: k, 27; w, 127 = 154. **Cooke's Brigade**, Brig.-Gen. John R. Cooke (w), Col. E. D. Hall: 15th N. C., —; 27th N. C., Col. John A. Gilmer, Jr.; 46th N. C., Col. E. D. Hall; 48th N. C., Lieut.-Col. Samuel H. Walkup; Va. Battery (Cooper's). Brigade loss: k, 52; w, 328 = 380.

CORPS ARTILLERY (not assigned to divisions).

Washington (La.) Artillery, Col. J. B. Walton: 1st Co., Capt. C. W. Squires; 2d Co., Capt. J. B. Richardson; 3d Co., Capt. M. B. Miller; 4th Co., Capt. B. F. Eshleman. Battalion loss: k, 3; w, 24 = 27. **Alexander's Battalion**, Lieut.-Col. E. Porter Alexander: Va. Battery (Bedford Art'y), Capt. Tyler C. Jordan; Va. Battery, Capt. J. L. Eubank; La. Battery (Madison Light Art'y), Capt. George V. Moody; Va. Battery, Capt. William W. Parker; S. C. Battery, Capt. A. B. Rhett; Va. Battery, Capt. P. Woolfolk, Jr. Battalion loss: k, 1; w, 10 = 11.

SECOND ARMY CORPS, Lieut.-General Thomas J. Jackson.

HILL'S DIVISION, Maj.-Gen. Daniel H. Hill.

First Brigade, Brig.-Gen. R. E. Rhodes: 3d Ala., —; 5th Ala., —; 6th Ala., —; 12th Ala., —; 26th Ala., —. Brigade loss: k, 2; w, 14 = 16. **Second Brigade**, Brig.-Gen. George Doles: 4th Ga., —; 44th Ga., Col. John B. Estes; 1st N. C., —; 3d N. C., —. Brigade loss: k, 2; w, 25 = 27. **Third Brigade**, Brig.-Gen. A. H. Colquitt: 13th Ala., —; 6th Ga., —; 23d Ga., —; 27th Ga., —; 28th Ga., —. Brigade loss: w, 15. **Fourth Brigade**, Brig.-Gen. Alfred Iverson: 5th N. C., —; 12th N. C., —; 20th N. C., —; 23d N. C., —. Brigade loss: k, 1; w, 12 = 13. **Fifth Brigade**, Col. Bryan Grimes: 2d N. C., —; 4th N. C., —; 14th N. C., —; 30th N. C., —. Brigade loss: k, 8; w, 51 = 59. **Artillery**, Major H. P. Jones: Ala. Battery, Capt. R. A. Hardaway; Ala. Battery (Jeff Davis Art'y), Capt. J. W. Bondurant; Va. Battery, (King William Art'y), Capt. Thomas H. Carter; Va. Battery (Morris Art'y), Capt. R. C. M. Page; Va. Battery (Orange Art'y), Capt. C. W. Fry. Artillery loss: k, 4; w, 8 = 12.

LIGHT DIVISION, Maj.-Gen. Ambrose P. Hill.

First Brigade, Col. J. M. Brockenbrongh: 40th Va., —; 47th Va., Col. Robert M. Mayo; 55th Va., —; 22d Va. Battalion, Lieut.-Col. E. P. Tayloe. Brigade

Φ The dash indicates that the name of the commanding officer has not been found in the "Official Records."—EDITORS.

loss: k, 10; w, 73=83. *Second Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. Maxcy Gregg (m w), Col. D. H. Hamilton: 1st S. C. (Prov. Army), Col. D. H. Hamilton; 1st S. C. Rifles, —; 12th S. C., —; 13th S. C., —; 14th S. C., Col. Samuel McGowan. Brigade loss: k and w, 363. *Third Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. Edward L. Thomas: 17th Ga., —; 35th Ga., —; 45th Ga., —; 49th Ga., —. Brigade loss: k, 42; w, 288=330. *Fourth Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. James H. Lane: 7th N. C., Lieut.-Col. J. L. Hill; 18th N. C., Col. Thomas J. Prudie (w); 28th N. C., Col. S. D. Lowe; 33d N. C., Col. Clark M. Avery; 37th N. C., Col. W. M. Barbour (w). Brigade loss: k, 62; w, 257; m, 216=535. *Fifth Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. James J. Archer: 5th Ala., Battalion, Major A. S. Van de Graaff (w), Capt. S. D. Stewart; 19th Ga., Lieut.-Col. Andrew J. Hutchins; 1st Tenn. (Prov. Army), Col. Peter Turney (w), Lieut. Col. N. J. George (w), Capt. M. Turney (w), Capt. H. J. Hawkins; 7th Tenn., Col. John F. Goodner; 14th Tenn., Lieut.-Col. James W. Lockert. Brigade loss: k, 40; w, 211; m, 166=417. *Sixth Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. William D. Pender (w), Col. Alfred M. Seales: 13th N. C., Col. Alfred M. Seales; 16th N. C., Col. John S. McElroy; 22d N. C., Maj. Christopher C. Cole; 34th N. C., —; 38th N. C., —. Brigade loss: k, 16; w, 153=169. *Artillery*, Lieut.-Col. R. L. Walker: N. C. Battery (Branch Art'y—section), Lieut. J. R. Potts; Va. Battery (Crenshaw's—section), Lieut. James Ellett (k); Va. Battery (Fredericksburg Art'y), Lieut. E. A. Marye; Va. Battery (Johnson's—section), Lieut. V. J. Clutter (w); Va. Battery (Letcher Art'y), Capt. G. Davidson; S. C. Battery (Pee Dee Art'y), Capt. D. G. McIntosh; Va. Battery (Purcell Art'y), Capt. W. J. Pegram. Artillery loss: k, 11; w, 88=99. Division loss: k, 231; w, 1474; m, 417=2122. **EWELL'S DIVISION**, Brig.-Gen. Jubal A. Early.

Laeton's Brigade, Col. E. N. Atkinson (w and e), Col. Clement A. Evans: 13th Ga., Col. J. M. Smith; 26th Ga., Capt. B. F. Grace; 31st Ga., Col. Clement A. Evans; 38th Ga., Capt. William L. McLeod; 60th Ga., Col. W. H. Stiles; 61st Ga., Col. J. H. Lamar (w), Maj. C. W. McArthur. Brigade loss: k, 86; w, 633=719. *Trimble's Brigade*, Col. Robert F. Hoke: 15th Ala., —; 12th Ga., —; 21st Ga., Lieut.-Col. Thomas W. Hooper; 21st N. C., —; 1st N. C. Battalion —. Brigade loss: k, 8; w, 98=106. *Early's Brigade*, Col. James A. Walker: 13th Va., Lieut.-Col. James B. Terrill; 25th Va., —; 31st Va., —; 44th Va., —; 49th Va., —; 52d Va., —; 58th Va., —. Brigade loss: k, 17; w, 140=157. *Hays's Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. Harry T. Hays: 5th La., —; 6th La., —; 7th La., —; 8th La., —; 9th La., —. Brigade loss: k, 9; w, 44; m, 1=54. *Artillery*, Capt. J. W. Latimer: Va. Battery (Charlottesville Art'y), Capt. J. McD. Carrington; Md. Battery (Chesapeake Art'y), Lieut. John E. Plater; 1st Md. Battery, Capt. William F. Dement; Va. Battery (Courtney Art'y), Lieut. W. A. Tanner; La. Battery (Guard Art'y), Capt. Louis D'Aquin (k); Va. Battery (Staunton Art'y), Lieut. Asher W. Garber. Artillery loss: k, 4; w, 21=25.

JACKSON'S DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. William B. Taliaferro.

First Brigade, Brig.-Gen. E. F. Paxton: 2d Va., Capt. J. Q. A. Nadenbousch; 4th Va., Lieut.-Col. R. D. Gardner (w), Maj. William Terry; 5th Va., Lieut.-Col. H. J. Williams; 27th Va., Lieut.-Col. James K. Edmondson; 33d Va., Col. Edwin G. Lee. Brigade loss: k, 3; w, 44; m, 1=48. *Second Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. John R. Jones; 21st Va., —; 42d Va., —; 48th Va., —; 1st Va.

Battalion, —. Brigade loss: k, 3; w, 34=37. *Third Brigade*, Col. E. T. H. Warren: 47th Ala., Capt. James M. Campbell; 48th Ala., Capt. C. B. St. John; 10th Va., Capt. W. B. Yancey; 23d Va., Capt. A. J. Richardson; 37th Va., Col. T. V. Williams. Brigade loss: w, 9. *Fourth Brigade*, Col. Edmund Pendleton: 1st La., Lieut.-Col. M. Nolan; 2d La., Maj. M. A. Grogan; 10th La., Maj. John M. Legett; 14th La., Capt. H. M. Verlander; 15th La., Lieut.-Col. McG. Goodwyn. Brigade loss: k, 2; w, 35=37. *Artillery*, Capt. J. B. Brockenbrough: Va. Battery (Carpenter's), Lieut. George McKendree; Va. Battery (Danville Art'y), Capt. George W. Wooding (w); Va. Battery (Haupden Art'y), Capt. William H. Caskie; Va. Battery (Lee Art'y), Lieut. C. W. Statham; Va. Battery (Lusk's). Artillery loss: k, 2; w, 48; m, 1=51.

RESERVE ARTILLERY, Brig.-Gen. W. N. Pendleton.

Brown's Battalion, Col. J. Thompson Brown: Va. Battery, Capt. James V. Brooke; Va. Battery (Powhatan Art'y), Capt. Willis J. Dance; Va. Battery (Salem Art'y), Impp's, —; Va. Battery (Rockbridge Art'y), Capt. William T. Poague; Va. Battery (3d Howitzers), Lieut. James Utz (k); Va. Battery, Capt. David Watson. Battalion loss: k, 10; w, 26=36. *Sumter (Ga.) Battalion*, Lieut.-Col. Allen S. Cuts: Co. A, Capt. H. M. Ross; Co. B, Capt. George M. Patterson; Co. C, Capt. John Lane. *Nelson's Battalion*, Maj. William Nelson: Va. Battery (Amherst Art'y), Capt. Thomas J. Kirkpatrick; Va. Battery (Fluvanna Art'y), Capt. John L. Massie; Ga. Battery, Capt. John Milledge, Jr. *Miscellaneous Batteries* (assignments not indicated): Ga. Battery (Ells's), Lieut. W. F. Anderson; Va. Battery (Hanover Art'y), Capt. George W. Nelson.

CAVALRY, Maj.-Gen. James E. B. Stuart.

First Brigade (a detachment was on a raid to the rear of the Union army), Brig.-Gen. Wade Hampton: 1st N. C., Col. L. S. Baker; 1st S. C., Col. J. L. Beach; 2d S. C., Col. M. C. Butler; Cobb (Ga.) Legion, Lieut.-Col. P. M. B. Young; Phillips's (Ga.) Legion, Lieut.-Col. William W. Rich. *Second Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. Fitzhugh Lee: 1st Va., Col. James H. Drake; 2d Va., Col. Thomas T. Munford; 3d Va., Col. T. H. Owen; 4th Va., Col. Williams C. Wickham; 5th Va., —. *Third Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. W. H. F. Lee: 2d N. C., Col. S. Williams; 9th Va., Col. R. L. T. Beale; 10th Va., Col. J. Lucins Davis; 13th Va., Col. J. R. Chambliss, Jr.; 15th Va., Col. William B. Ball. Brigade loss: w, 7. *Artillery*, Maj. John Pelham: Va. Battery, Capt. James Breathed; Va. Battery, Capt. R. P. Chew; S. C. Battery, Capt. J. F. Hart; Va. Battery, Capt. M. W. Henry; Va. Battery, Capt. M. N. Moorman. Artillery loss: k, 3; w, 22=25.

Total Confederate loss: killed, 608; wounded, 4116; captured or missing, 653=5377.

The "present for duty" in Lee's army (including all of Stuart's cavalry), as shown by his return for December 10th, was 78,513. To arrive at Lee's effective strength in the battle (not officially stated) there should be deducted the usual proportion of non-combatants, the detachment of Hampton's cavalry brigade, on a raid to the north of the Rappahannock, and the cavalry brigade of W. E. Jones serving in the Shenandoah Valley. According to the estimate of Mr. Thomas White, as given in Taylor's "Four Years with General Lee" (p. 158), this was 58,500 of all arms. Colonel Taylor (p. 81) says: "Less than 20,000 Confederate troops (about one-fourth of the army under General Lee) were actively engaged."—EDITORS.

☆ Majors Garnett, Hamilton, and T. J. Page, Jr., are mentioned in the reports as commanding artillery battalions, but the composition of their commands is not given.—EDITORS.



UNION CAMP SCENE.—A QUIET GAME. FROM A WAR-TIME SKETCH.

A BIT OF PARTISAN SERVICE.

BY JOHN S. MOSBY, COLONEL, C. S. A.

BEFORE the first battle of Bull Run I had enlisted as a private in a company of Confederate cavalry of which William E. Jones, a West Point officer, was the captain, and that had been assigned to the 1st Virginia regiment of cavalry, commanded by Colonel J. E. B. Stuart. We joined Stuart at Bunker Hill, a small village on the pike leading from Winchester, where General Johnston had his headquarters, to Martinsburg, where Patterson with his army was lying. Stuart was watching Patterson. In a few days Patterson advanced and took possession of our camp, and our regiment retired toward Winchester. Here I took my first lessons in war. Patterson had no cavalry except a battalion of regulars, and we had no artillery; so he contented himself with throwing an occasional shell at us, and we got out of the way of them as fast as we could. One day we were lying down in a large open field holding our horses when a battery suddenly appeared upon a hill about a mile off and opened on us. I saw a shell burst within a few yards of Captain Jones, who coolly ordered us to mount and fall into line. I do not think I was so much frightened at any time after that. Stuart sent one company of cavalry down toward Charlestown to observe Patterson, and with the remainder of his regiment started for Manassas and took part in that battle. I served also with Stuart on the Peninsula and in the Antietam campaign.

When the year 1863 arrived Fredericksburg had been fought, and the two armies, in winter quarters, were confronting each other on the Rappahannock. Both sides sought rest; the pickets on the opposite banks of the river had ceased firing and gone to swapping coffee and tobacco. The cavalry had been sent to the rear to forage. But "quiet to quick

bosoms is a hell." I did not want to rust away my life in camp, so I asked Stuart to give me a detail of men to go over to Loudoun County, where I thought I could make things lively during the winter months. Always full of enterprise, Stuart readily assented, and I started off on my career as a partisan. At the time I had no idea of organizing an independent command, but expected to return to Stuart when the campaign opened in the spring. I was indifferent to rank, and would have been as contented to be a lieutenant as a colonel.

I was somewhat familiar with the country where I began operations, having picketed there the year before. The lines of the troops attached to the defenses of Washington extended from about Occoquan, on the lower Potomac, through Centreville, in Fairfax County, to the Falls of the upper Potomac, and thence as far west as Harper's Ferry. This was a long line to defend, and before I went there had not been closely guarded. I began on the picket-lines; my attacks were generally in the night-time, and usually the surprise compensated for the disparity in numbers. They would be repeated the next, and often during the same night at a different point, and this created a vastly exaggerated idea of my force. Some conception may be formed of the alarm it produced from a fact stated by General Hooker, that in the spring of 1863 the planks on Chain Bridge were taken up every night to keep me out of Washington. At that time I could not muster over twenty men. A small force moving with celerity and threatening many points on a line can neutralize a hundred times its own number. The line must be stronger at every point than the attacking force, else it is broken. At that time Hooker asked that the cavalry division belonging to the defenses of Wash-

ington be sent to the front to reinforce Pleasonton when he crossed the Rappahannock to engage Stuart in the great cavalry combat of June 9th.† It was refused on the ground that it was necessary to keep it where it was, in order to protect the communication between the army and Washington. A few days before that fight we struck the railroad within two miles of this cavalry camp, and captured and burned a train of supplies going up to Pleasonton. The 3000 men who came after me could not run any faster than the twenty with me. We vanished like the children of the mist, and the major-general who pursued reported that we had been annihilated. But within less than a week I pulled myself together again, crossed the Potomac about twelve miles above Washington, and captured the cavalry camp near Seneca.

I recur now to the time when I first arrived in the country which became the theater of the partisan war which I carried on until the surrender at Appomattox. As I have said, the line of outposts belonging to the defenses of Washington formed the arc of a circle extending from the upper to the lower Potomac. The troops had been having an easy, lazy life, which was described in the stereotyped message sent every night to the Northern press, "All quiet along the Potomac." I saw that there was a bountiful harvest to be gathered, and that the reapers were few. I gave constant employment to the Union troops, and they no longer led a life of drowsy indolence. I procured some guides who knew every path of the country, and with the aid of friendly citizens found out where every picket was posted. A certain major-general came after me with a division of cavalry and a battery of artillery. After shelling the woods in every direction so as to be sure of my extermination, and destroying many bats and owls, he took off as prisoners all the old men he could find. He had the idea that I was a myth and that these old farmers were the raiders. One old man appealed to his crutch to show the physical impossibility of his being a guerrilla. But the major-general was inexorable. He returned with his prizes to camp, but I was there almost as soon as he was.

In the month of February, 1863, Brigadier-General E. H. Stoughton was in command of the troops in front of Washington, with his headquarters at Fairfax Court House. There was a considerable body also at Centreville, and a cavalry brigade was encamped on the pike leading from that place to Fairfax Court House, under command of Colonel Percy Wyndham. Stoughton was a West Point officer, and had served with distinction under McClellan on the Peninsula. Wyndham was an Englishman serving as Colonel of the 1st New Jersey Cavalry. The year before he had started up the Shenandoah Valley to bag Ashby, but the performance did not come up to the manifesto; in their first encounter Ashby bagged him. He was now given a chance to redeem his reputation. My attacks on his lines had been incessant and very annoying. He struck blindly around like the Cyclops in his cave, but nobody was hurt. The methodical

tactics he had learned in European wars were of no more use to him than a suit of armor of the Middle Ages. My men would dart down on his outposts like a hawk on its prey; but when Wyndham came up in solid column the partisans had gone. In his vexation he sent me word that I was a horse-thief; to which I replied that all the horses I had stolen had had riders, and the riders had had sabers and pistols.

While operating against the outposts it had been my custom to examine my prisoners separately, and in this way I learned all the interior arrangements of their camps. I was then meditating a bolder enterprise than I had ever undertaken, but had communicated it to no one. This was to penetrate the outer lines, and go right up to their headquarters and carry off the general commanding and Colonel Wyndham. It looked extremely hazardous to attempt it; but as nothing of the sort ever had been done, I calculated there would be no precaution to prevent it. I was right. While I was maturing my plan I received aid from an unexpected source. One day a deserter, named Ames, wearing the stripes of a sergeant, came to me from a New York cavalry regiment of Wyndham's brigade. The Emancipation Proclamation which had been put in operation was the reason he gave for deserting the cause of the Union, but I always suspected that it was some personal wrong he had suffered. He seemed to be animated by the most vindictive hatred for his former comrades. I felt an instinctive confidence in his sincerity which he never betrayed. After I had thoroughly tested his fidelity I made him a lieutenant. He served with me until he was killed in October, 1864.

I questioned Ames closely about the location of the camps and outposts, and he confirmed the knowledge I had previously obtained. I determined first to take him on a trial-trip down into Fairfax County. There was a cavalry post at a certain school-house, and I started with Ames one afternoon to attack it. A deep snow was on the ground, and it was raining and sleeting. About two weeks before, I had captured the same post, but I thought they would not expect me back so soon. To satisfy my men I did not let Ames carry any arms, for they all were certain that he had been sent to decoy me into a trap. The soldiers in the Union camps slept soundly that night, for they felt sure that nothing but a wild animal would be abroad in such weather. I stopped when I got near the place I intended to attack, to make an inquiry of a farmer who lived near there as to the number of men on the post. I called him out of bed. He came to the door in his night-dress, and the first thing he asked was, "How many men have you?" I said, "Seventeen." "How many," I asked, "are at the picket-post?" "One hundred," he answered. "I have been down there this evening. You are certainly not going to attack them with so few men?" "Yes," I replied; "it is so dark they can't see us, and will think I have got a hundred too." Contrary to my usual practice, I went straight along the road. We got close on the

† At Brandy Station.—EDITORS.

vedette, who challenged us, fired, and started into camp at full speed. We dashed on as close to his heels as the witches were on Tam O'Shanter's. The men were asleep in the school-house and their horses were tied with halters to the trees. If they had staid inside they could easily have driven us

track. All that he did was to go back to camp with a lot of broken down horses. Ames, like the saints, had been tried by fire; he was never doubted afterward. The time had now come for me to take a bolder flight and execute my plan of making a raid on headquarters.

It was on the afternoon of March 7th, 1863, that I started from Aldie with 29 men on this expedition. Ames was the only one who knew its object. It was pitch-dark before we got near the cavalry pickets at Chantilly. We passed in between them and Centreville. Here a good point in the game was won, for once inside the Union lines we would be mistaken for their own men. By an accident one-half of my command got separated in the dark from the other, and it was nearly an hour before I could find them. We passed along close by the camp-fires, but the sentinels took us for a scouting party of their cavalry. I had felt very cold in the early part of the night, but my blood grew warmer as I got farther in the lines, and the chill passed away. I had no reputation to lose by failure but much to gain by success. I remembered, too, the motto that Ixion in heaven wrote in Minerva's album—"Adventures are to the adventurous." We struck the road leading from Fairfax Court House to the railroad station and then went on to the village. There were a few guards about, but they did not suspect us until they saw a pistol pointed at them. Of course they surrendered. Some refused to believe we were Confederates after we told them who we were. A few sentinels hailed us with the formula, "Who comes there?" and were answered, "5th New York Cavalry." It was past midnight, and it was necessary to do our work quickly if it was to be done at all. The first thing I did was to detail squads of men to gather prisoners and horses. I was more anxious to catch Wyndham than any one else; so I sent Ames, with a detachment, after him. But for once fortune had been propitious to him. He had gone down to Washington that evening. Ames got two of his staff and his uniform, and brought them to me. One of these officers was Captain Barker, of the 5th New York Cavalry, who had been Ames's captain. Ames brought him to me as a trophy, and seemed to feel a malicious pride in introducing him. I had sent another party to the house where Lieut.-Col. Robert Johnstone, commanding the cavalry brigade, was sleeping. In some manner he had heard the alarm and had slipped out through the back way into the garden in his night-clothes. His wife met my men like a lioness at the door. I was greatly disappointed in not getting Wyndham. The capture of his staff-officers and fine horses was not an equivalent for the loss of the chief. The other details did their work rapidly, and soon collected at our rendezvous in the court-yard a large number of prisoners and fine steeds. The prisoners seemed to be utterly dumfounded. About this time Joe Nelson rode up to me with a prisoner who said he belonged to the guard at General Stoughton's headquarters, and with a party of five or six I immediately went there. We dismounted, and with a loud rap on the front door awoke the inmates. An upper window was raised and some one called out, "Who is there?"



COLONEL JOHN S. MOSBY, C. S. A.
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

off with their carbines. But every man ran for his horse, and we were just in time to scatter them. We got all the horses, but most of the men escaped in the darkness. In the charge, Ames rode by my side. We got off safe with our booty and prisoners. After daybreak, Colonel Wyndham followed at full speed for twenty miles on our

The answer was, "We have a dispatch for General Stoughton." An officer (Lieutenant Prentiss) came to the front door to get it. I caught hold of his shirt and whispered my name in his ear, and told him to lead me to the general's room. Resistance was useless, and he did so. A light was struck, and before us lay the sleeping general. He quickly raised himself in bed and asked what this meant. I said, "General, get up — dress quick — you are a prisoner." "What!" exclaimed the indignant general. "My name is Mosby; Stuart's cavalry are in possession of this place, and General Jackson holds Centreville." "Is Fitz Lee here?" "Yes." "Then take me to him; we were classmates." "Very well; but dress quick." Two of my men assisted him to put on his clothes. My motive in deceiving him in regard to the amount of my force was to deprive him of all hope of rescue. I was in a most critical situation, for in addition to several thousand troops in the surrounding camps, a considerable number were quartered in the houses in the village. If there had been the least concert among them they could easily have driven us out; but, although we remained there an hour, not a shot was fired; as soon as our presence became known each man tried to save himself. Stoughton did not delay a moment, for he had no idea how few of us there were. A couple of men had been left to hold our horses while we were in the house. One of these, George Whitesearver, surrounded and captured a guard of six men sleeping in a tent. Stoughton's horses all stood at the door as we came out, with saddles and bridles on. Lieutenant Prentiss started, but soon parted company with us. We could not see where he went. When I got to the court-yard I found all my different squads collected there with their prisoners and spoils. No sign of resistance had been shown. The prisoners outnumbered us three or four to one, and each was mounted and leading a horse. The cavalcade started in an opposite direction from where we intended to go, in order to deceive our pursuers. After going a few hundred yards we turned and flanked the cavalry camp, and struck the pike to Centreville.

Stoughton soon discovered how few of us there were. I did not allow him to hold his bridle-reins, but gave them to one of my men (Hunter), who rode beside him. Stoughton remarked, "This is a bold thing you have done; but you will certainly be caught; our cavalry will soon be after you." "Perhaps so," I said. It was so dark that the blue could not be distinguished from the gray. Hence the prisoners all thought there were at least one hundred of us. We lost many of them before we got beyond the lines. They were all formed in a column of fours, and after we got on the pike I rode some distance in the rear while Hunter, with Stoughton, was leading in front. We went at a trot and the chances of our escape were improving. No one seemed to be on our track, as our winding

about had baffled pursuit. It never entered the head of any one that I would march up the pike in the face of two or three thousand troops at Centreville. When within a mile of that place, and just about the break of day, we came upon a camp-fire which had evidently just been deserted. A picket had been posted there on the evening before to stay during the night. The officer, thinking it unnecessary to remain longer, had gone into camp. As we had taken the precaution to cut the telegraph wires, no news had yet reached Centreville of our work at the Court House. When I saw the picket-fire on the pike I halted the column and galloped forward to reconnoiter. Seeing that no one was there, I called to Hunter to come on. It was necessary to make a circuit around Centreville, and to pass between encampments of Union troops on both sides of it. I was certain to be lost if I went either too far to the left or the right. Just as we turned off from the pike Captain Barker made a desperate attempt to escape. He darted from the line, but my Hungarian Jake was at his heels, and sent a harmless shot after him just as his horse fell in a ditch. I rode up to him and inquired if he was hurt. He said "No," and Jake assisted him to mount. No one else cared to repeat the experiment. We passed within a few hundred yards of the forts, and could see the guns pointing through the embrasures and hear the challenge of the sentinels as they walked on the parapets. My heart began to beat with joy. The odds were now rapidly getting in my favor. We were soon on the other side of Centreville. Although we could be plainly seen from there, it was probably supposed that we were a scouting party of Federal cavalry. When we got to Cnb Run, it was so swollen by the melting snows that it could not be forded. We were still within easy cannon-shot of the guns on the heights, and there was no time to be lost. I acted on the maxim of plucking the flower safely from the nettle danger, and plunging into the brimming stream swam over. The rest followed, Stoughton being next to me. The first thing he said as he shivered with cold was, "This is the first rough treatment I have received." I knew that no cavalry would ever swim after me. Leaving Hunter to come on with my men and prisoners, I galloped on ahead with George Slater and once more got on the pike at Groveton. This was the very spot where, the year before, Fitz John Porter had made his disastrous assault on Jackson. From this hill I had a view of the pike seven miles back to Centreville. No enemy was in pursuit. I was safe. Just then Hunter appeared and the sun rose. It seemed to me that it never shone with such splendor before. I turned over my prisoners to Stuart at Culpeper Court House. He was as much delighted by what I had done as I was, and published a general order announcing it to the cavalry, in which he said that it was "a feat unparalleled in the war."

STONEMAN'S RAID IN THE CHANCELLORSVILLE CAMPAIGN. }

THE original instructions to General George Stoneman for the coöperation of the cavalry in the Chancellorsville campaign directed him to cross the Rappahannock on the 13th of April, at some point west of the Orange and Alexandria railroad, and throw his whole force, excepting one brigade, between Lee's position on the Rappahannock and his base at Richmond. The object was the isolation of the enemy "from his supplies, checking his retreat, and inflicting on him every possible injury which will tend to his discomfiture and defeat." This movement was delayed by heavy rains, and on the 28th of April the instructions were modified. The new plan was to cross the Rappahannock at the fords immediately north-west of Fredericksburg on the evening of the 28th, or the morning of the 29th, and move in two columns, operating on the lines of the Orange and Alexandria and the Richmond and Fredericksburg railroads toward Richmond. The movements of the corps are given in detail in the report of General Stoneman:

"On April 27th, I, then being at Warrenton Junction, with the corps encamped along the Orange and Alexandria railroad, received a telegram directing me with my commanders to meet some persons from headquarters Army of the Potomac at Morrisville on the following day (the 28th) at 2 P. M. Arriving there with my commanders, I found the commanding general and his staff, and learned that a portion of the army was about to cross the Rappahannock at Kelly's Ford that day. . . . From Morrisville to where the cavalry corps lay was thirteen miles; from there to where some of the extreme pickets were was thirteen more, so that it was quite late at night before the command was all assembled and ready to start, and owing to the state of the roads, the result of the recent heavy rains, and the darkness of the night, rendered doubly obscure by a dense fog, the corps did not reach the river until nearly 8 A. M. of the 29th. Arriving at the river, we found but one ford within the limits prescribed in our instructions which could be passed over, and that not by packed mules or artillery. By dint of great exertion we succeeded in getting all over the river by 5 P. M. I assembled the division and brigade commanders, spread our maps, and had a thorough understanding of what we were to do. . . . Instructions were given to have all the packed mules and led horses sent in the direction of Germanna Mills, and to follow in the rear of the army and remain with it until we formed a junction therewith, which we expected would be in the vicinity of Richmond, and for each officer and man to take with him no more than he could carry on his horse, myself and staff setting the example."

Averell, with three brigades, was to advance on Culpeper Court House, while Stoneman, with three brigades numbering about 3500, under D. McM. Gregg, was to take the shorter route via Stevensburg, a hamlet 7 miles east of Culpeper Court House. The operations the first day, the 29th, after crossing, consisted in driving in the outposts which were encountered on both roads. The report continues:

"About 9 A. M., April 30th, a staff-officer of General Averell overtook me. . . . He also handed me a note picked up by some one, and sent me by General Averell, and to the following effect:

"[Important.] HEADQUARTERS, CAVALRY DIVISION, near Brandy Station, Va., April 29th, 1863. COLONEL CHAMBLISS,

13th Virginia Cavalry. COLONEL: The major-general commanding directs me to say that he wishes you to get a man posted so as to have a view of the road leading down on the other side to Kelly's Ford, and find out what kind of troops marched down behind the wagons. The enemy have made a demonstration toward Stevensburg, but so far it amounts to nothing. The general is very anxious to know where to look for Stoneman, as we have heard nothing from him. Most respectfully, your obedient servant, R. CHANNING PRICE, Assistant Adjutant-General."

"Feeling satisfied that we should find Raccoon Ford guarded, and that its passage would be disputed, I struck the Rapidan River about six miles below; crossed over the portion of the command under General Buford, who sent a party under Captain Peter Penn Gaskell, of his staff, who, at a dash, cleared the ford above, capturing an officer, Lieutenant Bourrier [James Boulware] of the 9th Virginia Cavalry, and six privates of the 9th and 10th



MAJOR-GENERAL GEORGE STONEMAN.
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

Virginia Cavalry. The rest of the cavalry and the artillery made their escape. The main body immediately crossed at the Raccoon Ford, the rear getting over about 10 P. M. No fires built to-night, as we were in plain view from Clark's Mountain, a few miles to the south of the ford, and on the top of which the enemy have a signal station. We learned here that Stuart, with Fitzhugh Lee's brigade, had that morning crossed at Somerville Ford, five miles above Raccoon Ford, and had gone toward Fredericksburg, and we thought it more than probable that we should find him on the Plank road at Verdierville, where we had to strike it on our way south. Orders were issued to be in the saddle at 2 o'clock in the morning, and we lay down on the wet ground to get a couple of hours' sleep. Two o'clock came, but the fog was so thick that it was impossible to move, more particularly as we had no guide to show us the road. Daylight came, and we pushed on; struck the turnpike; found no enemy, but saw by his trail that he had gone toward Fredericksburg. From here I pushed Gregg's division on to Louisa Court House, on the Virginia Central Railroad, where it arrived about 2 A. M., May 2d, and immediately commenced tearing up the track of the railroad, destroying the telegraph, etc. Buford's brigade encamped that night on the south bank of the North Anna. About 10 A. M., May 2d, I had the whole force united at Louisa Court House. From here I pushed a squadron

! See map, p. 155 of this volume, and also p. 164 of Volume II.—EDITORS.

of the 1st Maine, under Captain Tucker of that regiment, toward Gordonsville to find out the whereabouts of the enemy in that direction, as we knew that six or seven trains had passed up the evening previous loaded with troops. The captain drove in their pickets upon the main body, the 9th Virginia Cavalry, which in turn attacked him, killing 1 man, wounding 1, and capturing 1 lieutenant and 23 men. Captain Lord, with the 1st U. S. Cavalry, was sent to Tolersville Station, and from there to Fredericksburg Station, twelve miles from Louisa Court House. From here a party under Lieutenant — went to the North Anna and destroyed Carr's Bridge, which is on the main road leading from Spotsylvania to Goochland, on the James River, and is one of the principal highways. After having destroyed the Virginia Central railroad and telegraph, burned the depots, water-tanks, etc., for eighteen miles, and accomplished all that time would permit, we pushed on to Yanceyville, on the South Anna, and from there to Thompson's Cross-roads, ten miles lower down the river, where we arrived about 10 p. m., May 2d.

"At this point the James and South Anna rivers are less than 12 miles apart, and here I determined to make the most of my 3500 men in carrying out my previously conceived plan of operations. . . . One party, the 1st New Jersey, under Colonel [Percy] Wyndham, was to strike the James River at Columbia, at the junction of the James and Rivanna rivers, to destroy, if possible, the large canal aqueduct over the Rivanna, and from thence proceed along the canal in the direction of Richmond, doing all the harm possible. . . . Another party, the 2d New York, Colonel [Judson] Kilpatrick, was to push on to the railroad bridges over the Chickahominy, destroy them and the telegraph, and operate in the direction of Richmond, four miles distant from the bridges. Another force, the 12th Illinois Cavalry, Colonel Haskinck Davis, was to strike the two railroads at or in the vicinity of Ashland, on the Fredericksburg, and Atlee's, on the Virginia Central, and do all the harm it could. Another party, the 1st Maine and 1st Maryland, with a section of artillery, all under General Gregg, was to follow down the South Anna River, destroy all the road bridges thereon, and, if possible, the two railroad bridges across that river. Another party, the 5th U. S. Cavalry, under Captain Drummond, was to follow this last and see that the destruction was complete. Captain Merritt, with a flying party of the 1st Maryland, was sent out to do what he thought he could accomplish in the way of destroying bridges, etc. These different parties all got off by 3 A. M. on the 3d.

" . . . Colonels Wyndham, Kilpatrick, and Davis were directed either to return or to push on and bring up at either Yorktown or Gloucester Point. The rest were ordered to return to the reserve with myself. Colonel Wyndham and Captain Lord returned the same day. General Gregg and Captains Merritt and Drummond the next day. Colonels Kilpatrick and Davis pushed on through to Gloucester Point. . . . We remained at Shannon's Cross-roads during the 4th, and on the morning of the 5th moved to Yanceyville, on the South Anna, where we were joined by General Gregg, Colonel Wyndham, and Captains Merritt and Drummond, each with his command."

The operations of the column under General Averell are thus described by him in a communication to the editors dated May 11th, 1888:

"We encountered the enemy's cavalry, two thousand strong, under General W. H. F. Lee on the morning of

the 30th, and drove it through Culpeper Court House in the direction of Rapidan Station.

"On the 1st we pressed the enemy's cavalry and pushed our right to within three miles of Orange Court House in an effort to dislodge the enemy from a strong position occupied by him on the south bank of the Rapidan, after he had crossed and destroyed the bridge.

"While thus engaged on the morning of the 2d we were recalled to the Army of the Potomac at U. S. Ford by orders from General Hooker. We reached Ely's Ford of the Rapidan after dark on the evening of the 2d, and were fired upon by the enemy's infantry from the opposite bank. A part of McIntosh's brigade forded the river, dismounted, drove away the enemy, some of the 13th North Carolina, and captured some prisoners. Early on the morning of the 3d we crossed the Rapidan and entered the right of our lines.

"It was found necessary to issue immediate orders sending cavalry to protect the right and rear of the army, which had become exposed to danger from the enemy's cavalry set free by our recall."

The column with Stoneman now prepared to return to the army. His report continues:

"The six days having now expired, during which we were assured by the commanding general he would certainly communicate with us, and no communication having been received, no retreating enemy having been seen or heard of, and no information as to the condition of things in the vicinity of Fredericksburg, except vague rumors of our defeat and capture, having been obtained, supplies for man and beast becoming scarce, having accomplished all that we were sent to perform, and having come to the conclusion that Colonels Kilpatrick and Davis, with their commands, had gone in the direction of Yorktown, I determined to make the best of our way back to the Army of the Potomac.

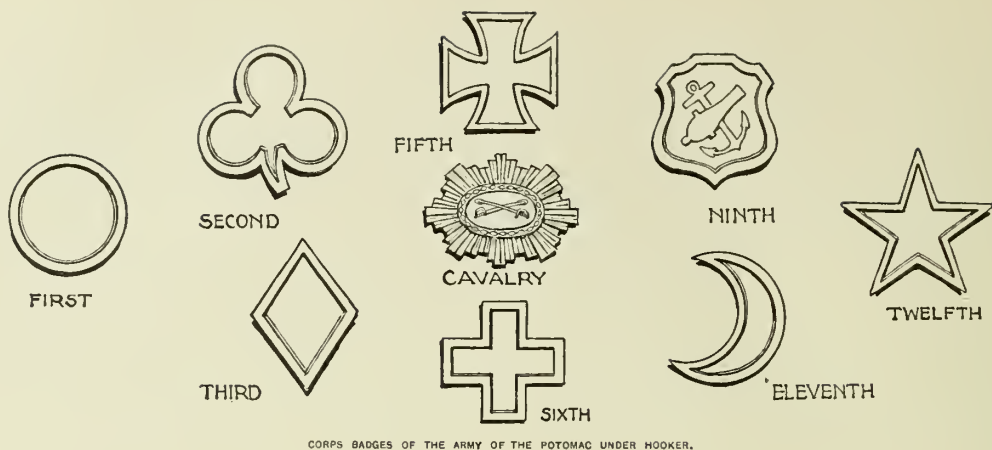
"To take the enemy by surprise and penetrate his country was easy enough; to withdraw from it was a more difficult matter. We knew that Lee and Hampton were to the west of us. . . . We knew also that there was a strong force at and in the vicinity of Gordonsville, and heard that another force was at Louisa Court House, and a small force of infantry at Tolersville.

"After thinking the matter over, I determined to send General Buford, with 650 picked horses of his brigade, to threaten any force in the vicinity of Gordonsville, and induce Lee and Hampton to believe that we were going to get out by that way; and another force, under Captain Rodenbough, was sent in the direction of Bowling Green, with the view of threatening the enemy's communication in that direction, and, under cover of night, with the main body, to take the middle road leading through Tolersville, and crossing the North Anna near the Victoria Iron Works; from thence to Orange Springs, where all were to rendezvous the next day.

"All our plans and calculations worked admirably, and though we had no little difficulty in finding and following the almost impassable roads, owing to the inky darkness of the night and the incessant pouring of the rain, the whole command was assembled at Orange Springs at 12 m. on the 6th. Here we first began to hear rumors, through negroes, of the repulse and withdrawal of our army to the north side of the Rappahannock.

"After watering and feeding our animals, we pushed on to the Plank road leading from Fredericksburg to Orange Court House, and from thence to Raccoon Ford, which, to our great joy, we found fordable, and were all over safe by daylight on the morning of the 7th."

EDITORS.



THE CHANCELLORSVILLE CAMPAIGN.†

BY DARIUS N. COUCH, MAJOR-GENERAL, U. S. V.

IN the latter part of January, 1863, the Army of the Potomac under Burnside was still occupying its old camps on the left bank of the Rappahannock, opposite Fredericksburg. After the failures under Burnside it was evident that the army must have a new commander. For some days there had been a rumor that Hooker had been fixed upon for the place, and on the 26th of January it was confirmed. This appointment, undoubtedly, gave very general satisfaction to the army, except perhaps to a few, mostly superior officers, who had grown up with it, and had had abundant opportunities to study Hooker's military character; these believed that Mr. Lincoln had committed a grave error in his selection. The army, from its former reverses, had become quite disheartened and almost sulky; but the quick, vigorous measures now adopted and carried out with a firm hand had a magical effect in toning up where there had been demoralization and inspiring confidence where there had been mistrust. Few changes were made in the heads of the general staff departments, but for his chief-of-staff Hooker applied for Brigadier-General Charles P. Stone, who, through some untoward influence at Washington, was not given to him. This was a mistake of the war dignitaries, although the officer finally appointed to the office, Major-General Daniel Butterfield, proved himself very efficient. Burnside's system of dividing the army into three grand divisions was set aside, and the novelty was introduced of giving to each army corps a distinct badge, an idea which was very popular with officers and men. ‡

† Reprinted with permission from the "Philadelphia Times."—EDITORS.

‡ This idea originated with General Butterfield, who not only instituted the badges, but devised them in detail. As organized by Hooker the First Corps was commanded by Reynolds; the Second by Couch; the Third by Sickles; the Fifth by Meade; the Sixth by Sedgwick; the Eleventh by Howard; the Twelfth by Slocum, and the cavalry corps by

Stoneman. In each corps the badge of the First Division was red; of the Second Division, white; of the Third Division, blue. After the battle of Chickamauga (Sept. 19th and 20th, 1863), the Eleventh and Twelfth corps were sent west, and on April 4th, 1864, they were consolidated to form the new Twentieth Corps, which retained the star of the Twelfth for a badge. The old Twentieth lost its designation Sept. 28th, 1863.—EDITORS.

Some few days after Mr. Lincoln's visit to the army in April [see p. 119] I was again thrown with the President, and it happened in this wise. My pickets along the river were not only on speaking terms with those of the enemy on the other side of the river, but covertly carried on quite a trade in exchanging coffee for tobacco, etc. This morning it was hallooed over to our side: "You have taken Charleston," which news was sent to headquarters. Mr. Lincoln hearing of it wished me to come up and talk the matter over. I went and was ushered into a side tent, occupied only by himself and Hooker. My entrance apparently interrupted a weighty conversation, for both were looking grave. The President's manner was kindly, while the general, usually so courteous, forgot to be conventionally polite. The Charleston rumor having been briefly discussed, Mr. Lincoln remarked that it was time for him to leave. As he stepped toward the general, who had risen from his seat, as well as myself, he said: "I want to impress upon you two gentlemen in your next fight,"—and turning to me he completed the sentence,—“put in all of your men”—in the long run a good military maxim.

The weather growing favorable for military operations, on April 12th were commenced those suggestive preliminaries to all great battles, clearing out the hospitals, inspecting arms, looking after ammunition, shoeing animals, issuing provisions, and making every preparation necessary to an advance. The next day, the 13th, Stoneman was put in motion at the head of ten thousand finely equipped and well organized cavalry to ascend the Rappahannock and, swinging around, to attack the Confederate cavalry wherever it might be found, and "Fight! fight! fight!" At the end of two days' march Stoneman found



OUTLINE MAP OF THE CHANCELLORSVILLE CAMPAIGN.



THE RIGHT WING OF HOOKER'S ARMY CROSSING THE RAPPAHANNOCK AT KELLY'S FORD.
FROM A WAR-TIME SKETCH.

the river so swollen by heavy rains that he was constrained to hold up, upon which Hooker suspended his advance until the 27th. This unexpected delay of the cavalry seemingly deranged Hooker's original plan of campaign. He had hoped that Stoneman would have been able to place his horsemen on the railroad between Fredericksburg and Richmond, by which Lee received his supplies, and make a wreck of the whole structure, compelling that general to evacuate his stronghold at Fredericksburg and vicinity and fall back toward Richmond.

I estimate the grand total of Hooker's seven corps at about 113,000 men ready for duty, although the data from which the conclusion is arrived at are not strictly official. This estimate does not include the cavalry corps of not less than 11,000 duty men, nor the reserve artillery, the whole number of guns in the army being 400. Lee's strength in and around Fredericksburg was placed at between 55,000 and 60,000, not including cavalry. It is not known if Hooker's information concerning the Confederate force was reliable, but Peck, operating in front of Norfolk, notified him that two of Lee's divisions under Longstreet were on the south side of the James. The hour was, therefore, auspicious for Hooker to assume the offensive, and he seized it with a boldness which argued well for his fitness to command. The aim was to transfer his army to the south side of the river, where it would have a manœuvring footing not confronted by intrenched positions. On the 27th of April the Eleventh and Twelfth corps were set in motion for Kelly's Ford, twenty-five miles up the Rappahannock, where they concentrated on the evening of the 28th, the Fifth, by reason of its shorter marching distance, moving on the 28th. The object of the expedition was unknown to the corps commanders until communicated to them after their arrival at the ford by the commanding

general in person.† The Eleventh Corps crossed the Rappahannock, followed in the morning by the Twelfth and Fifth corps—the two former striking for Germanna Ford, a crossing of the Rapidan, the latter for Ely's Ford, lower down the same stream. Both columns, successfully effecting crossings with little opposition from the enemy's pickets, arrived that evening, April 30th, at the point of concentration, Chancellorsville. It had been a brilliantly conceived and executed movement.

In order to confound Lee, orders were issued to assemble the Sixth, Third, and First corps under Sedgwick at Franklin's Crossing and Pollock's Mill, some three miles below Fredericksburg, on the left, before daylight of the morning of the 29th, and throw two bridges across and hold them. This was done under a severe fire of sharp-shooters. The Second Corps, two divisions, marched on the 28th for Banks's Ford, four miles to the right; the other division, Gibbon's, occupying Falmouth, near the river-bank, was directed to remain in its tents, as they were in full view of the enemy, who would readily observe their withdrawal. On the 29th the two divisions of the Second Corps reached United States Ford, held by the enemy; but the advance of the right wing down the river uncovered it, whereupon a bridge of pontoons was thrown across and the corps reached Chancellorsville the same night as the Fifth, Eleventh, and Twelfth. The same day, the 30th, Sedgwick was instructed to place a corps across the river and make a demonstration upon the enemy's right, below Fredericksburg, and the Third Corps received orders to join the right wing at Chancellorsville, where the commanding general arrived the same evening, establishing his headquarters at the Chancellor House, which, with the adjacent grounds, is Chancellorsville. All of the army lying there that night were in exuberant spirits at the success of their general in getting "on the other side" without fighting for a position. As I rode into Chancellorsville that night the general hilarity pervading the camps was particularly noticeable; the soldiers, while chopping wood and lighting fires, were singing merry songs and indulging in peppery camp jokes.

The position at Chancellorsville not only took in reverse the entire system of the enemy's river defenses, but there were roads leading from it directly to his line of communication. [See maps, pp. 155, 158.] But in order to gain the advantages now in the commanding general's grasp he had divided his army into two wings, and the enemy, no ordinary enemy, lay between them. The line of communication connecting the wings was by way of United States Ford and twenty miles long. It was of vital importance that the line be shortened in order to place the wings within easy support of each other. The possession of Banks's Ford, foreshadowed in the instructions given to Slocum, would accomplish all that at present could be wished.

There were three roads over which the right wing could move upon Fredericksburg: the Orange turnpike, from the west, passed through Chancellors-

† General Hooker sent for me on the night of the 27th to ride over to his headquarters, where he explained to me, as next in rank, his plan of campaign. He informed me that, under certain contingencies, the right wing would be placed at my

command. Although anticipating the narrative, I may say I think it was a signal misfortune to our arms that he did not delay joining that wing until the morning of May 1st, when he would have found Banks's Ford in our possession.—D. N. C.

CHANCELLORSVILLE CAMPAIGN,

April 27th to May 5th, 1863.

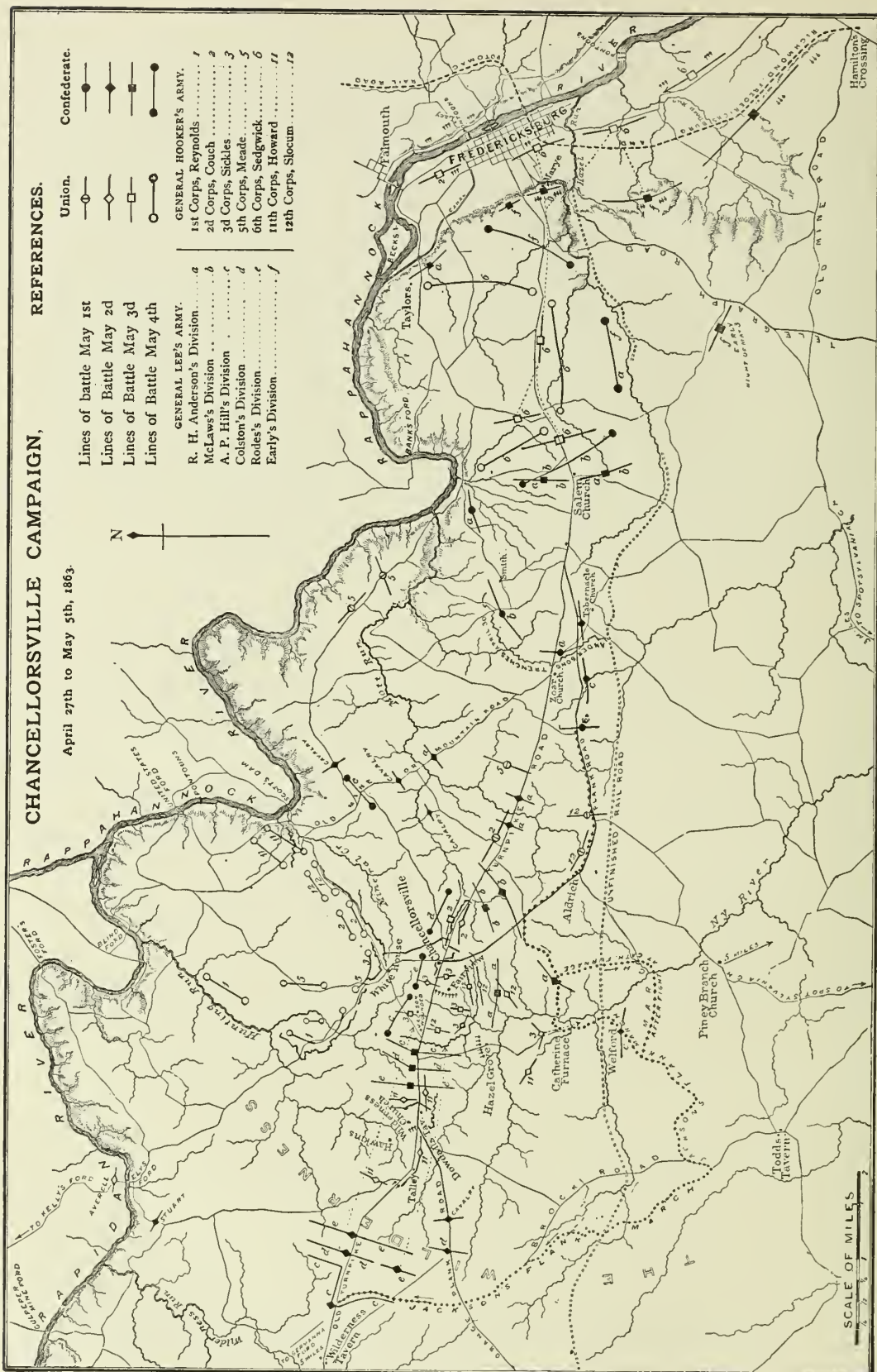
REFERENCES.

Confederate.

Union.

- Lines of battle May 1st
- Lines of battle May 2d
- Lines of battle May 3d
- Lines of battle May 4th

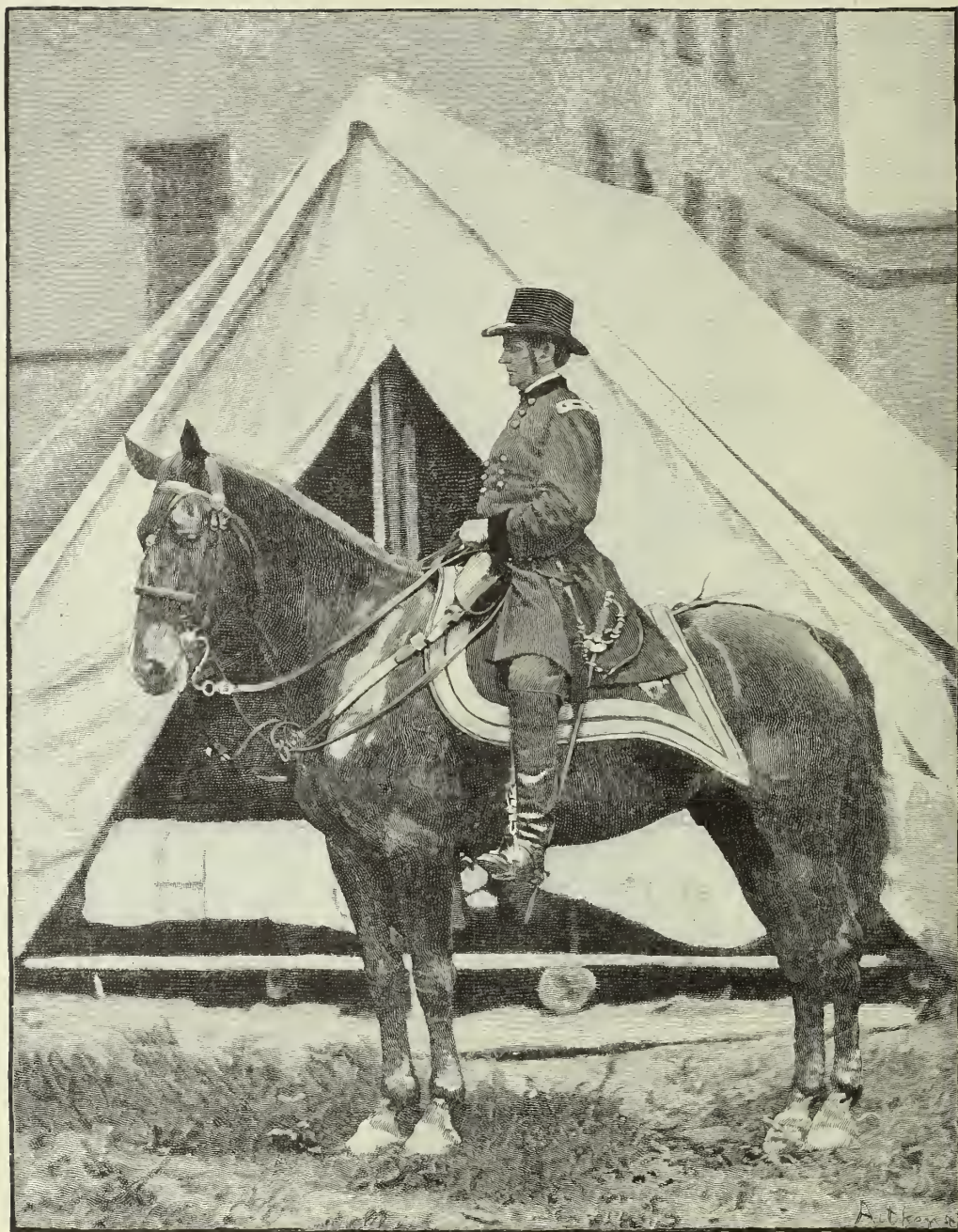
- GENERAL HOOKER'S ARMY.
- 1st Corps, Reynolds
 - 2d Corps, Couch
 - 3d Corps, Sickles
 - 5th Corps, Meade
 - 6th Corps, Sedgwick
 - 11th Corps, Howard
 - 12th Corps, Slocum
- GENERAL LEE'S ARMY.
- R. H. Anderson's Division
 - McLaws's Division
 - A. P. Hill's Division
 - Colston's Division
 - Rodes's Division
 - Early's Division



SCALE OF MILES

ville, and was the most direct; the United States Ford road, crossing the former at Chancellorsville, became the Plank road, bent to the left and united with the turnpike five miles or so from Chancellorsville; the third road fell back from Chancellorsville toward the Rappahannock, passed along by Banks's Ford, six miles distant, and continued to Fredericksburg. That wing was ready for the advance at an early hour in the morning of May 1st, but somehow things dragged; the order defining the movement, instead of being issued the previous night, was not received by the corps commanders, at least by me, until hours after light. Meade was finally pushed out on the left over the Banks's Ford and turnpike roads, Slocum and Howard on the right along the Plank road, the left to be near Banks's Ford by 2 P. M., the right at the junction of its line of movement with the turnpike at 12 M. No opposition was met, excepting that the division marching over the turnpike came upon the enemy two or three miles out, when the sound of their guns was heard at Chancellorsville, and General Hooker ordered me to take Hancock's division and proceed to the support of those engaged. After marching a mile and a half or so I came upon Sykes, who commanded, engaged at the time in drawing back his advance to the position he then occupied. Shortly after Hancock's troops had got into a line in front, an order was received from the commanding general "to withdraw both divisions to Chancellorsville." Turning to the officers around me, Hancock, Sykes, Warren, and others, I told them what the order was, upon which they all agreed with me that the ground should not be abandoned, because of the open country in front and the commanding position. An aide, Major J. B. Burt, dispatched to General Hooker to this effect, came back in half an hour with positive orders to return. Nothing was to be done but carry out the command, though Warren suggested that I should disobey, and then he rode back to see the general. In the meantime Slocum, on the Plank road to my right, had been ordered in, and the enemy's advance was between that road and my right flank. Sykes was first to move back, then followed by Hancock's regiments over the same road. When all but two of the latter had withdrawn, a third order came to me, brought by one of the general's staff: "Hold on until 5 o'clock." It was then perhaps 2 P. M. Disgusted at the general's vacillation and vexed at receiving an order of such tenor, I replied with warmth unbecoming in a subordinate: "Tell General Hooker he is too late, the enemy are already on my right and rear. I am in full retreat."

The position thus abandoned was high ground, more or less open in front, over which an army might move and artillery be used advantageously; moreover, were it left in the hands of an enemy, his batteries, established on its crest and slopes, would command the position at Chancellorsville. Everything on the whole front was ordered in. General Hooker knew that Lee was apprised of his presence on the south side of the river, and must have expected that his enemy would be at least on the lookout for an advance upon Fredericksburg. But it was of the utmost importance that Banks's Ford should fall into our hands, therefore the enemy ought to have been pressed until their strength or weakness was developed; it would then have been time enough to run away.



FROM A PHOTOGRAPH

P. Hooker

Mott's Run, with a considerable brushy ravine, cuts the turnpike three-fourths of a mile east of Chancellorsville. Two of Hancock's regiments, under Colonel Nelson A. Miles, subsequently the Indian fighter, were directed to occupy the ravine. Continuing my way through the woods toward Chancellorsville, I came upon some of the Fifth Corps under arms. Inquiring for their commanding officer, I told him that in fifteen minutes he would be attacked. Before finishing the sentence a volley of musketry was fired into us from the direction of the Plank road. This was the beginning of the battle of Chancellorsville. Troops were hurried into position, but the observer required no wizard to tell him, as they marched past, that the high expectations which had animated them only a few hours ago had given place to disappointment. Proceeding to the Chancellor House, I narrated my operations in front to Hooker, which were seemingly satisfactory, as he said: "It is all right, Couch, I have got Lee just where I want him; he must fight me on my own ground." The retrograde movement had prepared me for something of the kind, but to hear from his own lips that the advantages gained by the successful marches of his lieutenants were to culminate in fighting a defensive battle in that nest of thickets was too much, and I retired from his presence with the belief that my commanding general was a whipped man. The army was directed to intrench itself. At 2 A. M. the corps commanders reported to General Hooker that their positions could be held; at least so said Couch, Slocum, and Howard.

Until after dark on May 1st the enemy confined his demonstrations to finding out the position of our left with his skirmishers. Then he got some guns upon the high ground which we had abandoned as before mentioned, and cannonaded the left of our line. There were not many casualties, but that day a shell severely wounded the adjutant-general of the Second Corps, now General F. A. Walker. Chancellorsville was a strategic point to an offensive or retreating army, as roads diverged from it into every part of Virginia; but for a defensive position it was bad, particularly for such an army as Hooker had under him, which prided itself upon its artillery, which was perhaps equal to any in the world. There were no commanding positions for artillery, and but little open country to operate over; in fact, the advantages of ground for this arm were mainly with the attacking party.

During the 29th and 30th the enemy lay at Fredericksburg observing Sedgwick's demonstrations on the left, entirely unconscious of Hooker's successful crossing of the right wing, until midday of the latter date, but that night Lee formed his plan of operations for checking the farther advance of the force which had not only turned the left flank of his river defenses but was threatening his line of communication with Richmond as well as the rear of his center at Fredericksburg. Stonewall Jackson, who was watching Sedgwick, received instructions to withdraw his corps, march to the left, across the front of Hooker's intrenched position, until its right flank was attained, and assault with his column of 22,000 men, while his commanding general would, with what force he could spare, guard the approaches to Fredericksburg.



HOOKER'S HEADQUARTERS AT CHANCELLORSVILLE, SATURDAY MORNING, MAY 2—THE PICTURE
FACES SOUTH. FROM A WAR-TIME SKETCH.

On the morning of May 2d our line had become strong enough to resist a front attack unless made in great force; the enemy had also been hard at work on his front, particularly that section of it between the Plank road and turnpike. Sedgwick, the previous night, had been ordered to send the First Corps (Reynolds's) to Chancellorsville. At 7 A. M. a sharp cannonade was opened on our left, followed by infantry demonstrations of no particular earnestness. Two hours later the enemy were observed moving a mile or so to the south and front of the center, and later the same column was reported to the commander of the Eleventh Corps by General Devens, whose division was on the extreme right flank. At 9:30 A. M. a circular directed to Generals Slocum and Howard called attention to this movement and to the weakness of their flanks. ¶

At 11 A. M. our left was furiously cannonaded by their artillery, established on the heights in front of Mott's Run, followed by sharp infantry firing on the fronts of the Second and Twelfth corps. As time flew along and no attack came from the enemy seen moving in front, Hooker conceived that Lee was retreating toward Gordonsville. There was color for this view, as the main road from Fredericksburg to that point diverged from the Plank road two miles to the left of Chancellorsville, and passed along his front at about the same distance. Hooker therefore jumped at the conclusion that the enemy's army was moving into the center of Virginia. But instead of the hostile column being on the Gordonsville road in retreat, it was Stonewall's corps moving on an interior neighborhood road, about one mile distant, and in search

¶ See p. 219 for a copy of this circular order. Maps showing the positions of the Eleventh and Twelfth corps appear on pages 191-201.—EDITORS.

of our right flank and rear. At 2 p. m. I went into the Chancellor House, when General Hooker greeted me with the exclamation: "Lee is in full retreat toward Gordonsville, and I have sent out Sickles to capture his artillery." I thought, without speaking it: "If your conception is correct, it is very strange that only the Third Corps should be sent in pursuit." Sickles received orders at 1 p. m. to take two divisions, move to his front and attack, which he did, capturing some hundreds of prisoners. The country on the front being mostly wooded enabled the enemy to conceal his movements and at the same time hold Sickles in check with a rear-guard, which made such a show of strength that reënforcements were called for and furnished. In the meantime Jackson did not for a moment swerve from his purpose, but steadily moved forward to accomplish what he had undertaken.

It was about 5:30 in the evening when the head of Jackson's column found itself on the right and rear of the army, which on that flank consisted of the Eleventh Corps, the extreme right brigade receiving its first intimation of danger from a volley of musketry fired into their rear, followed up so impetuously that no efficient stand could be made by the brigades of the corps that successively attempted to resist the enemy's charge. When General Hooker found out what that terrific roar on his right flank meant he quickly mounted and flew across the open space to meet the onset, passing on his way stampeded pack-mules, officers' horses, caissons, with men and horses running for their lives. Gathering up such troops as were nearest to the scene of action, Berry's division from the Third Corps, some from the Twelfth, Hays's brigade of the Second, and a portion of the Eleventh, an effectual stand was made. Pleasonton, who was returning from the front, where he had been operating with Sickles (at the time Jackson attacked), taking in the state of things, rapidly moved his two regiments of cavalry and a battery to the head and right flank of the enemy's advance columns, when, making a charge and bringing up his own guns, with others of the Eleventh and Third Corps, he was enabled to punish them severely.

Pickets had been thrown out on Howard's flank, but not well to the right and rear. I suspect that the prime reason for the surprise was that the superior officers of the right corps had been put off their guard by adopting the conjecture of Hooker, "Lee's army is in full retreat to Gordonsville," as well as by expecting the enemy to attack precisely where ample preparations had been made to receive him. It can be emphatically stated that no corps in the army, surprised as the Eleventh was at this time, could have held its ground under similar circumstances.

At half-past two that afternoon the Second Corps' lines were assaulted by artillery and infantry. Just previous to Jackson's attack on the right a desperate effort was made by Lee's people to carry the left at Mott's Run, but the men who held it were there to stay. Hooker, desiring to know the enemy's strength in front of the Twelfth Corps, advanced Slocum into the thicket, but that officer found the hostile line too well defended for him to penetrate it and was forced to recall the attacking party. When night put an end to the fighting of both combatants, Hooker was obliged to form a new line for



STAMPEDE OF THE ELEVENTH CORPS ON THE PLANK ROAD.

his right flank perpendicular to the old one and barely half a mile to the right of Chancellorsville. Sickles was retired, with the two columns, from his advanced position in the afternoon to near where Pleasonton had had his encounter, before mentioned, some distance to the left of the new line of our right flank and close up to the enemy. The situation was thought to be a very critical one by General Hooker, who had simply a strong body in front of the enemy, but without supports, at least near enough to be used for that purpose. At the same time it was a menace to Jackson's right wing or flank. Before midnight some of the latter's enterprising men pushed forward and actually cut off Sickles's line of communication. When this news was carried to Hooker it caused him great alarm, and preparations were at once made to withdraw the whole front, leaving General Sickles to his fate; but that officer showed himself able to take care of his rear, for he ordered after a little while a column of attack, and communication was restored at the point of the bayonet.

The situation of Jackson's corps on the morning of May 3d was a desperate one, its front and right flank being in the presence of not far from 25,000 men, with the left flank subject to an assault of 30,000, the corps of Meade and Reynolds, by advancing them to the right, where the thicket did not present an insurmountable obstacle. It only required that Hooker should brace himself up to take a reasonable, common-sense view of the state of things, when the success gained by Jackson would have been turned into an overwhelming defeat. But Hooker became very despondent. I think that his being outgeneraled by Lee had a good deal to do with his depression. After the right flank had been established on the morning of the 3d by Sickles

getting back into position our line was more compact, with favorable positions for artillery, and the reserves were well in hand. Meade had been drawn in from the left and Reynolds had arrived with the First Corps. The engineers had been directed on the previous night to lay out a new line, its front a half mile in rear of Chancellorsville, with the flanks thrown back,—the right to the Rapidan, a little above its junction with the Rappahannock, the left resting on the latter river. The Eleventh Corps, or at least that portion which formed line of battle, was withdrawn from the front and sent to the rear to reorganize and get its scattered parts together, leaving the following troops in front: one division of the Second Corps on the left from Mott's Run to Chancellorsville, the Twelfth Corps holding the center and right flank, aided by the Third Corps and one division of the Second Corps (French's), on the same flank; the whole number in front, according to my estimate, being 37,000 men. The First and Fifth corps in reserve numbered 30,000, and, placing the number of reliable men in the Eleventh Corps at 5000, it will be seen that the reserves nearly equaled those in line of battle in front.

After the day's mishaps Hooker judged that the enemy could not have spared so large a force to move around his front without depleting the defenses of Fredericksburg. Accordingly, at 9 P. M., an imperative order was sent to the commander of the left wing to cross the river at Fredericksburg, march upon Chancellorsville, and be in the vicinity of the commanding general at daylight. But Sedgwick was already across the river and three miles below Fredericksburg. It was 11 P. M., May 2d, when he got the order, and twelve or fourteen miles had to be marched over by daylight. The night was moonlight, but any officer who has had experience in making night marches with infantry will understand the vexatious delays occurring even when the road is clear; but when, in addition, there is an enemy in front, with a line of fortified heights to assault, the problem which Sedgwick had to solve will be pronounced impossible of solution. However, that officer set his column in motion by flank, leaving one division that lay opposite the enemy, who were in force to his left. The marching column, being continually harassed by skirmishers, did not arrive at Fredericksburg until daylight. The first assault upon the heights behind the town failed. Attempts to carry them by flank movements met with no success. Finally a second storming party was organized, and the series of works were taken literally at the point of the bayonet, though at heavy loss. It was then 11 A. M. The column immediately started for Chancellorsville, being more or less obstructed by the enemy until its arrival near Salem Heights, 5 or 6 miles out, where seven brigades under Early, six of which had been driven from the defenses of Fredericksburg, made a stand in conjunction with supports sent from Lee's army before Chancellorsville. This was about the middle of the afternoon, when Sedgwick in force attacked the enemy. Though at first successful, he was subsequently compelled to withdraw those in advance and look to his own safety by throwing his own flanks so as to cover Banks's Ford, the friendly proximity of which eventually saved this wing from utter annihilation.



STAYING JACKSON'S ADVANCE, SATURDAY EVENING, MAY 2, WITH ARTILLERY PLACED ACROSS THE PLANK ROAD. FROM A WAR-TIME SKETCH.

At about 5 A. M., May 3d, fighting was begun at Chancellorsville, when the Third (Sickles's) Corps began to retire to the left of our proper right flank, and all of that flank soon became fiercely engaged, while the battle ran along the whole line. The enemy's guns on the heights to our left, as well as at every point on the line where they could be established, were vigorously used, while a full division threw itself on Miles at Mott's Run. On the right flank our guns were well handled, those of the Twelfth Corps being conspicuous, and the opposing lines of infantry operating in the thicket had almost hand-to-hand conflicts, capturing and recapturing prisoners. The enemy appeared to know what he was about, for pressing the Third Corps vigorously he forced it back, when he joined or rather touched the left of Lee's main body, making their line continuous from left to right. Another advantage gained by this success was the possession of an open field, from which guns covered the ground up to the Chancellor House. Upon the south porch of that mansion General Hooker stood leaning against one of its pillars, observing the fighting, looking anxious and much careworn. After the fighting had commenced I doubt if any orders were given by him to the commanders on the field, unless, perhaps, "to retire when out of ammunition." None were received by me, nor were there any inquiries as to how the battle was going along my front. On the right flank, where the fighting was desperate, the engaged troops were governed by the corps and division leaders. If the ear of the commanding general was, as he afterward stated, strained to catch the sound of Sedgwick's guns, it could not have heard them in the continuous uproar that filled the air around him; but as Sedgwick, who was known as a fighting officer, had not appeared at the time set—daylight—nor for some hours after, it was conclusive evidence that he had met with strong opposition, showing that all of Lee's army was not at Chancellorsville, so that the

moment was favorable for Hooker to try his opponent's strength with every available man. Moreover, the left wing might at that very time be in jeopardy, therefore he was bound by every patriotic motive to strike hard for its relief. If he had remembered Mr. Lincoln's injunction ("Gentlemen, in your next fight put in all of your men"), the face of the day would have been changed and the field won for the Union arms.

Not far from 8:30 A. M. the headquarters pennants of the Third and Twelfth corps suddenly appeared from the right in the open field of Chancellorsville; then the Third began to fall back, it was reported, for want of ammunition, followed by that portion of the Twelfth fighting on the same flank, and the division of the Second Corps on its right. It is not known whether any efforts were made to supply the much-needed ammunition to the Third as well as the Twelfth Corps, whose ammunition was nearly used up when it retired. My impression is that the heads of the ordnance, as well as of other important departments, were not taken into the field during this campaign, which was most unfortunate, as the commanding general had enough on his mind without charging it with details.

The open field seized by Jackson's old corps after the Third Corps drew off was shortly dotted with guns that made splendid practice through an opening in the wood upon the Chancellor House, and everything else, for that matter, in that neighborhood. Hooker was still at his place on the porch, with nothing between him and Lee's army but Geary's division of the Twelfth and Hancock's division and a battery of the Second Corps. But Geary's right was now turned, and that flank was steadily being pressed back along his intrenched line to the junction of the Plank road and the turnpike, when a cannon-shot struck the pillar against which Hooker was leaning and knocked him down. A report flew around that he was killed. I was at the time but a few yards to his left, and, dismounting, ran to the porch. The shattered pillar was there, but I could not find him or any one else. Hurrying through the house, finding no one, my search was continued through the back yard. All the time I was thinking, "If he is killed, what shall I do with this disjointed army?" Passing through the yard I came upon him, to my great joy, mounted, and with his staff also in their saddles. Briefly congratulating him on his escape—it was no time to blubber or use soft expressions—I went about my own business. This was the last I saw of my commanding general in front. The time, I reckon, was from 9:15 to 9:30 A. M., I think nearer the former than the latter. He probably left the field soon after his hurt, but he neither notified me of his going nor did he give any orders to me whatever. Having some little time before this seen that the last stand would be about the Chancellor House, I had sent to the rear for some of the Second Corps batteries, which had been ordered there by the commanding general, but word came back that they were so jammed in with other carriages that it was impossible to extricate them. General Meade, hearing of my wants, kindly sent forward the 5th Maine battery belonging to his corps. It was posted in rear of the Chancellor House, where the United States Ford road enters the thicket. With such precision did the artillery of Jackson's old corps play upon this battery that



THE 29TH PENNSYLVANIA (OF KANE'S BRIGADE, GEARY'S DIVISION, TWELFTH CORPS) IN THE TRENCHES UNDER ARTILLERY FIRE, MAY 3.

all of the officers and most of the non-commissioned officers and men were killed or wounded. The gallant Kirby, whose guns could not be brought up, was mortally wounded in the same battery\ of which I had for the time placed him in command, and my horse was killed under me while I was trying to get some men to train a gun on the flank of the force then pushing Geary's division. The enemy, having 30 pieces in position on our right, now advanced some of his guns to within 500 or 600 yards of the Chancellor House, where there were only four of Pettit's Second Corps guns to oppose them, making a target of that building and taking the right of Hancock's division in reverse, a portion of which had been withdrawn from its intrenchments and thrown back to the left to meet the enemy should he succeed in forcing Mott's Run. This flank was stoutly held by Colonel Miles, who, by the bye, had been carried off the field, shot through the body. Lee by this time knew well enough, if he had not known before, that the game was sure to fall into his hands, and accordingly plied every gun and rifle that could be brought to bear on us. Still everything was firmly held excepting Geary's right, which was slowly falling to pieces, for the enemy had his flank and there was no help for it. Riding to Geary's left, I found him there dismounted, with sword swinging over his head, walking up and down, exposed to a severe infantry fire, when he said: "My division can't hold its place; what shall I do?" To which I replied: "I don't know, but do as we are doing; fight it out."

\ The 5th Maine battery, Capt. G. F. Leppien, belonged to the First Corps. Captain Leppien and Lieutenants G. T. Stevens and A. B. Twitchell were wounded, Capt. Leppien mortally. Lieut. E. Kirby

was the proper commander of Battery I, 1st U. S. Artillery, Second Corps. The 5th Maine lost 6 men killed and 19 wounded; 43 horses were disabled, and the guns were hauled off by hand.—EDITORS.

It was not then too late to save the day. Fifty pieces of artillery, or even forty, brought up and run in front and to the right of the Chancellor House, would have driven the enemy out of the thicket, then forcing back Geary's right, and would have neutralized the thirty guns to the right which were pounding us so hard. But it is a waste of words to write what might have been done. Hooker had made up his mind to abandon the field, otherwise he would not have allowed the Third and part of the Twelfth Corps to leave their ground for want of ammunition. A few minutes after my interview with Geary a staff-officer from General Hooker rode up and requested my presence with that general. Turning to General Hancock, near by, I told him to take care of things and rode to the rear. The Chancellor House was then burning, having been fired in several places by the enemy's shells.

At the farther side of an open field, half a mile in the rear of Chancellorsville, I came upon a few tents (three or four) pitched, around which, mostly dismounted, were a large number of staff-officers. General Meade was also present, and perhaps other generals. General Hooker was lying down I think in a soldier's tent by himself. Raising himself a little as I entered, he said: "Couch, I turn the command of the army over to you. You will withdraw it and place it in the position designated on this map," as he pointed to a line traced on a field-sketch. This was perhaps three-quarters of an hour after his hurt. He seemed rather dull, but possessed of his mental faculties. I do not think that one of those officers outside of the tent knew what orders I was to receive, for on stepping out, which I did immediately on getting my instructions, I met Meade close by, looking inquiringly as if he expected that



SECOND LINE OF UNION DEFENSE AT THE JUNCTION OF THE ROADS TO ELY'S AND UNITED STATES FORDS. FROM A WAR-TIME SKETCH.

finally he would receive the order for which he had waited all that long morning, "to go in." Colonel N. H. Davis broke out: "We shall have some fighting now." These incidents are mentioned to show the temper of that knot of officers. No time was to be lost, as only Hancock's division now held Lee's army. Dispatching Major John B. Burt with orders for the front to retire, I rode back to the thicket, accompanied by Meade, and was soon joined by Sickles, and after a little while by Hooker, but he did not interfere with my dispositions. Hancock had a close shave to withdraw in safety, his line being three-fourths of a mile long, with an exultant enemy as close in as they dared, or wished, or chose to be, firing and watching. But everything was brought off, except five hundred men of the Second Corps who, through the negligence of a lieutenant charged by Hancock with the responsibility of retiring the force at Mott's Run, were taken prisoners. However, under the circumstances, the division was retired in better shape than one could have anticipated. General Sickles assisted in getting men to draw off the guns of the Maine battery before spoken of. General Meade wished me to hold the strip of thicket in rear of Chancellorsville, some six hundred yards in front of our new line of defense. My reply was: "I shall not leave men in this thicket to be shelled out by Lee's artillery. Its possession won't give us any strength. Yonder [pointing to the rear] is the line where the fighting is to be done." Hooker heard the conversation, but made no remarks. Considerable bodies of troops of different corps that lay in the brush to the right were brought within the lines, and the battle of Chancellorsville was ended. My pocket diary, May 3d, has the following: "Sickles opened at about 5 A. M. Orders sent by me at 10 for the front to retire; at 12 M. in my new position"; the latter sentence meaning that at that hour my corps was in position on the new or second line of defense.

As to the charge that the battle was lost because the general was intoxicated, I have always stated that he probably abstained from the use of ardent spirits when it would have been far better for him to have continued in his usual habit in that respect. The shock from being violently thrown to the ground, together with the physical exhaustion resulting from loss of sleep and the anxiety of mind incident to the last six days of the campaign, would tell on any man. The enemy did not press us on the second line, Lee simply varying the monotony of watching us by an occasional cannonade from the left, a part of his army having been sent to Salem Church to resist Sedgwick. Sedgwick had difficulty in maintaining his ground, but held his own by hard fighting until after midnight, May 4th-5th, when he recrossed at Banks's Ford.

Some of the most anomalous occurrences of the war took place in this campaign. On the night of May 2d the commanding general, with 80,000 men in his wing of the army, directed Sedgwick, with 22,000, to march to his relief. While that officer was doing this on the 3d, and when it would be expected that every effort would be made by the right wing to do its part, only one-half of it was fought (or rather half-fought, for its ammunition was not replenished), and then the whole wing was withdrawn to a place where it could not be hurt, leaving Sedgwick to take care of himself.

At 12 o'clock on the night of the 4th-5th General Hooker assembled his corps commanders in council. Meade, Sickles, Howard, Reynolds, and myself were present; General Slocum, on account of the long distance from his post, did not arrive until after the meeting was broken up. Hooker stated that his instructions compelled him to cover Washington, not to jeopardize the army, etc. It was seen by the most casual observer that he had made up his mind to retreat. We were left by ourselves to consult, upon which Sickles made an elaborate argument, sustaining the views of the commanding general. Meade was in favor of fighting, stating that he doubted if we could get off our guns. Howard was in favor of fighting, qualifying his views by the remark that our present situation was due to the bad conduct of his corps, or words to that effect. Reynolds, who was lying on the ground very much fatigued, was in favor of an advance. I had similar views to those of Meade as to getting off the guns, but said I "would favor an advance if I could designate the point of attack." Upon collecting the suffrages, Meade, Reynolds, and Howard voted squarely for an advance, Sickles and myself squarely no; upon which Hooker informed the council that he should take upon himself the responsibility of retiring the army to the other side of the river. As I stepped out of the tent Reynolds, just behind me, broke out, "What was the use of calling us together at this time of night when he intended to retreat anyhow?"

On the morning of May 5th, corps commanders were ordered to cut roads, where it was necessary, leading from their positions to the United States Ford. During the afternoon there was a very heavy rainfall. In the meantime Hooker had in person crossed the river, but, as he gave orders for the various corps to march at such and such times during the night, I am not aware that any of his corps generals knew of his departure. Near midnight I got a note from Meade informing me that General Hooker was on the other side of the river, which had risen over the bridges, and that communication was cut off from him. I immediately rode over to Hooker's headquarters and found that I was in command of the army, if it had any commander. General Hunt, of the artillery, had brought the information as to the condition of the bridges, and from the reports there seemed to be danger of losing them entirely. After a short conference with Meade I told him that the recrossing would be suspended, and that "we would stay where we were and fight it out," returning to my tent with the intention of enjoying what I had not had since the night of the 30th ultimo — a good sleep; but at 2 A. M., communication having been reestablished, I received a sharp message from Hooker, to order the recrossing of the army as he had directed, and everything was safely transferred to the north bank of the Rappahannock.

In looking for the causes of the loss of Chancellorsville, the primary ones were that Hooker expected Lee to fall back without risking battle. Finding himself mistaken he assumed the defensive, and was outgeneraled and became demoralized by the superior tactical boldness of the enemy.

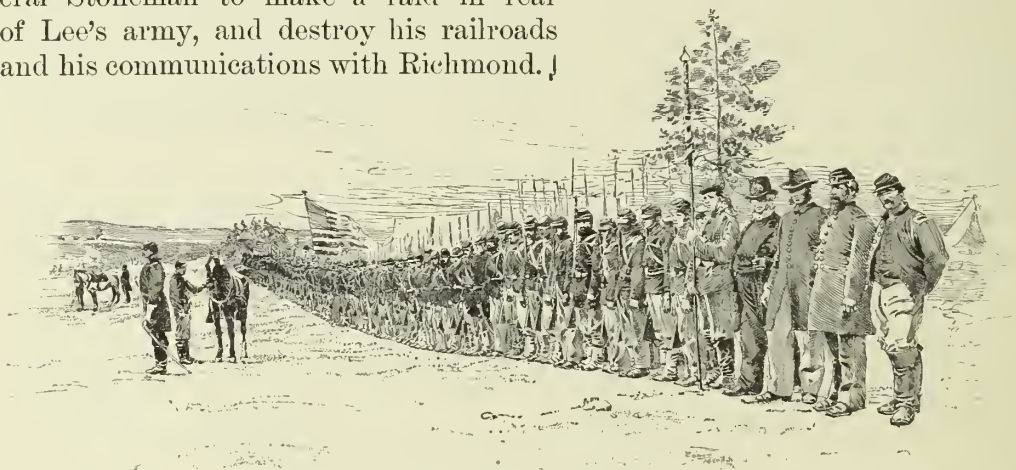
THE SUCCESSES AND FAILURES OF CHANCELLORSVILLE.

BY ALFRED PLEASANTON, BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL, U. S. A.



UNION CAVALRYMAN'S HAT.

IN the latter part of April, 1863, General Hooker decided to undertake an offensive campaign with the Army of the Potomac against the Army of Northern Virginia, under General Lee. At this time the two armies faced each other: Lee's, numbering about 60,000 men, being at Fredericksburg, and the Army of the Potomac, numbering about 130,000 men, at Falmouth, on the north side of the Rappahannock River opposite Fredericksburg. Hooker directed three corps of the army, the First, the Third, and the Sixth, comprising 59,000 men, under the command of General Sedgwick, to cross the Rappahannock River below Fredericksburg and hold Lee's army in that position, while he himself moved secretly and with celerity three corps, the Fifth, the Eleventh, and the Twelfth, numbering 42,000 men, up the river, crossing it and concentrating them at Chancellorsville, ten miles west of Fredericksburg, with the purpose of moving down upon General Lee's army to take it in rear and flank—two divisions of the Second Corps being placed to cover Banks's Ford, the third division being left at Falmouth, while a brigade and battery were stationed at United States Ford to facilitate the crossing. The Cavalry Corps, with the exception of one small brigade of three regiments and a battery of horse artillery, which was left under my command with the army, was ordered under the command of General Stoneman to make a raid in rear of Lee's army, and destroy his railroads and his communications with Richmond. †



PARADE AT FALMOUTH OF THE 110TH PENNSYLVANIA VOLUNTEERS. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

This regiment (of Whipple's division, Third Corps) with the 84th Pennsylvania performed desperate service near Fairview on Sunday morning, May 3d, the 84th losing 215 men and the 110th losing 45 men.—EDITORS.

† This corps did great service by drawing off General Lee's cavalry, under General J. E. B. Stuart, to Brandy Station and Culpeper, thus depriving General Lee of their services; for General Hooker moved the three corps with him with such celerity

that they passed between Stuart and Lee's army, and Stuart could not get through to communicate to Lee what was going on. It will be seen later on what a loss this was to Lee, and what a great advantage it was to the Army of the Potomac.—A. P.



ABANDONING THE WINTER CAMP AT FALMOUTH. FROM A WAR-TIME SKETCH.

On the 26th of April General Hooker gave his orders for the right wing of the army to move, the Eleventh and Twelfth corps to be followed by the Fifth; the Eleventh and Twelfth to cross the Rappahannock at Kelly's Ford, and the Rapidan River at Germanna Ford; the Fifth Corps marching from Kelly's Ford to Ely's Ford, nearer to the mouth of the Rapidan and to Chancellorsville. The left wing of the army, under General Sedgwick, was ordered to cross the Rappahannock below Fredericksburg on the morning of the 29th; its duty was to keep the enemy as long as possible before Fredericksburg, to pursue him if he attempted to fall back on Richmond, and to take possession of his works and his line of retreat if he marched upon Chancellorsville; in other words, Sedgwick was told to hold Lee at Fredericksburg until Hooker could come down upon him from Chancellorsville and crush him.

The right wing of the army crossed Kelly's Ford on the morning of the 29th, and the Eleventh and Twelfth corps reached Germanna Ford that evening. I had the advance of this column with two regiments of cavalry and a battery of horse artillery; the third regiment of the cavalry brigade I sent with the Fifth Corps to Ely's Ford. In the afternoon, at Germanna Ford, I surprised and captured a picket of some fifty of Stuart's cavalry soldiers. With them was an engineer officer belonging to Stuart's staff. On searching the party, as is done with all prisoners, I found on this engineer officer a very bulky volume, which proved to be a diary that he had been keeping throughout the war. I spent the greater part of the night in reading it, in hopes of finding something that would be of advantage to us; nor was I disappointed. This diary stated that in the first week in March a council of war had been held at General Stuart's headquarters, which had been attended by Generals Jackson, A. P. Hill, Ewell, and Stuart. They were in conference over five hours, and came to the decision that the next battle would be at or near Chancellorsville, and that that position must be prepared.

The next day, the 30th of April, I moved on toward Chancellorsville, and at 1 o'clock in the day I captured a courier or orderly from General Lee, who had a dispatch from Lee, dated at Fredericksburg, noon of that day, and addressed to Major-General McLaws, stating that he had just been informed that the enemy had concentrated in force near Chancellorsville, inquiring why he had not been kept advised, and saying that he wished to see McLaws as soon as possible at headquarters. At 2 o'clock P. M., one hour later, I reported to General Hooker at Chancellorsville, and submitted to him the diary and General Lee's dispatch, both of which he retained, and I suggested that we had evidently surprised General Lee by our rapid movements across the river, and, as Lee had prepared for a battle at Chancellorsville, we had better anticipate him by moving on toward Fredericksburg. A march of three or four miles would take us out of the woods into a more open country, where we could form our line of battle, and where our artillery could be used to advantage; we would then be prepared to move on Fredericksburg in the morning. Besides, such a movement would enable us to uncover Banks's Ford, which would shorten our communication with General Sedgwick over 5 miles, and bring us within $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles of Falmouth by that Ford.

I was much surprised to find that General Hooker, who up to that time had been all vigor, energy, and activity, received the suggestion as a matter of secondary importance, and that he considered the next morning sufficiently early to move on Fredericksburg. Up to that time General Hooker's strategy had been all that could have been desired. He had outflanked the enemy and had surprised him by the rapidity of his movements. At 2 o'clock P. M., on the 30th of April, General Hooker had ninety chances in his favor to ten



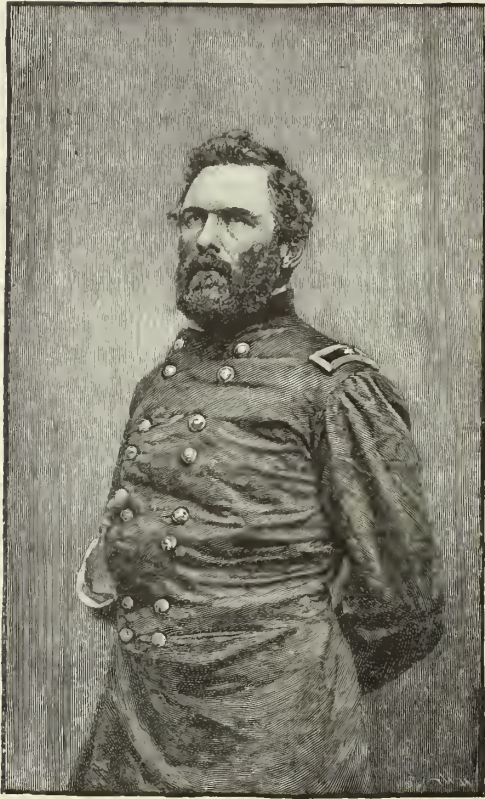
UNION TROOPS CROSSING THE RAPIDAN AT ELY'S FORD. FROM A WAR-TIME SKETCH.

against him. The very cavalry under Stuart that Lee depended on to keep him advised had been cut off by the prompt action of the army, and we had it over the signature of General Lee himself that his army had been surprised. General Hooker had it in his power at that time to have crushed Lee's army and wound up the war. The Army of the Potomac never had a better opportunity, for more than half its work had been done before a blow had been struck, by the brilliancy of its strategy in moving upon Chancellorsville.

I camped my command about a mile from General Hooker's headquarters, which were at the Chancellor House, and such were my misgivings as regarded the situation of the army that about dusk I called upon the general again and stated to him our perilous position.

To the east, toward Fredericksburg, the woods were thick for three or four miles; to the south, toward Spotsylvania Court House, the woods extended about the same distance; to the west, from Hazel Grove, the same condition of things existed; while the country between Chancellorsville and the Rappahannock River, in our rear, was rough, broken, and not at all suitable for the operations required of an army. The position of the army at Chancellorsville extended about three miles from east to west in the narrow clearings, which did not afford sufficient ground to manœuvre an army of the size of the Army of the Potomac. Besides this, we were ignorant of what might be going on outside of this cordon of woods, and were giving the enemy every opportunity to take us at a disadvantage. Every instinct induced me to suggest to General Hooker, to relieve ourselves from our embarrassments, to send the Eleventh Corps, which was in a miserable position in the woods, down to Spotsylvania Court House by the Jack Shop road, and make the line of battle from Chancellorsville to Spotsylvania. This proposition was not approved, and I then asked permission to send some cavalry to Spotsylvania, to find out what was going on in the open country beyond the woods. General Hooker assented to this, and I ordered the 6th New York Cavalry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Duncan McVicar, to proceed down the road from Chancellorsville to Spotsylvania, ascertain if the enemy were anywhere in that vicinity, and, having done so, return before daybreak. This could easily be done, as the distance was not more than eight miles. Colonel McVicar executed his orders in splendid style; he went to Spotsylvania, saw no enemy, but on his return, it being moonlight, he found a body of cavalry in his front, barring his passage to Chancellorsville. He immediately deployed his regiment, some three or four hundred strong, and after a murderous fire from the saddle he charged the enemy with sabers and completely routed them. This force was the 5th Virginia Cavalry, and with it were General Stuart and staff. They scattered in every direction and were pursued by the 6th New York Cavalry until the 2d Virginia Regiment, coming to their assistance, stopped the pursuit. The 6th New York Cavalry then, unmolested, returned to Chancellorsville, but without their brave commander, who was killed in the thickest of the fray.

This action made a strong impression on the Confederates, and Stuart, in order to avoid another such encounter, started his cavalry in the direction



MAJOR-GENERAL HIRAM G. BERRY, COMMANDING
SECOND DIVISION, THIRD CORPS, KILLED MAY
3, 1863. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

of Spotsylvania Court House, but his rear-guard threw the whole column into confusion by the cry, "The enemy is upon us." Major von Boreke, a distinguished officer, who was on General Stuart's staff, and was present on this occasion, in describing it, says: "Shots were fired at hazard in every direction. The 1st and 3d Virginia Regiments, no longer recognizing each other, charge upon each other mutually; Stuart's mounted men, generally so brave and so steadfast, no longer obey the orders of their officers, and gallop off in great disorder. At last quiet is restored, and the brigade finally reaches Spotsylvania Court House, while the small band which has caused so much alarm to Stuart was quietly returning to Chancellorsville."

The next morning at daylight (Friday, May 1st) I reported to General Hooker the result of this reconnoissance, and he began to realize the importance of the information that had been conveyed the day before in the

diary of Stuart's engineer officer. The 6th New York Cavalry were only able to report that they had cut their way through a heavy body of cavalry, and this by moonlight; they were unable to say whether any infantry or artillery were in that direction.

To move the army down on Fredericksburg with an unknown force on its rear and flank was a hazardous experiment. What could have been done with safety the day before now became doubtful, and it was this uncertainty that paralyzed the vigor and action of General Hooker throughout the 1st of May. Although he started the Second, Fifth, Twelfth, and Third corps in the direction of Tabernacle Church on the way to Fredericksburg, the movement was not of such a character as to bring success. Upon meeting a stubborn resistance from General Jackson's forces, and fearing that if he should become deeply engaged a force from Spotsylvania would take him in the rear and flank, he withdrew the army and placed it in position at Chancellorsville.

From that time the whole situation was changed. Without striking a blow, the army was placed on the defensive. The golden moment had been lost, and it never appeared again to the same extent afterward—an illustration that soldiers' legs have as much to do with winning victories as their arms.

General Lee knew that General Hooker had taken his army back to its position at Chancellorsville. The Third Corps had already been taken from

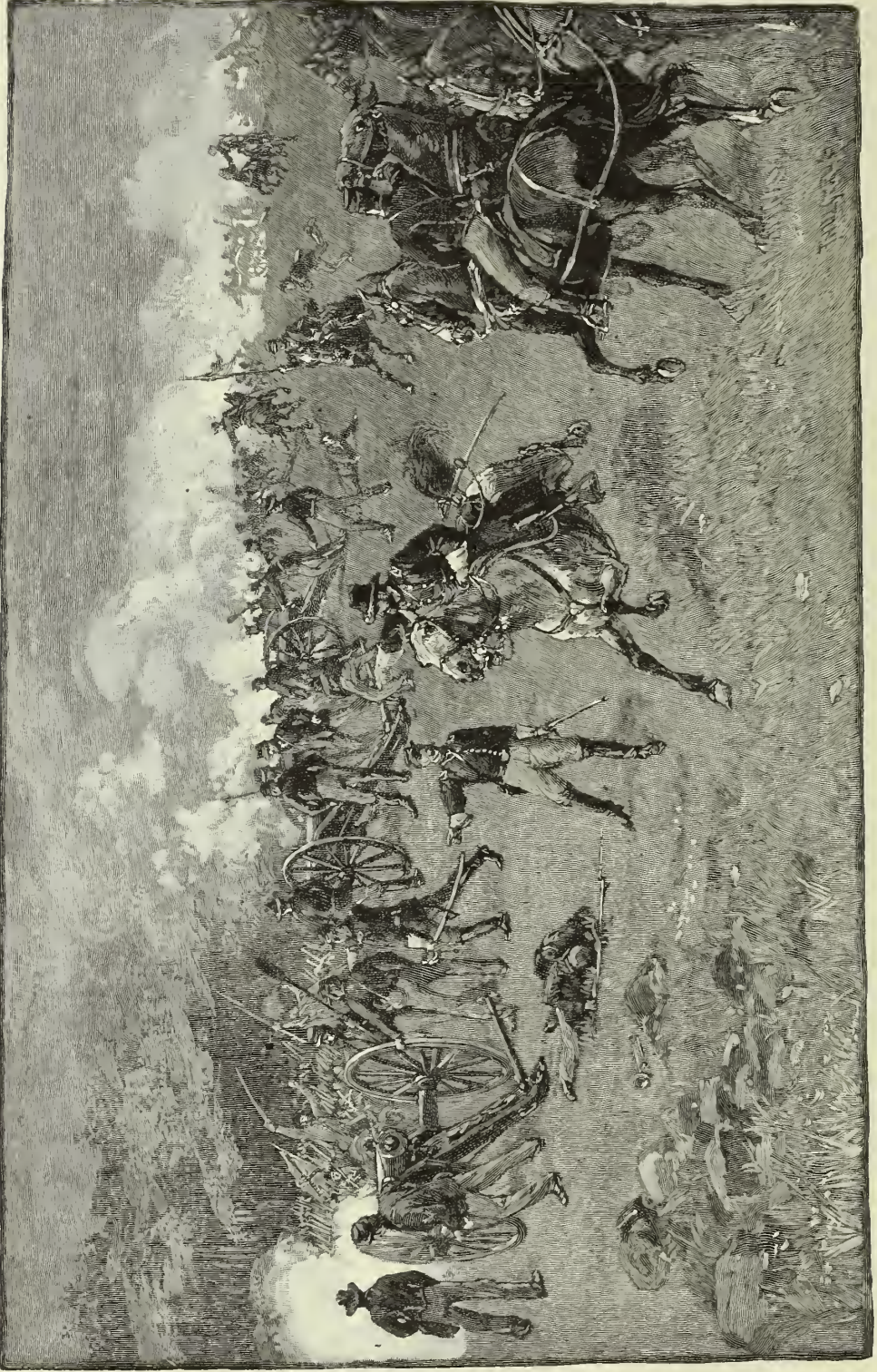
General Sedgwick at Fredericksburg, and at 2 o'clock on the morning of May 2d the First Corps was also ordered up to Chancellorsville, leaving Sedgwick with the Sixth Corps. These movements did not escape the attention of General Lee, so he decided to assume the offensive and put in operation the plan which had been suggested by Generals Jackson, A. P. Hill, Ewell, and Stuart at their council of war in the first week in March. He left a sufficient force at Fredericksburg to watch Sedgwick, while with the bulk of his army he moved on Chancellorsville, sending a force under Generals Jackson, A. P. Hill, and Stuart, to make a turning movement and to attack the Union forces in the rear and right flank, and roll them up. Lee himself, in the meantime, with the remainder of his forces, occupied the attention of the left and center of Hooker's army, to prevent any interference with the flank movement. General Lee's strategy was the same that Hooker had carried out so successfully until he stopped at Chancellorsville. Lee was equally successful in his movements, and we will now investigate the causes of his failure to give the Army of the Potomac a crushing blow.

On the 2d day of May the right of the Army of the Potomac was the Eleventh Corps, in the woods near Dowdall's Tavern (Melzi Chancellor's); the Third Corps connected it with the Twelfth Corps at Fairview and Chancellorsville, facing south toward the woods; while the Second and the Fifth corps were posted to prevent any attack taking the position in the rear and flank from the east. Throughout the morning of the 2d of May, attacks were made on different portions of our line from the east to the west. These attacks occurred at intervals of an hour or more, but always farther to the west. I was satisfied this was done to withdraw our attention from the real point of attack, and I mentioned this to Hooker, who had become more and more impressed with the belief that the information contained in the diary of Stuart's engineer officer was correct, and that Lee had adopted a plan to carry it out.

In the afternoon of May 2d General Sickles, commanding the Third Corps, sent in word that the enemy were retreating toward Gordonsville, and that their wagons and artillery could be seen passing by the Furnace road some three miles to the south. General Hooker sent for me on receiving this report, and stated that he was not sure the enemy were retreating; that he wanted an officer of experience in that part of the field, and that he wished me to take my command there and keep him promptly informed of everything that was going on. I asked him if he considered me to be under the orders of any one. He replied quickly, "You are under my orders only; use your best judgment in doing whatever you think ought to be done."

On arriving at Hazel Grove, about one mile from Chancellorsville, I found that General Sickles was moving two of the divisions of the Third Corps in the direction of Catherine Furnace, and shortly after he became engaged there with a strong rear-guard. Hazel Grove was the highest ground in the neighborhood and was the key of our position, and I saw that if Lee's forces gained it the Army of the Potomac would be worsted.

General Sickles wanted some cavalry to protect his flanks, and I gave him the 6th New York. This left me with only the 8th and 17th Pennsylvania



REPULSE OF JACKSON'S MEN AT HAZEL GROVE, BY ARTILLERY UNDER GENERAL PLEASANTON.

regiments and Martin's New York battery of horse artillery. I posted this command at the extreme west of the clearing, about two hundred yards from the woods in which the Eleventh Corps was encamped. This position at Hazel Grove was about a quarter of a mile in extent, running nearly north-east and south-west, but was in no place farther than two hundred yards from the woods, and on the south and east it sloped off into a marsh and a creek. It commanded the position of the army at Fairview and Chancellorsville and enfiladed our line. The moving out to the Furnace of the two divisions of the Third Corps left a gap of about a mile from Hazel Grove to the right of the Twelfth Corps. Shortly after General Sickles had been engaged at the Furnace, he sent me word that the enemy were giving way and cavalry could be used to advantage in pursuit. Before moving my command I rode out to the Furnace to comprehend the situation. It was no place for cavalry to operate, and as I could hear spattering shots going more and more toward the north-west, I was satisfied that the enemy were not retreating. I hastened back to my command at Hazel Grove; when I reached it, the Eleventh Corps to our rear and our right was in full flight, panic-stricken beyond description. We faced about, having then the marsh behind us. It was an ugly marsh, about fifty yards wide, and in the stampede of the Eleventh Corps, beef cattle, ambulances, mules, artillery, wagons, and horses became stuck in the mud, and others coming on crushed them down, so that when the fight was over the pile of débris in the marsh was many feet high. I saw that something had to be done, and that very quickly, or the Army of the Potomac would receive a crushing defeat. The two cavalry regiments were in the saddle, and as I rode forward Major Keenan of the 8th Pennsylvania came out to meet me, when I ordered him to take the regiment, charge into the woods, which, as we had previously stood, were to our rear, and hold the enemy in check until I could get some guns into position.† He replied, with a smile at the size of the task, that he would do it, and started off immediately. Thirty men, including Major Keenan, Captain Arrowsmith, and Adjutant Haddock, never came back. I then directed Captain Martin to bring his guns into battery, load with double charges of canister, and aim them so that the shot would hit the ground half-way between the guns and the woods. I also stated that I would give the order to fire. Just then a handsome young lieutenant of the 4th U. S. Artillery, Frank B. Crosby (son of a distinguished lawyer of New York City), who was killed the next day, galloped up and said, "General, I have a battery of six guns; where shall I go? what shall I do?" I told him to place his battery in line on the right of Martin's battery, and gave him the same instructions I had given Martin as to how I wanted him to serve his guns. These 2 batteries gave me 12 guns, and to obtain more I then charged 3 squadrons of the 17th Pennsylvania Cavalry on the stragglers of the Eleventh Corps to clear the ground, and with the assistance of the rest of the regiment succeeded in placing 10 more pieces of artillery in line. The line was then ready for Stonewall Jackson's onset. It was dusk when his men swarmed out of the woods for a quarter of a mile in our front

† See also statements of Major Edward J. Carpenter and others on p. 187.—EDITORS.

(our rear ten minutes before). They came on in line five and six deep, with but one flag—a Union flag dropped by the Eleventh Corps.

I suspected deception and was ready for it. They called out not to shoot, they were friends; at the same time they gave us a volley from at least five thousand muskets. As soon as I saw the flash I gave the command to fire, and the whole line of artillery was discharged at once.† It fairly swept them from the earth; before they could recover themselves the line of artillery had been loaded and was ready for a second attack. After the second discharge, suspecting that they might play the trick of having their men lie down, draw the fire of the artillery, then jump up and charge before the pieces could be reloaded, I poured in the canister for about twenty minutes, and the affair was over.‡

When the Eleventh Corps was routed, the situation was this: The nearest infantry to me was the right of the Twelfth Corps, over a mile off, and engaged by the forces under General Lee, who was trying to prevent them from impeding the movements of General Jackson. The two divisions of the Third Corps were nearly a mile to the west, at the Furnace. Had Jackson

† Major Clifford Thomson, aide-de-camp on General Pleasanton's staff, in a letter written in 1866 gives the following account of the fight at Hazel Grove:

"General Pleasanton rode from gun to gun, directing the gunners to aim low, not to get excited, to make every shot tell; the staff-officers, catching their cue from him, did the same, and while at first there had been considerable excitement and apprehension among us, it soon quieted down, and every thought and action was directed to getting the best service out of those guns that they were capable of rendering. Recovering from the disorder into which Keenan's charge had thrown them, the enemy could be seen forming line of battle in the edge of woods now in our front. They were scarcely two hundred yards distant; yet such was the gloom that they could not be clearly distinguished. General Pleasanton was about to give the order to fire, when a sergeant at one of the guns said:

"General, aren't those our troops? I see our colors in the line!" This was true, for where he pointed our colors could be seen—trophies picked up on the field. General Pleasanton turned to me and said:

"Mr. Thomson, ride out there and see who those people are."

"For myself, I was not at all curious about 'those people,' being perfectly willing to wait till they introduced themselves. Riding out between our guns, I galloped to within thirty or forty yards of them; all along the line they cried out to me, 'Come on; we're friends!' It was quite dark and I could not make out their uniforms, but I could see three of our flags, and these caused me to hesitate; I came to a halt, peering into the darkness to make sure, when a bullet whistled by me, and then came 'the rebel yell.' The line charged up the hill toward our guns, and I led it! Lying down upon my horse's neck, I gave him the spur, and the yells of the 'Johnnies' behind further stimulated him, so that we got over the ground in a lively manner. But with the report of the first shot fired at me General Pleasanton had opened fire, and those twenty-two guns belched forth destruction at a fearfully rapid rate. Although lying down on my horse I kept an eye on the guns and guided my horse between the flashes, and in less time than it takes to tell it I was on the safe side of them. It was loud and fire at will for some minutes; the enemy was mowed down in heaps; they could make no headway against such a cyclone, and ran back down the slope to

the cover of the woods. But still the canister was poured into them, and a second attempt to charge the guns failed. Soon Sickles's corps moved from its advanced position and interposed between us and the woods; parties sent out over the field which had been swept by our guns found the dead and dying lying in heaps. Old artillery officers have informed me that they never before heard such rapid firing as occurred at that engagement; the roar was a continuous one, and the execution terrific. After it had ceased I rode up to General Pleasanton and said:

"General, those people out there are rebels!"

"There was a grave twinkle in his eye as he held out his hand and replied:

"Thomson, I never expected to see you again; I thought if they didn't kill you I should, but that was no time to stop for one man."

"I should have agreed with him more cordially if that one man had been somebody else. After Sickles had made his dispositions in our front, we were withdrawn to get forage for our horses, and our part in the battle of Chancellorsville was done. Word had gone out through the army that Pleasanton and his staff had been killed; so, when tired, sleepy, very dirty, and extremely hungry, we next morning rode quietly into our headquarters camp, at the rear, we were looked upon as persons risen from the dead. One thing I have forgotten to mention, and that is that we had virtually no support for those twenty-two guns during the action. There was a portion of the 17th Pennsylvania Cavalry under the hill, but the men were new recruits and had not, I believe, been under fire previous to that occasion. Had the enemy succeeded in gaining the crest of the knoll, the support would not have made a mouthful for a single company of Jackson's men. When President Lincoln visited the army a day or two after this fight, General Pleasanton chanced to call at Hooker's headquarters, when that officer said:

"Mr. President, this is General Pleasanton, who saved the Army of the Potomac the other night."

"The President acknowledged the service in his usual grateful manner. Only inspiration, or the instinct of a natural soldier, could have enabled Pleasanton to accomplish so much in so short a time with so small a force. The fight at Hazel Grove was one of those sharp and decisive actions pregnant with great results."

‡ See also statements of Captain James F. Huntington on p. 188.—EDITORS.

captured the position at Hazel Grove, these two divisions would have been cut off from the army. He would have seen General Hooker and his staff getting what troops he could to prevent the routed Eleventh Corps from demoralizing the rest of the army, and the fatal position which that portion of the army occupied rendered it an easy task to have crushed it. Neither the Second Corps nor the Twelfth Corps was in position to have defended itself against an attack by Jackson from Hazel Grove.

For half an hour General Jackson had the Army of the Potomac at his mercy. That he halted to re-form his troops in the woods, instead of forging ahead into the clearing, where he could re-form his troops more rapidly, and where he could have seen that he was master of the situation, turned out to be one of those fatalities by which the most brilliant prospects are sacrificed. When he advanced upon the artillery at Hazel Grove Jackson had another opportunity to win, if his infantry had been properly handled. The fire of his infantry was so high it did no harm; they should have been ordered to fire so low as to disable the cannoneers at the guns. Had his infantry fire been as effective as that of our artillery, Jackson would have carried the position. The artillery fire was effective because I applied to it that principle of dynamics in which the angle of incidence is equal to the angle of reflection,—that is to say, if the muzzle of a gun is three feet from the ground and it is discharged so that the shot will strike the ground at a distance of one hundred yards, it will glance from the earth at the same angle at which it struck it, and in another one hundred yards will be three feet from the ground. I knew my first volley must be a crushing one, or Jackson, with his superior numbers, would charge across the short distance which separated us and capture the artillery before the guns could be reloaded.

After the fight at Hazel Grove I sent into the woods and captured a number of Jackson's men. I asked them to what command they belonged. One of them said to General A. P. Hill's corps, and added, "That was a pretty trick you played us this evening." I asked to what he referred. He replied, "By withdrawing your infantry, and catching us on your guns,"—thus showing that the flight of the Eleventh Corps was looked upon as a ruse. To my question, if they had suffered much, he said that they had been badly cut up; that General Jackson had been badly wounded; also General A. P. Hill, and their chief of artillery. I asked how he knew General Jackson had been wounded. He stated that he saw him when he was carried off the field in a litter. This information I immediately reported to General Hooker, when he directed me to withdraw my command from that position and go into camp on the north side of the Rappahannock River. It was 4 A. M. of the 3d of



MAJOR-GENERAL AMIEL W. WHIPPLE, COMMANDER OF THE THIRD DIVISION OF THE THIRD CORPS, MORTALLY WOUNDED BY A SHARP-SHOOTER ON THE MORNING OF MAY 4, 1863. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

May when I moved from Hazel Grove. Sickles, with the two divisions of the Third Corps, reached Hazel Grove from the Furnace between half-past nine and ten on the night of the 2d of May. Some of his troops had fighting in the woods before I left, but I am unable to say what was its character.

On the morning of the 3d of May (Sunday) General Stuart was in command of Jackson's forces, Jackson and A. P. Hill having been wounded, as reported by the prisoner taken the night before. Stuart prepared, with his usual impetuosity, to renew the attack early that morning, and by one of those unfortunate occurrences so prevalent during the war, he caught the Third Corps in motion to take up a new position, connecting with the Twelfth Corps at Fairview, and facing to the west. This withdrawal enabled Stuart to take the position at Hazel Grove from which Jackson had been repulsed the evening before. He saw its advantages at once, and, placing some thirty pieces of artillery there, he enfiladed the Twelfth Corps at Fairview and Chancellorsville, and punished the Third Corps severely. The Third Corps was fighting throughout the day under great disadvantages. To add to the embarrassments of the army, General Hooker that morning was disabled by a concussion, and the army was virtually without a head, the different corps commanders fighting their commands on the defensive. Such extraordinary conditions forced the Army of the Potomac to fall back from Chancellorsville and Fairview, and form a new line of battle to the north and some distance from Chancellorsville. This line presented a front to the enemy that could not be enfiladed or turned. Desultory fighting, especially with artillery, was kept up on the 4th of May; but Hooker's battle ended on the 3d, after the army had gained its new position.

It is useless to speculate what General Hooker would have done if he had not been disabled. Up to the evening of the 2d of May the enemy had suffered severely, while the Army of the Potomac had comparatively but few killed and wounded; but the unfortunate circumstances that contracted the lines of our army enabled the enemy to inflict the severest punishment upon all the troops that were engaged. In fact, the greatest injury was inflicted on the 3d of May, while the army had no commander. Had the First Corps, which had not been engaged, and the Fifth Corps, still fresh, been thrown into the action in the afternoon of Sunday, the 3d of May, when Lee's troops were exhausted from the struggle, they would certainly have made Chancellorsville what it should have been,—a complete success. These two corps mustered from 25,000 to 30,000 men. There was no one to order them into the fight, and a second golden opportunity was lost. The army recrossed the Rappahannock River on the night of May 5th, and took up again the position at Falmouth which they had occupied before the campaign.

WHEN STONEWALL JACKSON TURNED OUR RIGHT.

BY JOHN L. COLLINS, 8TH PENNSYLVANIA CAVALRY.

ON the afternoon of May 2d, 1863, the 8th Pennsylvania Cavalry were ordered to dismount, slack saddle-girths, and rest in the vicinity of General Hooker's headquarters at Chancellorsville. Some of the men fell asleep holding their horses, some began talking of the battle, while a knot of officers, who always improved such occasions in this way, sat down to their favorite game of poker. Suddenly an order from headquarters made a complete change in the scene. At the word "Mount!" the sleepers as well as the talkers sprang to their saddles, the gamblers snatched up their stakes and their cards, and a regiment of cavalry took the place of a lounging crowd.

Passing to the left of the Chancellorsville House, we crossed our line of battle at the edge of a wood and came up with a reconnoitering party that had captured the 23d Georgia. We had heard that Lee was retreating, and supposed that this unfortunate regiment had been sacrificed to give the main body a chance to escape; but while we were commiserating the poor fellows, one of them defiantly said, "You may think you have done a big thing just now, but wait till Jackson gets round on your right."

We laughed at his harmless bravado, for we did not think he would betray Jackson's move had he known anything about it; but while we were yet trying to get through the thick wood the roar of musketry and artillery on our right confirmed his speech. We now came back at a gallop toward a point between the place where we were resting and the place where the battle was raging. As we rode into an elevated clearing, called Hazel Grove, the regiment (the 8th Pennsylvania) was brought into line. We surmised a disaster and nervously braced ourselves for the ordeal, not knowing whether we were to make an attack or wait there to receive one.

The roar of musketry was now heavier and nearer; the vast woods between us and Dowdall's tavern seemed to shake with it. There was no time to ask or to wonder what had happened, for the regiment was ordered off at a gallop. After riding about three hundred yards we turned into a narrow road that promised to take us into the midst of the enemy. Half a dozen horsemen in cadet gray—most likely a general's staff reconnoitering, as they did not ride in ranks—were in the road ahead of us, and turned and fled back to their lines.

The word "Charge!" was now passed from the leading squadron, and sabers flew into the air along our line; but none too soon, for we were already in the midst of the foe, and they were ready for us. The unfortunate squadron that led caught all the fire as we dashed along the narrow lane, and we who rode next it got only the smoke from the enemy's guns. We could reach nothing as yet, and could see nothing but fire and smoke, for their line of battle was safely posted behind a thicket that lined

the left of the road, while their rifles were aimed through it.

It was a long lane and a hot lane to go through; but the lane had a turn, and we got to it at last when we reached the Plank road and struck Rodes's division right in the front. We struck it as a wave strikes a stately ship: the ship is staggered, maybe thrown on her beam ends, but the wave is dashed into spray, and the ship sails on as before.

Major Keenan, who led his battalion in the charge, the captain in command of the leading squadron, the adjutant, and a few score of their followers went down at this shock together. The detail sent over to recover their bodies after the battle said that the major had thirteen bullets in his body, the adjutant nine, and others fewer. It was reported by some who rode close upon the major that in falling he shouted, "To the right!" seeing that the impenetrable masses on his left could not be forced, and that there was no way out but over the thinner lines on the right. When turning at full speed, my horse was killed and I was pitched over his neck on the roadside. Here I parted company with the regiment. When I jumped to my feet I had time to take only one glance at my surroundings. My sole thought was to escape capture or death. On one side were the heavy lines of Confederate infantry doubled and bent by the charge, their officers trying to recover their alignment; on the other side the survivors of the leading squadrons were galloping in the Plank road, the others breaking over the Confederate skirmish lines as far back as I could see into the woods.

By instinct I turned toward the woods on the right of the Plank road as the best way out, and made a dash at the lines, which had just recovered from their surprise that a cavalry regiment should have ridden over them, and were firing after it. They were loading when I ran out between them, and when they began to fire I dropped down behind some trees that had been cut to make an abatis, or had been shot down by the cannon; when the volley was over I jumped up and ran as fast as before.

The Plank road, and the woods that bordered it, presented a scene of terror and confusion such as I had never seen before. Men and animals were dashing against one another in wild dismay before the line of fire that came crackling and crashing after them. The constantly approaching rattle of musketry, the crash of the shells through the trees, seemed to come from three sides upon the broken fragments of the Eleventh Corps that crowded each other on the road. The horses of the men of my regiment who had been shot, mingled with the pack-mules that carried the ammunition of the Eleventh Corps, tore like wild beasts through the woods. I tried in vain to catch one.

This employment of the mules for ammunition



MAJOR PETER KEENAN, KILLED IN THE CHARGE OF THE 8TH PENNSYLVANIA CAVALRY.

service was a device of General Hooker's, and this was the only field where they played their part. Each mule carried four or five boxes of spare ammunition, and being tied in couples, they seemed easier to catch than a horse. As a pair of them made for opposite sides of a tree, I ran toward them to get one, but before I could succeed a shell from the direction of the Plank road struck the tree, exploded the ammunition, and slaughtered the mules.

I now gave up hope of a mount, and seeing the Confederate lines coming near me, tried to save myself on foot. Once, when throwing myself down to escape the fury of the fire, I saw a member of my own regiment, whose horse also had been shot, hiding in a pine top that had been cut down by a shell. He had thrown his arms away that he might run the faster, and he begged me to do the same. This I refused to do, and I got in safely with my arms, while he was never seen again. I turned into the Plank road to join the very bad company that came pouring in by that route. More than half of the runaways had thrown their arms away, and all of them were talking a language that I did not understand, but, by their tones, evidently blaming some one for the disgrace and disaster that had befallen their corps. They appeared to share the prevailing confusion on that part of the field, where the front and the rear seemed reversed. Yet, as misery loves company, I cast my lot with them and continued my flight.

I doubt if any of us knew where we were going, further than that we were fleeing before the pursuing lines of the enemy. One of my own company, who was captured in the charge, afterward told me that in leaping an abatis, he was lifted from his saddle by a vine and remained suspended till made a prisoner.

In the very height of the flight, we came upon General Howard, who seemed to be the only man in his own command that was not running at that moment. He was in the middle of the road and mounted, his maimed arm embracing a stand of colors that some regiment had deserted, while with his sound arm he was gesticulating to the men to make a stand by their flag. With bared head he was pleading with his soldiers, literally weeping as he entreated the unheeding horde. Under different circumstances I should have considered it my duty to follow and find my command, and report for duty with it. But I could not go past the general. Maimed in his person and sublime in his patriotism, he seemed worthy to stand by, and out of pure compliment to his appearance I hooked up my saber and fell into the little line that gathered about him. As the front became clear, we fired a few shots at the advance line of the Confederates, but a fresh mass of fugitives in blue soon filled the road, and we had to stop firing. The general now ordered us to cover the whole line of retreat so as to let none pass, and the officers, inspired by his devotion, ran in front of their men, drew their swords, and attempted to stop them. As the number constantly increased, the pressure became greater upon the line that blocked the way; but this line was constantly reinforced by officers and others, and offered some resistance to the pressure. At last the seething, surging sea of humanity broke over the feeble barrier, and General Howard and his officers were carried away by main force with the tide. Pharaoh and his chariots could have held back the walls of the Red Sea as easily as those officers could resist this retreat. I started again on my race for life, this time alone, and toward the slopes of the Chancellorsville plateau, where it seemed to me probable that my regiment would re-form after the charge.

My course was right-oblique from the road, and I had not gone far before I saw lines that I knew were not retreating. Their flags were flying, and my heart took a bound as I beheld battery after battery galloping into position, and regiment after regiment wheeling into line behind them. A line of battle showed itself at last; the Third Corps had come up to stop the successful charge, and Jackson's men would find a difference between attacking the Third Corps in front and the Eleventh in the rear. Seeing the guns unlimber and load, I made my greatest effort at speed, but not caring for a few fugitives, the guns belched forth their fire before I could get in. However, I came safely through, and at last paused for a long breath. While congratulating myself upon my escape, I looked behind the line of battle, and there saw my own regiment drawn up for a charge, the line not so long as half an hour before by one-third, but still as shapely and resolute as ever. The horses were blown and nervous, and the men were, no doubt, a little depressed by the rough usage they had met with. A horse, that had followed the company riderless from the charge, was given to me,

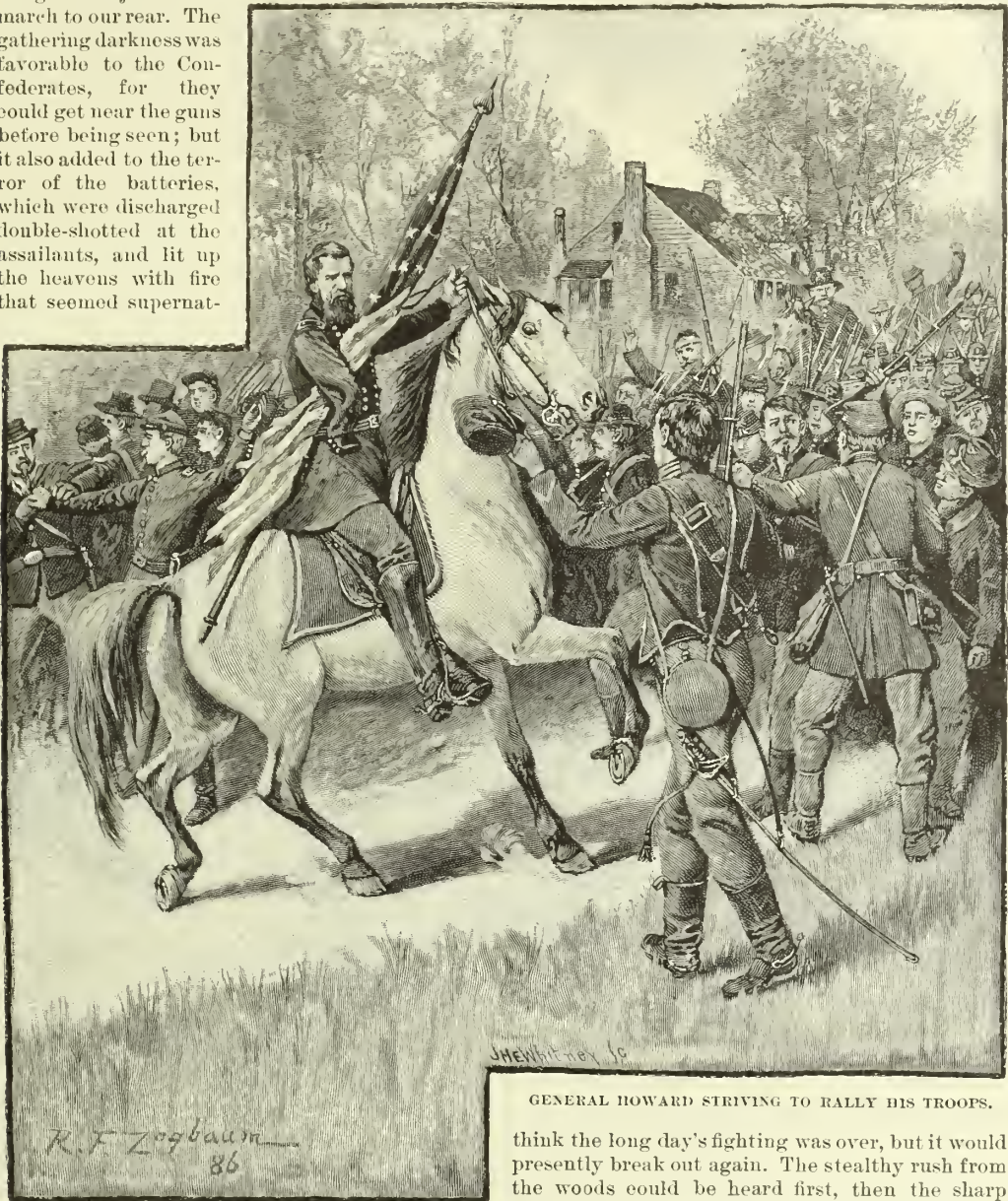
† See General Howard's description on p. 200.—EDITORS.

and my confidence and self-respect came back as I mounted him, for I was no longer a fugitive, but a soldier.

The fighting now began in earnest. The splendid divisions of Birney, Berry, and Whipple had to be met and vanquished before a farther advance could be made, and before Jackson could attain the great object of his march to our rear. The gathering darkness was favorable to the Confederates, for they could get near the guns before being seen; but it also added to the terror of the batteries, which were discharged double-shotted at the assailants, and lit up the heavens with fire that seemed supernat-

The slope was so steep that a line of battle could be formed in front of the guns and a double skirmish line in front of that.

Our regiment now moved up to the guns, enabling us to see better the slopes and the woods when lit up by the flashes. Sometimes darkness and stillness would reign for a few minutes, and we would



GENERAL HOWARD STRIVING TO RALLY HIS TROOPS.

ural. The dusky lines fell back into the woods in disorganized masses as often as they advanced, and the cheers of our troops rang out at each retreat. From the boldness and the frequency of the Confederate charges it was found necessary to move the infantry in front of the guns, lest the enemy should seize them before being discovered.

think the long day's fighting was over, but it would presently break out again. The stealthy rush from the woods could be heard first, then the sharp crack of the skirmisher's rifle, then a yell and a louder rushing of their lines met by the loud roll of the line of battle's fire. As the cheer of our men announced that the enemy's line was again in retreat, the blaze of forty or fifty cannons from the right to the left would light up the scene and carry death over the heads of our men into the woods beyond.

At last Jackson's men paused, for they had been marching and fighting since morning, and human nature could endure no more. But they were not allowed to hold the ground they had won; an advance was now ordered on our side, and it was made with a vigor that avenged the discomfiture of our comrades. Though it was now midnight the woods were lit up with the flame of the musketry as the combatants came face to face among the trees, and the battle began anew. The artillery pushed on their guns by hand a hundred

yards behind the infantry line, and shook the woods in their depths, as they had the hills to their foundations. At last, at 2 o'clock in the morning, we were told to sleep on our arms. But who could sleep while counting the dead of our commands? Comrades were gone; file-leaders and file-closers were gone; officers of every grade had perished. Stonewall Jackson himself had gone down in his greatest charge; and his men never again fought as on that day, nor came down on our flank with such fury.

THE CHARGE OF THE EIGHTH PENNSYLVANIA CAVALRY. ‡

I. BY PENNOCK HUEY, BREVET BRIGADIER-GENERAL, U. S. V.

JUST as we reached Hazel Grove, at Scott's Run Crossing, at half-past 6 o'clock P. M., May 2d, a staff-officer rode up in a state of great excitement and reported to General Sickles that the enemy had flanked General Howard's corps, and that he had been sent for a regiment of General Pleasonton's cavalry. General Sickles immediately ordered General Pleasonton to send a regiment. General Pleasonton then ordered me to report with my regiment as quickly as possible to General Howard, whom I would probably find near the old Wilderness church. There were no other orders given to me or to any officer of my regiment. †

I found the regiment, standing to horse, on the opposite or north side of Hazel Grove, near the road. The wood in front was so thick with underbrush that a bird could scarcely fly through it; much less could a cavalry charge have been made. On inquiring for the adjutant of the regiment, and on being informed by some of the men where he was, I rode to the point designated and found Major Peter Keenan, Captain William A. Dailey, Adjutant J. Haseltine Haddock, and Lieutenant Andrew B. Wells playing cards under a tree. When I ordered them to mount their commands they were all in high spirits about the game, Keenan remarking: "Major, you have spoiled a good game!"

After mounting the regiment I rode off at its head in my proper place, followed by four other officers, all of whom belonged in front except Lieutenant Carpenter, who commanded the second company of the first squadron, and might properly have been in the rear of the first company, where he undoubtedly would have been had I supposed there was danger ahead. The officers in front were: Major Pennock Huey, commander of the regiment; Major Peter Keenan, commander of the first battalion; Captain Charles Arrowsmith, commander of the first squadron; Lieutenant J. Edward Carpenter, commander of the second company; and Adjutant J. Haseltine Haddock, whose place was with me unless otherwise ordered. We rode through the wood toward the Plank road; there was no unusual stir or excitement among the men or offi-

cers of the regiment, the impression being that the enemy were retreating, and all who had not heard of General Howard's disaster felt happy with the thought that the battle was almost over. No one in the regiment, with the exception of myself, knew where we were going or for what purpose.

From the information I had received from General Pleasonton, and from hearing the aide make his report before I started, I had no idea that we would meet the enemy till after I had reported to General Howard. Therefore the surprise was as great to us as to the enemy, as we were entirely unprepared, our sabers being in their scabbards. When we arrived almost at the Plank road, we discovered that we had ridden right into the enemy, the Plank road in our front being occupied by them in great force, and that we were completely surrounded, the woods at that point being filled with flankers of Jackson's column, who were thoroughly hidden from our view by the thick undergrowth. It was here that I gave the command to "draw sabers and charge," which order was repeated by Major Keenan and other officers. The charge was led by the five officers already named, who were riding at the head of the regiment when we left Hazel Grove. On reaching the Plank road it appeared to be packed about as closely with the enemy as it possibly could be.

We turned to the left, facing the Confederate column, the regiment crowding on, both men and horses in a perfect frenzy of excitement, which nothing but death could stop. We cut our way through, trampling down all who could not escape us, and using our sabers on all within reach, for a distance of about 100 yards, when we received a volley from the enemy, which killed Major Keenan, Captain Arrowsmith, and Adjutant Haddock, three of the noblest and most gallant officers of the war, besides a large number of men. All three of the above-named officers fell at the same time and from the same volley, Major Keenan falling against me and lighting on the ground under my horse. A few days afterward his body was found near the spot where he had fallen.

‡ Extracted by permission and condensed from "A True History of the Charge of the 8th Pennsylvania Cavalry at Chancellorsville," by Pennock Huey, Philadelphia, 1885.—EDITORS.

† General Huey was at this time Major (afterward Colonel) of the 8th Pennsylvania cavalry, and was the senior officer present with it. [See also p. 187.]—EDITORS.

II. BY J. EDWARD CARPENTER, MAJOR, 8TH PENNSYLVANIA CAVALRY. ^h

THERE was no confusion at Hazel Grove when the regiment received its orders and left that place. No enemy was in sight. Indeed, until after the 8th Pennsylvania had left the place there was not the slightest evidence that the enemy was in the immediate neighborhood, excepting, perhaps, that the musketry-firing seemed to be drawing nearer. The charge of the regiment was made on the Plank road, about three-quarters of a mile from where Pleasonton was at Hazel Grove, and was first ordered by the commanding officer of the regiment at the moment when the emergency arose.

The writer of this, although himself a participator in the charge, was unable to recognize General Pleasonton's description of it and the surrounding scenes attending it. [See p. 179.] A letter from the writer to a member of his family, written three days after the charge, is now before him. From this letter the following is extracted:

"We lost, however, I regret to say, three gallant officers, Major Keenan, Captain Arrowsmith and Adjutant Haddock. Major Huey and . . . were the only ones who came out from the head of the column. All the rest were killed, wounded, or prisoners."

III. BY ANDREW B. WELLS, CAPTAIN, CO. F, 8TH PENNSYLVANIA CAVALRY. ^h

OUR regiment, on the second day of May, 1863, was awaiting orders in a clearing of wooded country called Hazel Grove. We had been there some little time. Everything was quiet on the front. The men were gathered in groups, chatting and smoking, and the officers were occupied in much the same manner, wondering what would turn up next.

About 4 o'clock I suggested a game of draw poker. An empty cracker-box, with a blanket thrown over it, served as a card-table. The party playing, if I mistake not, was composed of Major Keenan, Adjutant Haddock, Captain Goddard, Captain W. A. Daily, and myself. We had been playing about two hours—the game was a big one and we were all absorbed in it—when, about 6 P. M., it was brought to an abrupt end by the appearance of a mounted officer. Riding up to where we were playing, he asked in an excited manner: "Who is in command of this regiment?" Major Keenan, who was seated beside me, turned his head and said, in a joking way: "I am; what's the trouble?" Our visitor replied: "General Howard wants a cavalry regiment." And before we had time to ask further questions he was off, and the next moment we were all on our feet, and our game was ended. I remember it perfectly well, for I was out of pocket on the play. ^h The regiment was mounted, I mounting at the same time and alongside of Major Keenan. We then moved out of Hazel Grove by twos. Keenan, Haddock, Arrowsmith, Huey, and Carpenter moved

When this letter was written on the 5th of May, 1863, there was no thought of controversy. It was intended only for the eye of the person to whom it was written, with no idea that it would be preserved.

General Pleasonton's report of the operations of his command at Chancellorsville, dated May 18th, 1863, makes no mention of Keenan, but commends Huey as the commander of the regiment and indorses his report. In Major Huey's report of the operations of the 8th Pennsylvania cavalry, dated May 9th, 1863, he states that he was ordered to report, with his command, to General Howard, and no mention is made of any order from General Pleasonton to charge. This report was before Pleasonton when his own report was made, and no exception was ever taken to it. In Colonel Thomas C. Devin's report of the 2d brigade, dated May 12th, 1863, he states that the 8th Pennsylvania cavalry was sent to the support of General Howard, and Major Huey is complimented as the commander of the regiment. No mention is made of an order to Keenan to charge, and Keenan is only referred to as having gallantly fallen.

out with the first squadron. I remember distinctly seeing that group of officers, and did not see General Pleasonton at the time.

I was under the impression, and believe that the other officers also were, that we were on our road to report to General Howard. Anyhow, I fell in with the second squadron, Captain William A. Corrie being in command, and he and I rode together at the head of it. When we passed out of the clearing there were no officers or men on our flank, all was in order ahead, and the command was moving at a walk. The command entered the woods and was still moving on a walk, when, at the distance of about one mile from where we had mounted, Captain Corrie and myself saw the first squadron take the trot, leaving a space between us of about twenty-five yards. At the same time we heard the command, "Draw sabers," and saw the first squadron draw them. We then heard the musketry-firing. It was given in continuous but distant volleys.

We of the second squadron knew that our time was at hand, and Captain Corrie gave the order to draw sabers and charge. Taking a trot, we found that the road took a bend as we proceeded. When we turned the corner of the wood-road a sight met our eyes that it is impossible for me to describe. After charging over the dead men and horses of the first squadron we charged into Jackson's column, and, as luck would have it, found them with empty guns—thanks to our poor comrades ahead.

^h Taken by permission from the "Philadelphia Weekly Press," October 13th, 1886, and condensed.—EDITORS.
^h Captain Wells has elsewhere said that at 6:20 by his watch, Major Huey rode up and gave the order to mount.—EDITORS.

The enemy were as thick as bees, and we appeared to be among thousands of them in an instant.

After we reached the Plank road we were in columns of fours and on the dead run, and when we struck the enemy there occurred a "jam" of living and dead men, friends and enemies, and horses, and the weight of the rear of our squadron broke us into utter confusion, so that at the moment every man was for himself.

The third squadron, which Captain P. L. Goddard commanded, was in our rear, and came thundering along after us, but as to the balance of the regiment I do not know how they came in or got out.

The enemy were as much surprised as we were, and thought, no doubt, as they now say, that the whole cavalry corps of the Army of the Potomac was charging them. I distinctly remember hearing a number of them call out, "I surrender, I surrender." We did not stop to take any prisoners for fear of being captured ourselves,—I had been

caught once and was just out of Libby prison and did not want to be captured again,—but made for our lines as best we could.

The whole affair was accidental. We were on our way to report to General Howard, some three miles from where we were encamped, and the country that General Howard's staff-officer had just passed over in quest of the cavalry had in the meantime been crossed by Stonewall Jackson's troops, and in following the same track we naturally ran into them. The officers who were at the head of our column, seeing the situation, had only an instant to determine what was to be done. We could not turn around and get out in the face of the enemy, and the only thing left for us was to go through them, "sink or swim."

Can any man who was a soldier for one moment imagine an officer deliberately planning a charge by a regiment of cavalry, strung out by twos in a column half a mile long in a thick wood?

THE ARTILLERY AT HAZEL GROVE. ☆

BY JAMES F. HUNTINGTON, CAPTAIN, BATTERY H, 1ST OHIO ARTILLERY.

WHEN Jackson's advance struck the Eleventh Corps, four batteries had been for some time waiting orders in the extensive clearing known as Hazel Grove. Of these, "H," 1st Ohio Light Artillery, and the 10th and 11th New York Independent Batteries belonged to Whipple's division of the Third Corps. They were left there when that division passed through *en route* to join the force operating under General Sickles near the Furnace. Later, Martin's horse battery, with Devin's cavalry brigade, arrived and took ground on the opposite or south side of the field. When the sound of battle indicated that the enemy were driving in the right of the army, and were approaching Hazel Grove, the batteries of Whipple's division were brought into position under my direction, as acting chief of artillery. Although the movement was delayed by causes beyond my control until its execution had become exceedingly difficult, our eighteen guns were established in battery, ready to open before the enemy fired a shot or were in a position to do so. General Pleasonton seems to be unaware of that fact, or he would hardly have failed to allude to it. It is,

☆ In reply to statements contained in General Pleasonton's paper, p. 179.—EDITORS.

† General Sickles says in his official report: "I confided to Pleasonton the direction of the artillery—three batteries of my reserve—Clark's, Lewis's [10th New York, of Huntington's command] and Turnbull's, and his own horse-battery. . . . The fugitives of the Eleventh Corps swarmed from the woods and swept frantically over the cleared fields in which my artillery was parked. . . . The enemy showing himself on the plain, Pleasonton met the attack at short range with the well-directed fire of twenty-two pieces double-shotted with canister." According to this one of Huntington's three

therefore, fair to presume that his attention was engrossed by the supervision of Martin's battery, as detailed in his paper. General Sickles, on his arrival, soon after the firing ceased, sent for me and warmly expressed his approbation of the manner in which my command had held the ground.†

Nothing on wheels from the Eleventh Corps passed through Hazel Grove. The vehicles that stampeded through my lines while in process of formation were forges, battery-wagons, ambulances, etc., belonging to the Third Corps, left in the cross-road leading to the Plank road, when that corps went out to the Furnace to attack Jackson's column. So whatever else may have formed the components of the remarkable *tumulus* described by General Pleasonton, it certainly did not contain the debris of the Eleventh Corps. As for the *tumulus* itself, it escaped my observation when I crossed the bog he refers to on Sunday morning with my battery, or what there was left of it, at the pressing solicitation of Archer's Confederate brigade.

Boston, October 14th, 1886.

batteries (Lewis's 10th New York) was placed under Pleasonton's control. Probably this battery, with Turnbull's, Clark's, and Martin's, made up the twenty-two guns mentioned by both Sickles and Pleasonton. General Hunt, the chief of artillery of the army, says: "When the Eleventh Corps was broken up and routed on the 2d, . . . General Pleasonton collected some batteries belonging to different corps (Martin's Horse Artillery, 6th New York, six 3-inch guns, Clark's B, 1st New Jersey, six 10-pounders; Lewis's 10th New York, six light 12-pounders; Turnbull's F and K, 3d U. S., six 12-pounders), and with them formed a large battery of twenty-four guns."—EDITORS.



RACE ON THE PLANK ROAD FOR RIGHT OF WAY, BETWEEN THE NINTH MASSACHUSETTS BATTERY AND A BAGGAGE TRAIN.

THE ELEVENTH CORPS AT CHANCELLORSVILLE.

BY OLIVER O. HOWARD, MAJOR-GENERAL, U. S. A.

THE country around Chancellorsville for the most part is a wilderness, with but here and there an opening. If we consult the recent maps (no good ones existed before the battle), we notice that the two famous rivers, the Rapidan and the Rappahannock, join at a point due north of Chancellorsville; thence the Rappahannock runs easterly for two miles, till suddenly at the United States Ford it turns and flows south for a mile and a half, and then, turning again, completes a horse-shoe bend. Here, on the south shore, was General Hooker's battle-line on the morning of the 2d of May, 1863. Here his five army corps, those of Meade, Slocum, Couch, Sickles, and Howard, were deployed. The face was toward the south, and the ranks mainly occupied a ridge nearly parallel with the Rapidan. The left touched the high ground just west of the horse-shoe bend, while the bristling front, fringed with skirmishers, ran along the Mineral Spring road, bent forward to take in the cross-roads of Chancellorsville, and then, stretching on westerly through lower levels, retired to Dowdall's Tavern. Just beyond Dowdall's was a slight backward hook in the line, partially encircling Talley's Hill, a sunny spot in the forest between the Orange Plank road and the pike. This pike is an old roadway which skirts the northern edge of Talley's farm, and makes an angle of some forty degrees with the Orange Plank road.

At dawn of that eventful day General Hooker was at Chancellorsville. Slocum and Hancock were just in his front, infantry and artillery deployed to the right and left. French's division was in his rear. Meade occupied the extreme left, and my corps, the Eleventh, the right. Sickles connected me with Slocum. Our lines covered between five and six miles of frontage, and Hooker was near the middle point. The main body of our cavalry, under Stoneman, had gone off on a raid upon Lee's communications, and the remainder of the Army of the Potomac was under the sturdy Sedgwick, beyond Fredericksburg.

Our opponents, under General Robert E. Lee, the evening before, were about two miles distant toward Fredericksburg, and thus between us and Sedgwick. Lee had immediately with him the divisions of McLaws, Anderson, Rodes, Colston, and A. P. Hill, besides some cavalry under Stuart. He



THE OLD CHANCELLOR HOUSE, BURNED DURING THE BATTLE. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

held, for his line of battle, a comparatively short front between the Rappahannock and the Catherine Furnace, not exceeding two miles and a half in extent. His right wing, not far from the river, was behind Mott's Run, which flows due east, and his left was deployed along the Catherine Furnace road.

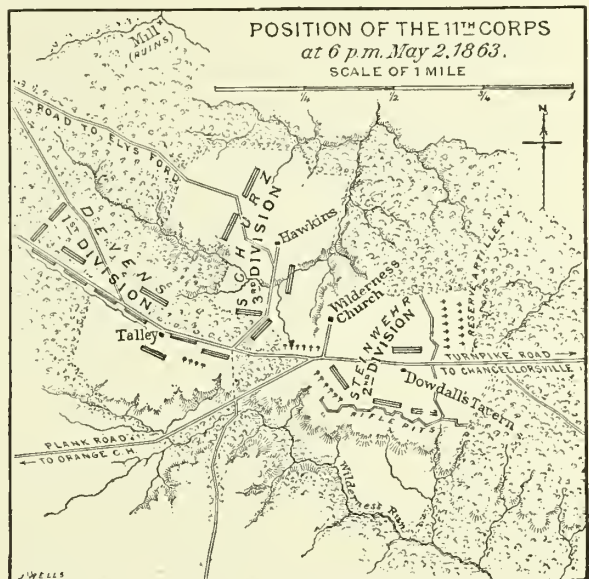
Could Hooker, on the first day of May, have known Lee's exact location, he never could have had a better opportunity for taking the offensive. But he did not know, and after the few troops advancing toward Fredericksburg had met the approaching enemy he ordered all back to the "old position," the Chancellorsville line, which I have just described.

On the preceding Thursday, the last of April, the three corps that constituted the right wing of the army, Meade's, Slocum's, and mine, had crossed from the north to the south side of the Rapidan, and by 4 o'clock in the afternoon had reached the vicinity of Chancellorsville, where Slocum, who was the senior commander present, established his headquarters. I, approaching from Germanna Ford, halted my divisions at Dowdall's Tavern and encamped them there. Then I rode along the Plank road through the almost continuous forest to the Chancellorsville House. There I reported to Slocum. He said that the orders were for me to cover the right of the general line, posting my command near Dowdall's Tavern. He pointed to a place on the map marked "Mill" near there, on a branch of Hunting Run [see map, p. 193], and said, "Establish your right there." General Slocum promised, with the Twelfth Corps, to occupy the space between his headquarters and Dowdall's clearing; but, finding the distance too great, one of his division commanders sent me word that I must cover the last three-quarters of a mile of the Plank road.

This was done by a brigade of General Steinwehr, the commander of my left division, though with regret on our part, because it required all the corps reserves to fill up that gap.

The so-called Dowdall's Tavern was at that time the home of Melzi Chancellor. He had a large family, including several grown people. I placed my headquarters at his house. In front of me, facing south along a curving ridge, the right of Steinwehr's division was located. He had but two brigades, Barlow on the Plank road and Buschbeck on his right. With them Steinwehr covered a mile, leaving but two regiments for reserve. These he put some two hundred yards to his rear, near the little "Wilderness Church."

Next to Steinwehr, toward our right, came General Carl Schurz's division. First was Captain Dilger's battery. Dilger was one of those handsome, hearty, active young men that everybody liked to have near. His guns pointed to the south-west and west, along the Orange Plank road. Next was Krzyzanowski's brigade, about half on the front and half in reserve. Schurz's right brigade was that of Schimmelfennig, disposed in the same manner, a part deployed and the remainder kept a few hundred yards back for a reserve. Schurz's front line of infantry extended along the old turnpike and faced to the south-west. The right division of the corps was commanded by General Charles Devens,



afterward attorney-general in the cabinet of President Hayes. Devens and I together had carefully reconnoitered both the Orange Plank road and the old turnpike for at least three miles toward the west. After this reconnoissance he established his division,—the Second Brigade, under McLean, next to Schurz's first, and then pushing out on the pike for half a mile he deployed the other, Gilsa's, at right angles facing west, connecting his two parts by a thin skirmish-line. Colonel Gilsa's brigade was afterward drawn back, still facing west at right angles to the line, so as to make a more solid connection, and so that, constituting, as it did, the main right flank, the reserves of the corps could be brought more promptly to its support, by extending its right to the north, should an enemy by any possible contingency get so far around. A section of Dieckmann's battery which looked to the west along the old pike was located at the angle.

The reserve batteries, twelve guns, were put upon a ridge abreast of the little church and pointed toward the north-west, with a view to sweep all

approaches to the north of Gilsa, firing up a gradually ascending slope. This ridge, where I stood during the battle, was central, and, besides, enabled the artillerymen to enfilade either roadway, or meet an attack from south, west, or north. Here epaulments for the batteries were constructed, and cross-



DOWDALL'S TAVERN, HOWARD'S HEADQUARTERS.
FROM A WAR-TIME PHOTOGRAPH.

intrenchments for the battery supports were dug, extending from the little church across all the open ground that stretched away from the tavern to the right of Devens's line.

To my great comfort, General Sickles's corps came up on Friday, May 1st, and took from our left Steinwehr's three-quarters of a mile of the Plank road. Thus he relieved from the front line Barlow's large brigade, giving me, besides the several division reserves, General Barlow with 1500 men as a general reserve for the corps. These were massed near the cross-intrench-

ments, and held avowedly to support the batteries and protect General Devens's exposed right flank.

As to pickets, each division had a good line of them. My aide, Major Charles H. Howard, assisted in connecting them between divisions, and during the 2d of May that fearless and faithful staff-officer, Major E. Whittlesey, rode the entire circuit of their front to stimulate them to special activity. Those of Devens were "thrown out at a distance from a half-mile to a mile and stretching well around covering our right flank";[‡] and the picket-posts in front on the pike were over two miles beyond the main line.

The nature of the country in the neighborhood of the three adjoining farms, Dowdall's, Talley's, and Hawkins's, became well known to the Army of the Potomac in subsequent experiences, never to be forgotten. It is the terrible "Wilderness" where, later in the war, so many brave men fell. Here were stunted trees, such as scraggy oaks, bushy firs, cedars, and junipers, all entangled with a thick, almost impenetrable undergrowth, and criss-crossed with an abundance of wild vines. In places all along the south-west and west front the forest appeared impassable, and the skirmishers could only work their way through with extreme difficulty.

To the officers of the Eleventh Corps the position was never a desirable one. It presented a *flank in the air*. We were more than four miles south from Ely's ford, where were Hooker's nearest cavalry flankers. In his report after the battle, General Schurz says:



DOWDALL'S TAVERN IN 1884.

[‡] See General Devens's report of Chancellorsville ("Official Records," Vol. XXV., Part I., p. 632).—O. O. H.



THE WILDERNESS CHURCH (IN THE LEFT MIDDLE-GROUND) AND HAWKINS'S FARM (ON THE RIGHT)
AS SEEN FROM THE PLANK ROAD IN FRONT OF DOWDALL'S TAVERN.

"Our right ought to have been drawn back toward the Rapidan, to rest on that river at or near the mouth of Hunting Run, the corps abandoning so much of the Plank road as to enable it to establish a solid line." Yes; but we were ordered to Dowdall's Tavern, and not to the Rapidan, three or four miles in our rear! And our right was fixed for us at the "Mill." It is true the mill no longer existed, but the point required was not doubted. Again, this position, which Schurz recommended in his report subsequent to our battle, was the very one into which Hooker's whole army was forced two days afterward. He was so cramped by it that he did not dare to take the offensive. In that position, "solid" and fortified as it was, our army, outnumbering Lee's, was so badly handled by the enemy that Hooker at last deemed it safer to return to the north side of the Rappahannock.

The strength of Hooker's five corps, and Reynolds's, which was not far behind, was, on the morning of the 2d of May, about 90,000 effectives. The right corps, the Eleventh, had in all, artillery and infantry, twelve thousand men. Lee faced us with five large divisions, having on the spot about 40,000 rifles, with considerable artillery.

In my youth my brother and I had a favorite spot in an upper field of my father's farm from which we were accustomed, after the first symptoms of a coming storm, to watch the operations of the contending winds; the sudden

gusts and whirlwinds; the sideling swallows excitedly seeking shelter; the swift and swifter, black and blacker clouds, ever rising higher and pushing their angry fronts toward us. As we listened we heard the low rumbling from afar; as the storm came nearer the woods bent forward and shook fiercely their thick branches; the lightning zigzagged in flashes, and the deep-bassed thunder echoed more loudly, till there was scarcely an interval between its ominous crashing discharges. In some such manner came on that battle of May 2d to the watchers at Dowdall's Tavern and Talley's farm-house.

The first distant symptom occurred on the evening of May 1st. Then was heard the sudden crack of rifle-shooting. It began with Steinwehr's skirmishers, and then passed on to Schurz. Schimmelfennig pushed out a brigade straightforward toward the south-west and received a sudden fire of artillery from the intruders. They left him and pushed on.

It was "a rolling reconnoissance," evidently to determine, for Lee's and Jackson's information, the position of our flank. They probably had, however, some more certain knowledge, gained from one or two of the enterprising residents let loose during that Friday by our general forward movement. We forgot these friends to Lee as we excitedly marched to Friday's battle. When we unexpectedly came back, some of these residents, with little baskets of provisions in hand, were gone beyond recall. I suspect that the commander of the "rolling reconnoissance" and the said residents formed part of the famous night conference of Lee and Jackson, where cracker-boxes served as seats and tables. General Lee says: "It was therefore resolved to endeavor to turn his right flank and gain his rear, leaving a force in front to hold him in check and conceal the movement. The execution of this plan was intrusted to Lieutenant-General Jackson with his three divisions."

Jackson's movement, with a stronger indication of battle, began at sunrise, Rodes, Colston, and A. P. Hill, in the order named, following the old road by the Catherine Furnace, there shoving off farther south to get beyond the sight of our men; then sweeping around by a private road, well known to them, up to the Orange Plank road; and thence on, perhaps a mile farther, through the wild forest till the old turnpike was found and crossed. The Catherine Furnace, nearly opposite Sickles's right and two and a half miles distant, gave an open reach and fully exposed the moving column to view. Except at that point the Confederates were covered by woods and by Stuart's busy and noisy cavahry.



THE WILDERNESS CHURCH. FROM A WAR-TIME PHOTOGRAPH. SEE PREVIOUS PAGE.



THE CONFEDERATES CHARGING HOWARD'S BREASTWORKS.

About sunrise at Dowdall's I heard cheering. It was a hearty sound, with too much bass in it for that of the enemy's charge. It was occasioned by General Hooker, with Colonel Comstock and a few staff-officers, riding along slowly and inspecting the lines. General Sickles says of this: "It is impossible to pass over without mention the irrepressible enthusiasm of the troops for Major-General Hooker, which was evinced in hearty and prolonged cheers as he rode along the lines of the Third, Eleventh, and Twelfth corps."

I was ready, mounted, and with my officers joined the ever-increasing cavalcade. Hooker observed the troops in position; Barlow, who filled the cross-trenches an hour later, had not yet come out of the front line, so that my reserves just at that time were small. Hooker noticed the breastworks, unusually well built by Schurz and Devens. He passed to the extreme right, and then returned by the shortest route. As he looked over the barricades, while receiving the salutes and cheers of the men, he said to me, "How strong! How strong!"

I still had much extension, so that there were gaps along Schurz's and Devens's fronts. Colonel Comstock spoke to me in his quiet way: "General, do close in those spaces!"

I said, "The woods are thick and entangled; will anybody come through there?"

"Oh, they may!"

His suggestion was heeded. During the forenoon General Sickles discovered Jackson's moving column. It was passing toward Orange Court House, so everybody said. Sickles forwarded all reports to General Hooker, who now returned to Chancellorsville. He tried to divine Jackson's purpose.

About midday Sickles received General Hooker's orders to advance south cautiously. Soon after, perhaps by 2 p. m., there was a stronger apprehension

of a conflict, for there was a sharp skirmish in the direction of Catherine Furnace. The rattle of musketry followed; then in a little time was heard the booming of cannon. I sent the news to every division and said, "Be ready."‡ Slocum went forward to the aid of Sickles, and Hancock was behind him with support. Next, the enemy was reported to be in full retreat. General Hooker so telegraphed to Sedgwick; Captain Moore, of his staff, who had gone out with Birney to see the attack upon Jackson, came hurriedly to me with an order from General Hooker for my reserve brigade, Barlow's. Major Howard rode rapidly to Sickles, that he might point out exactly where to locate the brigade. The major was also to ascertain the nearest route, so as to save time and not weary the men by a circuitous march.

It was already past 4. There was much excitement among the groups of officers at the different points of observation. We who were at Dowdall's had been watching the enemy's cavalry, which kept pushing through the woods just far enough to receive a fire, and then withdrawing. Devens and his brigade and regimental commanders gathered, in various ways, all the information possible, while from a high point they obtained glimpses of a moving column crossing the Plank road and apparently making off. I sent out scouts, who returned with reports that the enemy was not more than three or four miles off, and in motion. Schurz was anxious and, with my approval, moved a part of his reserves to the north of Hawkins's farm into good position to cover Devens's flank. Devens held at least two regiments well in hand, for the same purpose, and Steinwehr's whole division I knew could just face about and defend the same point. A few companies of cavalry came from Pleasonton. I sent them out. "Go out beyond my right; go far, and let me know if an assault is coming." All my staff, Asmussen, Meysenberg, Whittlesey, C. H. Howard, Schofield, Dessauer, Stinson, Schirmer, and Hoffmann, were keenly on the alert. We had not a very good position, it is true, but we did expect to make a good strong fight should the enemy come.

General Hooker's circular order to "Slocum and Howard" neither reached me, nor, to my knowledge, Colonel Meysenberg, my adjutant-general.↓ From some confused notion it was issued to "Slocum and Howard," when Slocum was no longer within two miles of me, and had not been in command of my corps after Hooker's arrival at Chancellorsville. Slocum, naturally supposing that I had a copy, would not think of forwarding a joint order to me after that, and certainly no such order came to me. But Generals Devens, Schurz, and Steinwehr, my division commanders, and myself did precisely what we should have done had that order come. The three reserve batteries were put in position, and the infantry reserves were held well in hand for the possible emergency. My aide had now returned from Sickles, near the Furnace,

‡ Devens states in his official report that at intervals between 11 A. M. and 6:30 P. M. he reported to corps headquarters that the enemy in force was threatening his front and his right flank.—EDITORS.

↓ See pp. 219 and 220. The original dispatch is not on file in the War Records Office, but a copy of it exists in Hooker's "Letters Sent" book and

in one of the two "Letters Received" books of Howard's headquarters. The entry in Howard's book appears to have been made in the latter part of June. In Hooker's book a notation in red ink reads, "Copy furnished General Howard"; and the inference is that it was this "copy" that was entered in Howard's book in June.—EDITORS.

and reported in substance that he (Sickles) was glad to receive the help; that he was about to make a grand attack, having been for some time driving the enemy, and expected soon a brilliant result; that he desired to place my reinforcement upon his right flank in the forward movement.

Such was the state of things when, through Captain Moore, General Hooker directed to Sickles's attack, at the Furnace, all of my general infantry reserves, consisting of Barlow's staunch brigade. Steinwehr and I, with Major Howard as guide, went far enough southward to see what was to be done with our men, and to see if Steinwehr's division, as was probable, must swing in to the left in support of Sickles's promised attack. There was no real battle there, so we returned rapidly to our post at the tavern and dismounted.

Meanwhile the Confederate General Rodes had been reaching his place in the Wilderness. At 4 p. m. his men were in position; the line of battle of his own brigade touched the pike west of us with its right and stretched away to the north; beyond his brigade came Iverson's in the same line. On the right of the pike was Doles's brigade, and to his right Colquitt's. One hundred yards to the rear was Trimble's division (Col-



MAJOR-GENERAL CARL SCHURZ. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

ston commanding), with Ramseur on the right following Colquitt. After another interval followed the division of A. P. Hill. The advance Confederate division had more men in it than there were in the Eleventh Corps, now in position. Counting the ranks of this formidable column, beginning with the enveloping skirmish line, we find 7, besides the 3 ranks of file-closers. Many of them were brought into a solid mass by the entanglements of the forest, and gave our men the idea that battalions were formed in close columns doubled on the center. With as little noise as possible, a little after 5 p. m., the steady advance of the enemy began. Its first lively effects, like a cloud of dust driven before a coming shower, appeared in the startled rabbits, squirrels, quail, and other game flying wildly hither and thither in evident terror, and escaping, where possible, into adjacent clearings.

The foremost men of Doles's brigade took about half an hour to strike our advance picket on the pike. This picket, of course, created no delay. Fifteen minutes later he reached our skirmishers, who seem to have resisted effectively for a few minutes, for it required a main line to dislodge them. Doles says, concerning the next check he received, "After a resistance of about ten minutes we drove him [Devens] from his position on the left and carried his battery of two guns, caissons, and horses."

This was the fire that Steinwehr and I heard shortly after our return from Barlow. Somebody's guns thundered away for a few short minutes, and then came the fitful rattle of musketry; and before I could again get into the saddle there arose the ceaseless roar of the terrible storm.

I sent out my chief-of-staff, Colonel Asmussen, who was the first officer to mount,—“The firing is in front of Devens, go and see if all is in order on the extreme right.” He instantly turned and galloped away. I mounted and set off for a prominent place in rear of Schurz's line, so as to change front to the north-west of every brigade south-east of the point of attack, if the attack should extend beyond Devens's right flank; for it was divined at once that the enemy was now west of him. I could see numbers of our men—not the few stragglers that always fly like chaff at the first breeze, but scores of them—rushing into the opening, some with arms and some without, running or falling before they got behind the cover of Devens's reserves, and before General Schurz's waiting masses could deploy or charge. The noise and the smoke filled the air with excitement, and to add to it Dieckmann's guns and caissons, with battery men scattered, rolled and tumbled like runaway wagons and carts in a thronged city. The guns and the masses of the right brigade struck the second line of Devens before McLean's front had given way; and, more quickly than it could be told, with all the fury of the wildest hail-storm, everything, every sort of organization that lay in the path of the mad current of panic-stricken men, had to give way and be broken into fragments.

My own horse seemed to catch the fury; he sprang—he rose high on his hind legs and fell over, throwing me to the ground. My aide-de-camp, Des-sauer, was struck by a shot and killed, and for a few moments I was as helpless as any of the men who were speeding without arms to the rear. But faithful orderlies helped me to remount. Schurz was still doing all he could to face regiments about and send them to Devens's northern flank to help the few who still held firm. Devens, already badly wounded, and several officers were doing similar work. I rode quickly to the reserve batteries. A staff-officer of General Hooker, Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Dickinson, Assistant Adjutant-General, joined me there; my own staff gathered around me. I was eager to fill the trenches that Barlow would have held. Buschbeck's second line was ordered to change front there. His men kept their ranks, but at first they appeared slow. Would they never get there!

Dickinson said, “Oh, General, see those men coming from that hill way off to the right, and there's the enemy after them. Fire, oh, fire at them; you may stop the flight!”

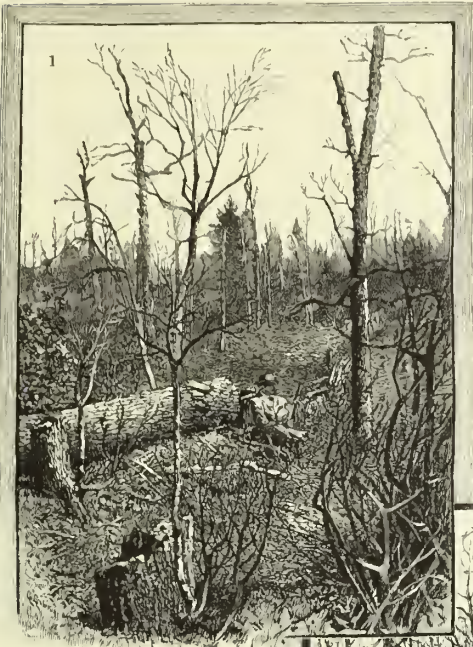
“No, Colonel,” I said, “I will never fire on my own men!”

† Colonel von Gilsa's report of the crisis is as follows:

“ . . . A patrol of the 45th New York regiment reported masses of the enemy in an open field opposite my line. I reported this fact at once to the division commander, and at the same moment my skirmishers were driven in by overwhelming forces of the enemy. The whole line at once became engaged furiously, and my brigade stood bravely, fired three times, and stood still until after they had outflanked me on my right.

“The enemy attacked now from the front and rear, and then of course my brave boys were obliged to fall back, the 54th New York and the right wing of the 153d Pennsylvania forcing their way back through the enemy's skirmishers in their rear. . . . Retreating I expected surely to rally my brigade behind our second line, formed by the Third Division, but I did not find the second line; it was abandoned before we reached it.”

Von Gilsa's brigade lost 133 killed and wounded out of an effective of 1400 men.—EDITORS.



1. UNION BREASTWORKS IN THE WOODS BETWEEN DOWDALL'S TAVERN AND CHANCELLORSVILLE.

2. RELICS OF THE DEAD IN THE WOODS NEAR THE PLANK ROAD.

3. THE PLANK ROAD NEAR WHERE JACKSON FELL.

FROM PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN IN 1864.

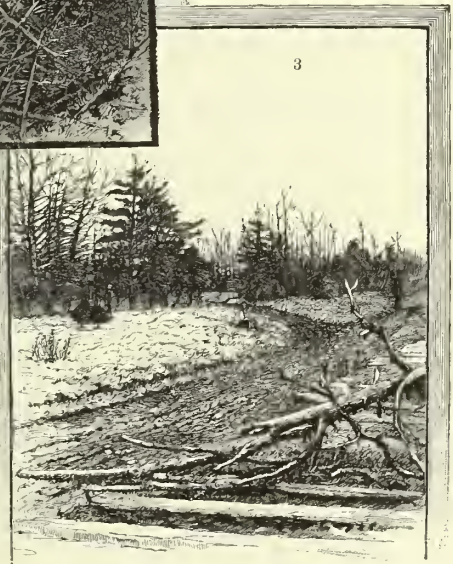
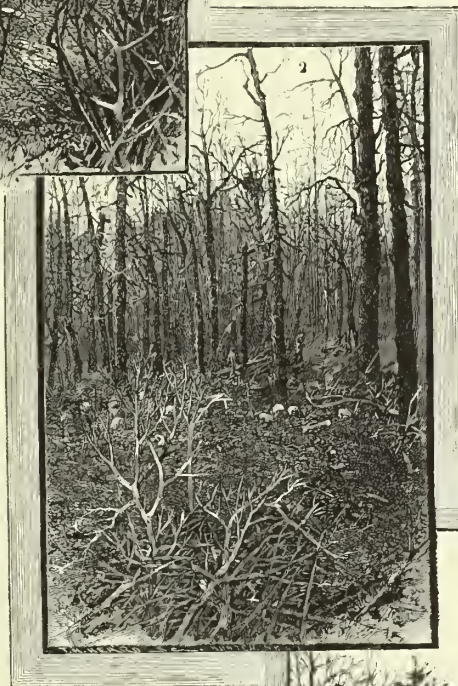
the reserve artillery fairly. Dilger, the battery commander on Schurz's left, rolled the balls along the Plank road and shelled the wood.

General Steinwehr was on hand, cool, collected, and judicious. Like Blair at Atlanta, he had made his men (who were south of Dowdall's) spring to the reverse side of their intrenchments and be ready to fire the instant it was possible.

Let us pause here a moment and follow Doles, who led the enemy's attack. He states that, after his first success-

As soon as our men were near enough the batteries opened, firing at first shells and then canister over their heads. As the attacking force emerged from the forest and rushed on, the men in front would halt and fire, and, while these were reloading, another set would run before them, halt and fire, in no regular line, but in such multitudes that our men went down before them like trees in a hurricane.

By extraordinary effort we had filled all our long line of cross-intrenchments, mainly with fragments of organizations and individual soldiers. Many officers running away stopped there and did what they could, but others shouted, "We've done all we can," and ran on. \ Schirmer managed



\ General Schurz states in his report that the masses which were rallied here were reorganized and led forward two or three times, but were dispersed by the enemy's flank fire.—EDITORS.

ful charge, "the command moved forward at the double-quick to assault the enemy, who had taken up a strong position on the crest of a hill in the open field." This position was the one on Hawkins's farm where Devens's and Schurz's reserves began their fight. But wave after wave of Confederate infantry came upon them, and even their left flank was unprotected the instant the runaways had passed it. To our sorrow, we, who had eagerly observed their bravery, saw these reserves also give way, and the hill and crest on Hawkins's farm were quickly in the hands of the men in gray. ☆

Doles, who must have been a cool man to see so clearly amid the screeching shells and all the hot excitement of battle, says again: "He" (meaning our forces from Schimmelfennig's and Buschbeck's brigades, and perhaps part of McLean's, who had faced about and had not yet given way) "made a stubborn resistance from behind a wattling fence on a hill covered thickly with pines."

Among the stubborn fighters at this place was Major Jeremiah Williams. The enemy was drawing near him. His men fired with coolness and deliberation. His right rested among scrubby bushes and saplings, while his left was in comparatively open ground. The fire of the approaching enemy was murderous, and almost whole platoons of our men were falling; yet they held their ground. Williams waited, rapidly firing, till not more than thirty paces intervened, and then ordered the retreat. Out of 333 men and 16 commissioned officers in the regiment (the 25th Ohio), 130, including 5 officers, were killed or wounded. Major Williams brought a part of the living to the breastworks near me; the remainder, he says, were carried off to the rear by another regimental commander.

During the delays we had thus far caused to the first division of our enemy, all his rear lines had closed up, and the broad mass began to appear even below me on my left front to the south of Steinwehr's knoll. Then it was, after we had been fighting an hour, that Sickles's and Pleasanton's guns began to be heard, for they had faced about at Hazel Grove obliquely toward the north-west, and were hurrying artillery, cavalry, and infantry into position to do what they could against the attack now reaching them.

I had come to my last practicable stand. The Confederates were slowly advancing, firing as they came. The twelve guns of Schirmer, the corps chief of artillery, increased by a part of Dilger's battery, fired, at first with rapidity; but the battery men kept falling from death and wounds. Suddenly, as if by an order, when a sheet of the enemy's fire reached them, a large number of the men in the supporting trenches vacated their positions and went off.

No officers ever made more strenuous exertions than those that my staff and myself put forth to stem the tide of retreat and refill those trenches,

☆ In justice to the men of Devens's division who first resisted Doles it should be stated that the official report of the latter shows that his column was engaged at the outset by Union skirmishers, and "subjected to a heavy musketry fire, with grape, canister, and shell."—EDITORS.

but the panic was too great. Then our artillery fire became weaker and weaker.

I next ordered a retreat to the edge of the forest toward Chancellorsville, so as to uncover Steinwehr's knoll, the only spot yet firmly held. The batteries, except four pieces, were drawn off and hurried to the rear. The stand at the edge of the forest was necessarily a short one.

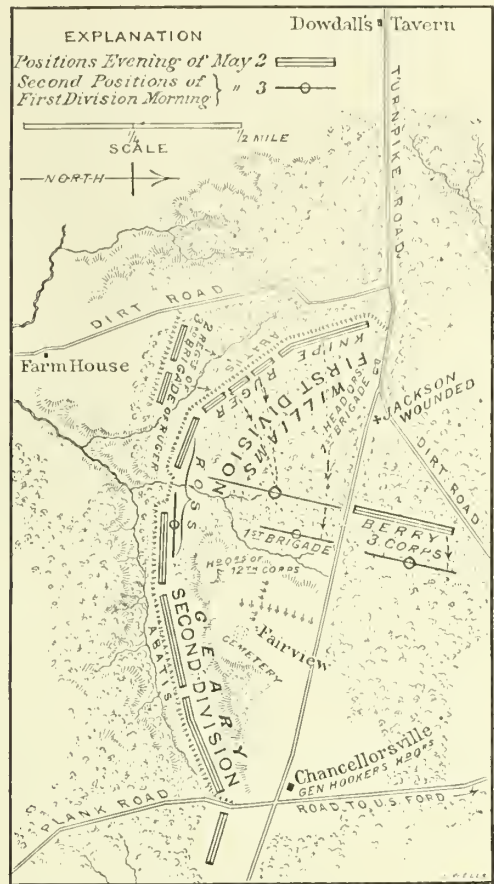
General Steinwehr, being now exposed from flank and rear, having held his place for over an hour, drew off his small remnants and all moved rapidly through openings and woods, through low ground and swamps, the two miles to the first high land south of Hooker's headquarters.

Captain Hubert Dilger with his battery sturdily kept along the Plank road, firing constantly as he retired. The Confederate masses rushed after us in the forest and along all paths and roads with triumphant shouts and redoubled firing, and so secured much plunder and many prisoners.

It was after sundown and growing dark when I met General Hiram G. Berry, commanding a division of the Third Corps, as I was ascending the high ground above named. "Well, General, where now?" he asked. "You take the right of this road and I will take the left and try to defend it," I replied.

Our batteries, with many others, were on the crest facing to the rear, and as soon as Steinwehr's troops had cleared the way these guns began a terrible cannonade and continued it into the night. They fired into the forest, now full of Confederates, all disorganized by their exciting chase, and every effort of the enemy to advance in that direction in the face of the fire was effectually barred by the artillery and supporting troops.

Stonewall Jackson fell that evening from bullet-wounds, in the forest in front of Berry's position. And here, on the forenoon of the next day, May 3d, the gallant General Berry met his death. It was here, too, that officers of the Eleventh Corps, though mortified by defeat, successfully rallied the scattered brigades and divisions, and, after shielding the batteries, went during the night to replace the men of the Fifth Corps and thereafter defend the left of the general line.



POSITIONS OF THE 12TH CORPS AND PART OF THE 3D CORPS, COVERING THE CHANCELLORSVILLE PLATEAU, MAY 2 AND 3.

Twenty-three years ago, in my report to General Hooker, I wrote the following:

"Now, as to the causes of this disaster to my corps: 1st. Though constantly threatened and apprised of the moving of the enemy, yet the woods were so dense that he was able to mass a large force, whose exact whereabouts, neither patrols, reconnoissances, nor scouts ascertained. He succeeded in forming a column opposite to and outflanking my right.

"2d. By the panic produced by the enemy's reverse fire, regiments and artillery were thrown suddenly upon those in position.

"3d. The absence of General Barlow's brigade, which I had previously located in reserve and *en échelon* with Colonel von Gilsa's, so as to cover his right flank. This was the only general reserve I had."

Stonewall Jackson was victorious. Even his enemies praise him; but, providentially for us, it was the last battle that he waged against the American Union. For, in bold planning, in energy of execution, which he had the power to diffuse, in indefatigable activity and moral ascendancy, Jackson stood head and shoulders above his confrères, and after his death General Lee could not replace him.

† General Devens's report is very explicit upon this point, and states as follows:

"Colonel von Gilsa's skirmishers were, between 3 and 4 o'clock in the afternoon, attacked by the skirmishers of the enemy with the evident intention of feeling our position. After this Colonel von Gilsa's skirmishers were pushed farther to the front, and the major-general commanding the corps again rode down the line. After

his return a company of cavalry was sent me for the purpose of making further examination of the woods, which examination, though not thoroughly made, was still sufficient to show that the enemy's cavalry were deployed along the front of my First Brigade, accompanied by some pieces of horse artillery. I directed the captain commanding the cavalry to return and report at corps headquarters."

See also note on p. 198.—EDITORS.



RESCUING THE WOUNDED ON SUNDAY, MAY 3D, FROM THE BURNING WOODS.
FROM A WAR-TIME SKETCH.

STONEWALL JACKSON'S LAST BATTLE.

BY THE REV. JAMES POWER SMITH, CAPTAIN AND ASSISTANT ADJUTANT-GENERAL, C. S. A.



STONEWALL JACKSON'S
CAP.

Major Jed. Hotchkiss, who owns the "old gray cap," writes that Jackson wore it through the Valley, Seven Days, and Second Manassas campaigns. At Frederick City, in the Antietam campaign, he bought a soft hat for his general, who, at Fredericksburg, gave him the cap as a souvenir.—EDITORS.

AT daybreak on the morning of the 29th of April, 1863, sleeping in our tents at corps headquarters, near Hamilton's Crossing, we were aroused by Major Samuel Hale, of Early's staff, with the stirring news that Federal troops were crossing the Rappahannock on pontoons under cover of a heavy fog. General Jackson had spent the night at Mr. Yerby's hospitable mansion near by, where Mrs. Jackson [his second wife] had brought her infant child for the father to see. He was at once informed of the news, and promptly issued to his division commanders orders to prepare for action. At his direction I rode a mile across the fields to army headquarters, and finding General Robert E. Lee still slumbering quietly, at the suggestion of Colonel Venable, whom I found stirring, I entered the general's tent and awoke him. Turning his feet out of his cot he sat upon its side as I gave him the tidings from the front.

Expressing no surprise, he playfully said: "Well, I thought I heard firing, and was beginning to think it was time some of you young fellows were coming to tell me what it was all about. Tell your good general that I am sure he knows what to do. I will meet him at the front very soon."

It was Sedgwick who had crossed, and, marching along the river front to impress us with his numbers, was now intrenching his line on the river road, under cover of Federal batteries on the north bank.

All day long we lay in the old lines of the action of December preceding, watching the operation of the enemy. Nor did we move through the next day, the 30th of April. During the forenoon of the 29th General Lee had been informed by General J. E. B. Stuart of the movement in force by General Hooker across the Rappahannock upon Chancellorsville; and during the night of Thursday, April 30th, General Jackson withdrew his corps, leaving Early and his division with Barksdale's brigade to hold the old lines from Hamilton's Crossing along the rear of Fredericksburg.

By the light of a brilliant moon, at midnight, that passed into an early dawn of dense mist, the troops were moved, by the Old Mine road, out of sight of the enemy, and about 11 A. M. of Friday, May 1st, they reached Anderson's position, confronting Hooker's advance from Chancellorsville, near the Tabernacle Church on the Plank road. To meet the whole Army of the Potomac, under Hooker, General Lee had of all arms about 60,000 men. General Longstreet, with part of his corps, was absent below Petersburg. General Lee had two divisions of Longstreet's corps, Anderson's, and McLaws's, and Jackson's corps, consisting of four divisions, A. P. Hill's, D. H. Hill's, commanded by Rodes, Trimble's, commanded by Colston, and Early's;



LEE AND JACKSON IN COUNCIL ON THE NIGHT OF MAY 1.

and about 170 pieces of field-artillery. The divisions of Anderson and McLaws had been sent from Fredericksburg to meet Hooker's advance from Chancellorsville; Anderson on Wednesday, and McLaws (except Barksdale's brigade, left with Early) on Thursday. At the Tabernacle Church, about four miles east of Chancellorsville, the opposing forces met and brisk skirmishing began. On Friday, Jackson, reaching Anderson's position, took command of the Confederate advance, and urged on his skirmish line under Brigadier-General Ramseur with great vigor. How the muskets rattled along a front of a mile or two, across the unfenced fields, and through the woodlands! What spirit was imparted to the line, and what cheers rolled along its length, when Jackson, and then Lee himself, appeared riding abreast of the line along the Plank road! Slowly but steadily the line advanced, until at night-fall all Federal pickets and skirmishers were driven back upon the body of Hooker's force at Chancellorsville.

Here we reached a point, a mile and a half from Hooker's lines, where a road turns down to the left toward the old Catherine Furnace [see map, p. 158]; and here at the fork of the roads General Lee and General Jackson spent the night, resting on the pine straw, curtained only by the close shadow of the pine forest. A little after night-fall I was sent by General Lee upon an errand to General A. P. Hill, on the old stone turnpike a mile or two north; and returning some time later with information of matters on our right, I found General Jackson retired to rest, and General Lee sleeping at

the foot of a tree, covered with his army cloak. As I aroused the sleeper, he slowly sat up on the ground and said, "Ah, Captain, you have returned, have you? Come here and tell me what you have learned on the right." Laying his hand on me he drew me down by his side, and, passing his arm around my shoulder, drew me near to him in a fatherly way that told of his warm and kindly heart. When I had related such information as I had secured for him, he thanked me for accomplishing his commission, and then said he regretted that the young men about General Jackson had not relieved him of annoyance, by finding a battery of the enemy which had harassed our advance, adding that the young men of that day were not equal to what they were when he was a young man. Seeing immediately that he was jesting and disposed to rally me, as he often did young officers, I broke away from the hold on me which he tried to retain, and, as he laughed heartily through the stillness of the night, I went off to make a bed of my saddle-blanket, and, with my head in my saddle, near my horse's feet, was soon wrapped in the heavy slumber of a wearied soldier.

Some time after midnight I was awakened by the chill of the early morning hours, and, turning over, caught a glimpse of a little flame on the slope above me, and sitting up to see what it meant, I saw, bending over a scant fire of twigs, two men seated on old cracker boxes and warming their hands over the little fire. I had but to rub my eyes and collect my wits to recognize the figures of Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson. Who can tell the story of that quiet council of war between two sleeping armies? Nothing remains on record to tell of plans discussed, and dangers weighed, and a great purpose formed, but the story of the great day so soon to follow.

It was broad daylight, and the thick beams of yellow sunlight came through the pine branches, when some one touched me rudely with his foot, saying: "Get up, Smith, the general wants you!" As I leaped to my feet the rhythmic click of the canteens of marching infantry caught my ear. Already in motion! What could it mean? In a moment I was mounted and at the side of the general, who sat on his horse by the roadside, as the long line of our troops cheerily, but in silence as directed, poured down the Furnace road. His cap was pulled low over his eyes, and, looking up from under the visor, with lips compressed, indicating the firm purpose within, he nodded to me, and in brief and rapid utterance, without a superfluous word, as though all were distinctly formed in his mind and beyond question, he gave me orders for our wagon and ambulance trains. From the open fields in our rear, at the head of the Catharpin road, all trains were to be moved upon that road to Todd's Tavern, and thence west by interior roads, so that our troops would be between them and the enemy at Chancellorsville. My orders having been delivered and the trains set in motion, I returned to the site of our night's bivouac, to find that General Jackson and his staff had followed the marching column.

Slow and tedious is the advance of a mounted officer who has to pass, in narrow wood roads through dense thickets, the packed column of marching infantry, to be recognized all along the line and good-naturedly chaffed by

many a gay-spirited fellow: "Say, here's one of Old Jack's little boys, let him by, boys!" in the most patronizing tone. "Have a good breakfast this morning, sonny?" "Better hurry up, or you'll catch it for getting behind." "Tell Old Jack we're all a-comin'." "Don't let him begin the fuss till we get thar!" And so on, until about 3 P. M., after a ride of ten miles of tortuous road, I found the general, seated on a stump by the Brock road, writing this dispatch, which, through the courtesy of the Virginia State Library, is here given in fac-simile:

Near 3 P. M.

May 2^d, 1863

General,

The enemy has made a stand at Chancellor's which is about $\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Chancellorsville. I hope as soon as practicable to attack.

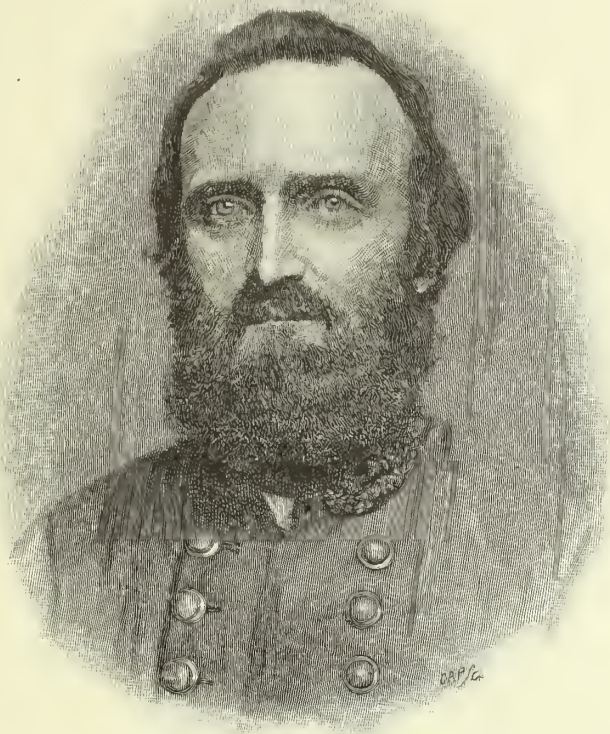
I trust that an ever kind Providence will bless us with great success.

Respectfully

Genl R. E. Lee T. J. Jackson
W. Genl.

The leading division is up & the next two appear to be well closed.

T. J.



LIEUTENANT-GENERAL THOMAS JONATHAN JACKSON, C. S. A. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH
TAKEN IN WINCHESTER, VA., IN 1862.

The place here mentioned as Chancellor's was also known as Dowdall's Tavern. It was the farm of the Rev. Melzi Chancellor, two miles west of Chancellorsville, and the Federal force found here and at Talley's, a mile farther west, was the Eleventh Corps, under General Howard. General Fitz Lee, with cavalry scouts, had advanced until he had view of the position of Howard's corps, and found them unsuspecting of attack.

Reaching the Orange Plank road, General Jackson himself rode with Fitz Lee to reconnoiter the position of Howard, and then sent the Stonewall brigade of Virginia troops, under Brigadier-General Paxton, to hold the point where the Germanna Plank road obliquely enters the Orange road. Leading the main column of his force farther on the Brock road to the old turnpike, the head of the column turned sharply eastward toward Chancellorsville. [See maps, pp. 158, 191.] About a mile had been passed, when he halted and began the disposition of his forces to attack Howard. Rodes's division, at the head of the column, was thrown into line of battle, with Colston's forming the second line and A. P. Hill's the third, while the artillery under Colonel Stapleton Crutchfield moved in column on the road, or was parked in a field on the right. The well-trained skirmishers of Rodes's division, under Major Eugene Blackford, were thrown to the front. It must have been between 5 and 6 o'clock in the evening, Saturday, May 2d, when

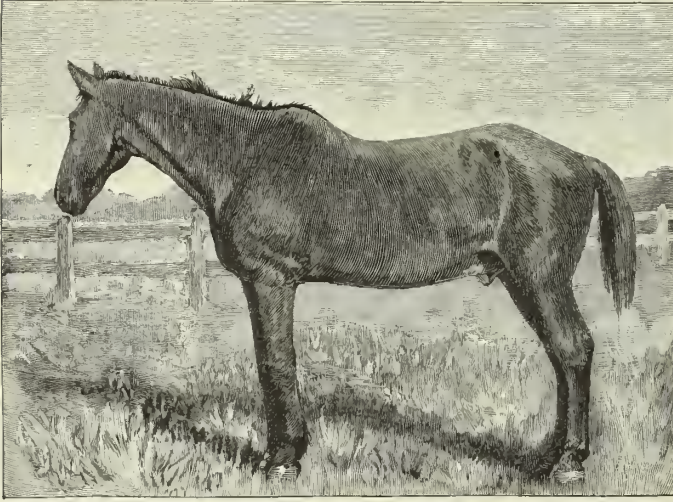
these dispositions were completed. Upon his stout-built, long-paced little sorrel, General Jackson sat, with visor low over his eyes and lips compressed, and with his watch in his hand. Upon his right sat General Robert E. Rodes, the very picture of a soldier, and every inch all that he appeared. Upon the right of Rodes sat Major Blackford.

"Are you ready, General Rodes?" said Jackson.

"Yes, sir!" said Rodes, impatient for the advance.

"You can go forward then," said Jackson.

A nod from Rodes was order enough for Blackford, and then suddenly the woods rang with the bugle call, and back came the responses from bugles on the right and left, and the long line of skirmishers, through the wild thicket



STONEWALL JACKSON'S "OLD SORREL."

This picture is from a photograph taken at the Maryland State Fair at Hagerstown, in 1884. At that time "Old Sorrel" was thought to be about thirty-four years old. At the fair, relic-hunters plucked away much of his mane and tail.—EDITORS.

of undergrowth, sprang eagerly to their work, followed promptly by the quick steps of the line of battle. For a moment all the troops seemed buried in the depths of the gloomy forest, and then suddenly the echoes waked and swept the country for miles, never failing until heard at the headquarters of Hooker at Chancellorsville — the wild "rebel yell" of the long Confederate lines.

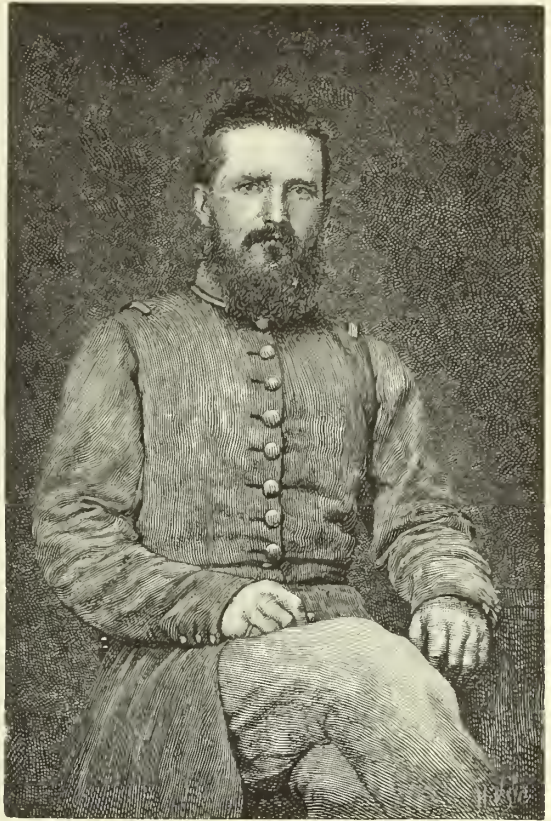
Never was assault delivered with grander enthusiasm. Fresh from

the long winter's waiting, and confident from the preparation of the spring, the troops were in fine condition and in high spirits. The boys were all back from home or sick leave. "Old Jack" was there upon the road in their midst; there could be no mistake and no failure. And there were Rodes and A. P. Hill. Had they not seen and cheered, as long and as loud as they were permitted, the gay-hearted Stuart and the long-bearded Fitz Lee on his fiery charger? Was not Crutchfield's array of brass and iron "dogs of war" at hand, with Poague [Rockbridge Artillery] and Palmer [1st Richmond Howitzers, then under McCarthy], and all the rest?

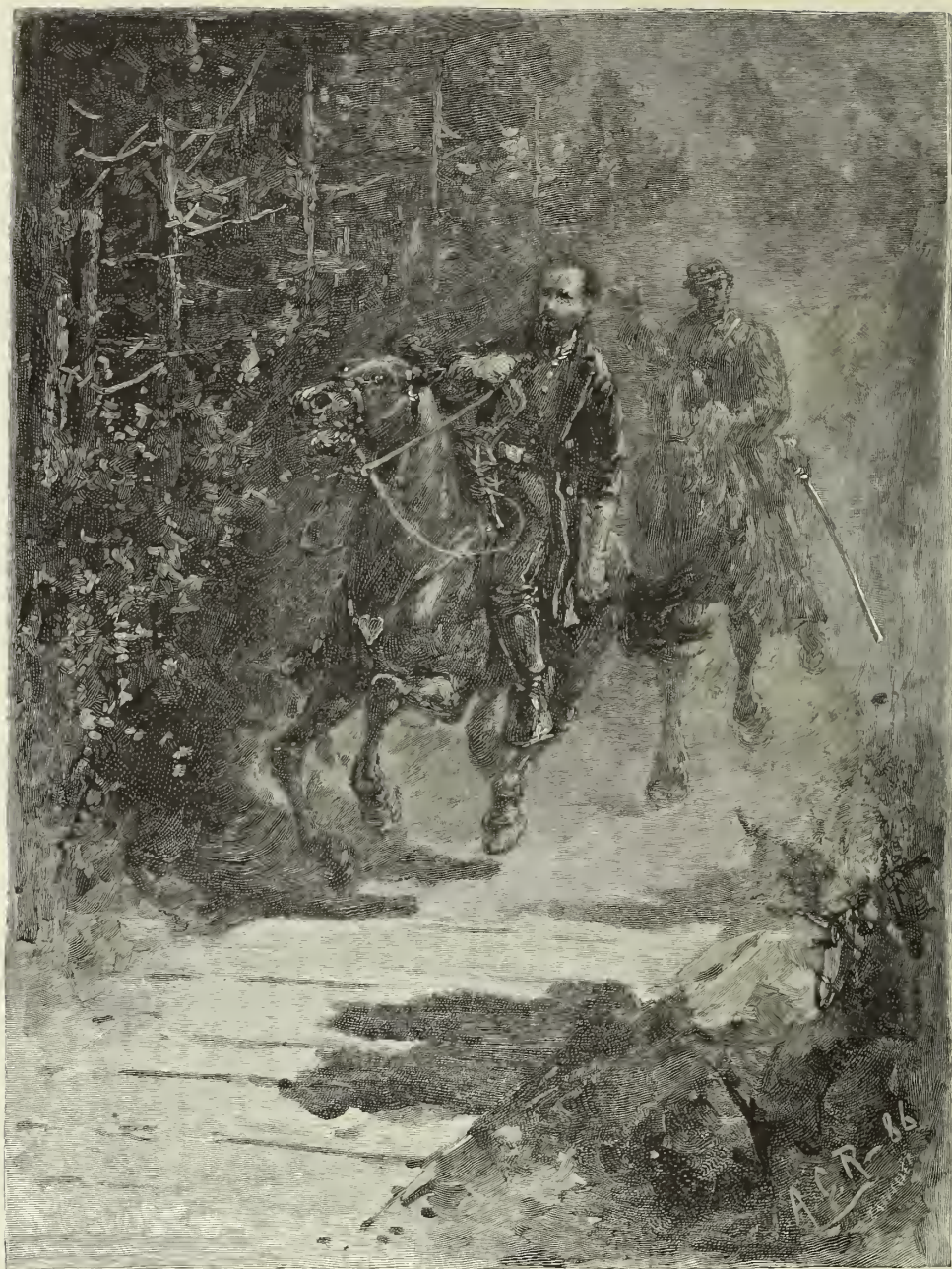
‡ But see notes, pp. 198 and 202.—EDITORS.

flying buttresses for an army's stability. Across Talley's fields the rout begins. Over at Hawkins's hill, on the north of the road, Carl Schurz makes a stand, soon to be driven into the same hopeless panic. By the quiet Wilderness Church in the vale, leaving wounded and dead everywhere, by Melzi Chancellor's, on into the deep thicket again, the Confederate lines pressed forward,—now broken and all disaligned by the density of bush that tears the clothes away; now halting to load and deliver a volley upon some regiment or fragment of the enemy that will not move as fast as others. Thus the attack upon Hooker's flank was a grand success, beyond the most sanguine expectation.

The writer of this narrative, an aide-de-camp of Jackson's, was ordered to remain at the point where the advance began, to be a center of communication between the general and the cavalry on the flanks, and to deliver orders to detachments of artillery still moving up from the rear. A fine black charger, with elegant trappings, deserted by his owner and found tied to a tree, became mine only for that short and eventful night-fall; and about 8 P. M., in the twilight, thus comfortably mounted, I gathered my couriers about me and went forward to find General Jackson. The storm of battle had swept far on to the east and become more and more faint to the ear, until silence came with night over the fields and woods. As I rode along that old turnpike, passing scattered fragments of Confederates looking for their regiments, parties of prisoners concentrating under guards, wounded men by the roadside and under the trees at Talley's and Chancellor's, I had reached an open field on the right, a mile west of Chancellorsville, when, in the dusky twilight, I saw horsemen near an old cabin in the field. Turning toward them, I found Rodes and his staff engaged in gathering the broken and scattered troops that had swept the two miles of battle-field. "General Jackson is just ahead on the road, Captain," said Rodes; "tell him I will be here at this cabin if I am wanted." I had not gone a hundred yards before I heard firing, a shot or two, and then a company volley upon the right of the road, and another upon the left. A few moments farther on I met Captain



BRIGADIER-GENERAL E. F. PAXTON, COMMANDING THE
"STONEWALL" BRIGADE OF COLSTON'S DIVISION,
KILLED MAY 3. FROM AN AMBROTYPE.



STONEWALL JACKSON GOING FORWARD ON THE PLANK ROAD IN ADVANCE OF HIS LINE OF BATTLE.

Murray Taylor, an aide of A. P. Hill's, with tidings that Jackson and Hill were wounded, and some around them killed, by the fire of their own men. Spurring my horse into a sweeping gallop, I soon passed the Confederate line of battle, and, some three or four rods on its front, found the general's horse beside a pine sapling on the left, and a rod beyond a little party of men caring for a wounded officer. The story of the sad event is briefly told, and, in essentials, very much as it came to me from the lips of the wounded

general himself, and in everything confirmed and completed by those who were eye-witnesses and near companions.

When Jackson had reached the point where his line now crossed the turnpike, scarcely a mile west of Chancellorsville, and not half a mile from a line of Federal troops, he had found his front line unfit for the farther and vigorous advance he desired, by reason of the irregular character of the fighting, now right, now left, and because of the dense thickets, through which it was impossible to preserve alignment. Division commanders found it more and more difficult as the twilight deepened to hold their broken brigades in hand. Regretting the necessity of

relieving the troops in front, General Jackson had ordered A. P. Hill's division, his third and reserve line, to be placed in front. While this change was being effected, impatient and anxious, the general rode forward on the turnpike, followed by two or three of his staff and a number of couriers and signal sergeants. He passed the swampy depression and began the ascent of the hill toward Chancellorsville, when he came upon a line of the Federal infantry lying on their arms. Fired at by one or two muskets (two musket-balls from the enemy whistled over my head as I came to the front), he turned and came back toward his line, upon the side of the road to his left. As he rode near to the Confederate troops, just placed in position and ignorant that he was in the front, the



MAJOR-GENERAL R. E. COLSTON, C. S. A.
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

left company began firing to the front, and two of his party fell from their saddles dead—Captain Boswell, of the Engineers, and Sergeant Cunliffe, of the Signal Corps. Spurring his horse across the road to his right, he was met by a second volley from the right company of Pender's North Carolina brigade. Under this volley, when not two rods from the troops, the general received three balls at the same instant. One penetrated the palm of his right hand and was cut out that night from the back of his hand. A second passed around the wrist of the left arm and out through the left hand. A third ball passed through the left arm half-way from shoulder to elbow. The large bone of the upper arm was splintered to the elbow-joint, and the wound bled freely. His horse turned quickly from the fire, through the thick bushes which swept the cap from the general's head, and scratched his forehead, leaving drops of blood to stain his face. As he lost his hold upon the bridle-rein, he reeled from the saddle, and was caught by the arms of Captain Wilbourn, of the Signal Corps. Laid upon the ground, there came at once to his succor General A. P. Hill and members of his staff. The writer reached

his side a minute after, to find General Hill holding the head and shoulders of the wounded chief. Cutting open the coat-sleeve from wrist to shoulder, I found the wound in the upper arm, and with my handkerchief I bound the arm above the wound to stem the flow of blood. Couriers were sent for Dr. Hunter McGuire, the surgeon of the corps and the general's trusted friend, and for an ambulance. Being outside of our lines, it was urgent that he should be moved at once. With difficulty litter-bearers were brought from the line near by, and the general was placed upon the litter and carefully raised



BRIGADIER-GENERAL F. T. NICHOLLS, C. S. A.
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

to the shoulder, I myself bearing one corner. A moment after, artillery from the Federal side was opened upon us; great broadsides thundered over the woods; hissing shells searched the dark thickets through, and shrapnels swept the road along which we moved. Two or three steps farther, and the litter-bearer at my side was struck and fell, but, as the litter turned, Major Watkins Leigh, of Hill's staff, happily caught it. But the fright of the men was so great that we were obliged to lay the litter and its burden down upon the road. As the litter-bearers ran to the cover of the trees, I threw myself by the general's side and held him firmly to the ground as he attempted to rise. Over us swept the rapid fire of shot and shell — grape-shot striking fire upon

the flinty rock of the road all around us, and sweeping from their feet horses and men of the artillery just moved to the front. Soon the firing veered to the other side of the road, and I sprang to my feet, assisted the general to rise, passed my arm around him, and with the wounded man's weight thrown heavily upon me, we forsook the road. Entering the woods, he sank to the ground from exhaustion, but the litter was soon brought, and again rallying a few men, we essayed to carry him farther, when a second bearer fell at my side. This time, with none to assist, the litter careened, and the general fell to the ground, with a groan of deep pain. Greatly alarmed, I sprang to his head, and, lifting his head as a stray beam of moonlight came through clouds and leaves, he opened his eyes and wearily said: "Never mind me, Captain, never mind me." Raising him again to his feet, he was accosted by Brigadier-General Pender: "Oh, General, I hope you are not seriously wounded. I will have to retire my troops to re-form them, they are so much broken by this fire." But Jackson, rallying his strength, with firm voice said: "You must hold your ground, General Pender; you must hold your ground, sir!" and so uttered his last command on the field.



THE NEW CHANCELLOR HOUSE.

This picture is from a photograph taken at a reunion of Union and Confederate officers and soldiers in May, 1884. The original house (see p. 190) was set on fire by Confederate shells on Sunday, May 3d, shortly after Hooker was injured while standing on the porch. The

picture faces south; Jackson attacked the Eleventh Corps from the left (west) by the Plank road, which passes in front of the Chancellor House. The cross-road in the foreground leads northward to Ely's Ford and United States Ford. See map, p. 158.—EDITORS.

Again we resorted to the litter, and with difficulty bore it through the bush, and then under a hot fire along the road. Soon an ambulance was reached, and stopping to seek some stimulant at Chancellor's (Dowdall's Tavern), we were found by Dr. McGuire, who at once took charge of the wounded man. Passing back over the battle-field of the afternoon, we reached the Wilderness store, and then, in a field on the north, the field-hospital of our corps under Dr. Harvey Black. Here we found a tent prepared, and after midnight the left arm was amputated near the shoulder, and a ball taken from the right hand.

All night long it was mine to watch by the sufferer, and keep him warmly wrapped and undisturbed in his sleep. At 9 A. M., on the next day, when he aroused, cannon firing again filled the air, and all the Sunday through the fierce battle raged, General J. E. B. Stuart commanding the Confederates in Jackson's place. A dispatch was sent to the commanding general to announce formally his disability,—tidings General Lee had received during the night with profound grief. There came back the following note:

"GENERAL: I have just received your note, informing me that you were wounded. I cannot express my regret at the occurrence. Could I have directed events, I should have chosen, for the good of the country, to have been disabled in your stead. I congratulate you upon the victory which is due to your skill and energy. Most truly yours, R. E. LEE, GENERAL."

When this dispatch was handed to me at the tent, and I read it aloud, General Jackson turned his face away and said, "General Lee is very kind, but he should give the praise to God."

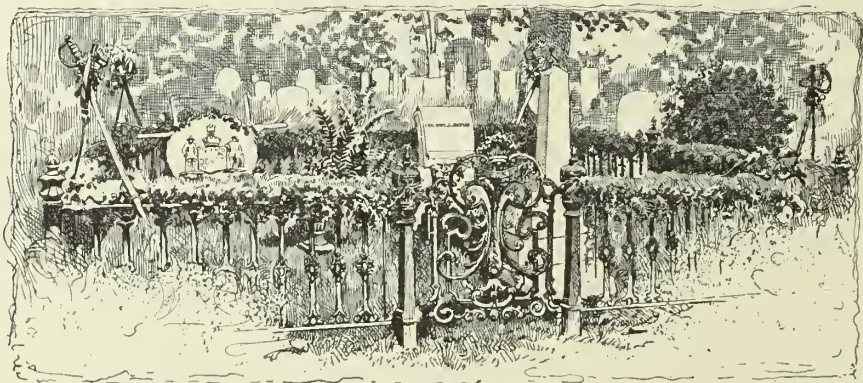
The long day was passed with bright hopes for the wounded general, with tidings of success on the battle-field, with sad news of losses, and messages to and from other wounded officers brought to the same infirmary.

On Monday the general was carried in an ambulance, by way of Spotsylvania Court House, to most comfortable lodging at Chandler's, near Guinea's Station, on the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac railroad. And here, against our hopes, notwithstanding the skill and care of wise and watchful surgeons, attended day and night by wife and friends, amid the prayers and tears of all the Southern land, thinking not of himself, but of the cause he loved, and for the troops who had followed him so well and given him so great a name, our chief sank, day by day, with symptoms of pneumonia and some pains of pleurisy, until, at 3:15 P. M. on the quiet of the Sabbath afternoon, May 10th, 1863, he raised himself from his bed, saying, "No, no, let us pass over the river, and rest under the shade of the trees"; and, falling again to his pillow, he passed away, "over the river, where, in a land where warfare is not known or feared, he rests forever 'under the trees.'"

His shattered arm was buried in the family burying-ground of the Ellwood place—Major J. H. Lacy's—near his last battle-field.

His body rests, as he himself asked, "in Lexington, in the Valley of Virginia." The spot where he was so fatally wounded in the shades of the Wilderness is marked by a large quartz rock, placed there by the care of his chaplain and friend, the Rev. Dr. B. F. Lacy, and the latter's brother, Major Lacy.

Others must tell the story of Confederate victory at Chancellorsville. It has been mine only, as in the movement of that time, so with my pen now, to follow my general himself. Great, the world believes him to have been in many elements of generalship; he was greatest and noblest in that he was good, and, without a selfish thought, gave his talent and his life to a cause that, as before the God he so devoutly served, he deemed right and just.



STONEWALL JACKSON'S GRAVE, LEXINGTON, VA. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

HOOKER'S COMMENTS ON CHANCELLORSVILLE.

BY SAMUEL P. BATES, HIS LITERARY EXECUTOR.



LANCE USED BY THE 6TH PENNSYLVANIA
CAVALRY (RUSH'S LANCERS).

IN October, 1876, I accompanied General Hooker to the battle-fields of Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, and Antietam,—fields on which he had borne conspicuous parts. It was the only occasion on which he visited them after the battles. He had previously placed in my hands his official papers and memoranda for the preparation of a history of the Battle of Chancellorsville, at the same time requesting me to make this journey with him, that I might have the advantage of a thorough knowledge of the field, and of his interpretation of the manner in which the battle was fought. At this period he was partly paralyzed from the injury received in the Chancellorsville battle, and he could move only with great difficulty by the aid of his valet.

After our arrival at Fredericksburg, General Hooker was the recipient of many courteous attentions from the leading citizens, and at night he was serenaded, when a great crowd assembled in front of the hotel, to whose repeated cheers he made a brief response, in which he said that he had visited their city but once before, and although his reception now was not nearly so warm as on that former day, yet it was far more agreeable to him,—a conceit which greatly pleased his hearers.

Our drive over the Fredericksburg field, which we visited on the way, was on one of the most perfect of autumnal days, and at every turn fresh reminiscences of that battle were suggested. As we approached the flag-staff of the National Cemetery, on the hill adjoining Marye's Heights, where more than fifteen thousand of the Union dead of Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, the Wilderness, and Spotsylvania are buried, General Hooker said:

"I never think of this ground but with a shudder. The whole scene is indelibly fixed in my mind, as it appeared on that fatal day. Here on this ground were ranged the enemy's cannon, and the heights farther to his left were thickly planted with pieces; all the infantry he could use was disposed behind earth-works and stone walls. How this could have been selected as the point, above all others, for attack, and followed up until four whole divisions had been sacrificed, I cannot comprehend. As I stand here to-day, the impossibility of carrying this ground by direct assault is no more apparent than it was when I made my observation preparatory to ordering Humphreys's division forward. But it is evident that General Burnside never forgave me for counseling him on that occasion as I did, for on January 23d he drew up an order, known as General Orders, No. 8, of his series, dishonorably dismissing me from the service, together with three other prominent general officers, at the

same time relieving five other officers from duty. I was grossly maligned by the press of that day, and it was generally believed by the people at the North that I had not faithfully supported General Burnside in this battle, and that I was aiming thereby to supplant him. If these brave men who are sleeping here beneath our feet could speak, they would bear testimony to my sincerity and fidelity to the cause we were battling for; and though I have suffered in silence, and my reputation has been grossly aspersed, I have rested in the firm belief that my conduct on that day would be justified by the American people."

These Orders, No. 8,¹ were prepared on the 23d of January, 1863, and would have been immediately promulgated had not General Burnside been counseled first to lay them before President Lincoln, of whom he asked that they be approved, as drawn, or that his own resignation be accepted. The President refused to accept his resignation, but relieved him of the command of the Army of the Potomac; and so little effect had the order upon the mind of Mr. Lincoln that he decided to place Hooker, at whom the shaft was chiefly aimed, at the head of the army. And yet so strong a hold had this unjust opinion on the public mind that even the President was tinctured with it, and in his remarkable letter of January 26th to General Hooker, informing him of his appointment, he said:

"I have placed you at the head of the Army of the Potomac. Of course I have done this upon what appears to me to be sufficient reasons, and yet I think it best for you to know that there are some things in regard to which I am not quite satisfied with you. I believe you to be a brave and skillful soldier, which, of course, I like. I also believe you do not mix politics with

¹Following is the text of the orders: "HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, January 23d, 1863. GENERAL ORDERS, No. 8. (1.) General Joseph Hooker, major-general of volunteers and brigadier-general, U. S. Army, having been guilty of unjust and unnecessary criticisms of the actions of his superior officers, and of the authorities, and having, by the general tone of his conversation, endeavored to create distrust in the minds of officers who have associated with him, and having, by omissions and otherwise, made reports and statements which were calculated to create incorrect impressions, and for habitually speaking in disparaging terms of other officers, is hereby dismissed the service of the United States as a man unfit to hold an important commission during a crisis like the present, when so much patience, charity, confidence, consideration, and patriotism are due from every soldier in the field. This order is issued subject to the approval of the President of the United States. (2.) Brigadier-General W. T. H. Brooks, commanding First Division, Sixth Army Corps, for complaining of the policy of the Government, and for using language tending to demoralize his command, is, subject to the approval of the President, dismissed from the mili-

tary service of the United States. (3.) Brigadier-General John Newton, commanding Third Division, Sixth Army Corps, and Brigadier-General John Cochrane, commanding First Brigade, Third Division, Sixth Army Corps, for going to the President of the United States with criticisms upon the plans of their commanding officer, are, subject to the approval of the President, dismissed from the military service of the United States. (4.) It being evident that the following-named officers can be of no further service to this army, they are hereby relieved from duty, and will report in person, without delay, to the Adjutant-General, U. S. Army: Major-General W. B. Franklin, commanding Left Grand Division; Major-General W. F. Smith, commanding Sixth Corps; Brigadier-General Samuel D. Sturgis, commanding Second Division, Ninth Corps; Brigadier-General Edward Ferrero, commanding Second Brigade, Second Division, Ninth Army Corps; Brigadier-General John Cochrane, commanding First Brigade, Third Division, Sixth Corps; Lieutenant-Colonel J. H. Taylor, Assistant Adjutant-General, Right Grand Division. By command of MAJOR-GENERAL A. E. BURNSIDE. LEWIS RICHMOND, Assistant Adjutant-General." ‡

‡ In the "Official Records" the above order is accompanied by the following note of explanation: "This order was not approved by the President, and was, therefore, never issued. It appeared in the public

prints, is referred to in the correspondence between Halleck and Franklin, and in Burnside's testimony before the Committee on the Conduct of the War."

your profession, in which you are right. You have confidence in yourself, which is a valuable, if not an indispensable, quality. You are ambitious, which, within reasonable bounds, does good rather than harm; but I think that during General Burnside's command of the army you have taken counsel of your ambition, and thwarted him as much as you could, in which you did a great wrong to the country and to a most meritorious and honorable brother officer. I have heard, in such way as to believe it, of your recently saying that both the army and the Government needed a Dictator. Of course it was not for this, but in spite of it, that I have given you the command. Only those generals who gain successes can set up dictators. What I now ask of you is military success, and I will risk the dictatorship. The Government will support you to the utmost of its ability, which is neither more nor less than it has done and will do for all commanders. I much fear that the spirit which you have aided to infuse into the army, of criticising their commander and withholding confidence from him, will now turn upon you. I shall assist you as far as I can to put it down. Neither you nor Napoleon, if he were alive again, could get any good out of an army while such a spirit prevails in it. And now beware of rashness. Beware of rashness, but with energy and sleepless vigilance go forward, and give us victories."

The caution against rashness may have been suggested to the mind of Mr. Lincoln by the epithet of "Fighting Joe Hooker," which the general never heard without expressing his deep regret that it was ever applied to him. "People will think I am a highwayman or a bandit," he said; when in fact he was one of the most kindly and tender-hearted of men.

We were accompanied on our ride to the Chancellorsville field, some ten or twelve miles above Fredericksburg, by Major George E. Chancellor, a son of Melzi Chancellor, whose home at the time of the battle was at Dowdall's Tavern, where General Howard had his headquarters. On setting out, General Hooker suggested that we should take some lunch along with us, as, when he was there last there was very little to eat in all that region. Major Chancellor thought it unnecessary, and, in fact, we were feasted most sumptuously at his father's house.

Upon our arrival at the broad, open, rolling fields opposite Banks's Ford, some three or four miles up the stream, General Hooker exclaimed, waving his hand significantly: "Here, on this open ground, I intended to fight my battle. But the trouble was to get my army on it, as the banks of the stream are, as you see, rugged and precipitous, and the few fords were strongly fortified and guarded by the enemy. By making a powerful demonstration in front of and below the town of Fredericksburg with a part of my army, I was able, unobserved, to withdraw the remainder, and, marching nearly thirty miles up the stream, to cross the Rappahannock and the Rapidan unopposed, and in four days' time to arrive at Chancellorsville, within five miles of this coveted ground, ♪—and all this without General Lee having discovered that I had left my position in his front. So far, I regarded my movement as a

♪ The demonstrations began on April 21st, and were made at intervals at Kelly's Ford, Rappahannock Bridge, and Port Royal. The movement of Sedgwick below the town was disclosed to Lee on the 29th, when the pontoons were laid and the crossing took place at the point where Franklin's Left Grand Division crossed in December, 1862. Hooker's flanking column, consisting of the Fifth, Eleventh, and Twelfth corps and two divisions of

the Second Corps, crossed the Rappahannock at Kelly's Ford on the 28th and 29th by pontoon-bridges, and passed the Rapidan by fording and by means of pontoons, arriving at Chancellorsville on the 30th. The Third Corps, after taking part in the demonstrations before Fredericksburg, crossed the Rappahannock at United States Ford and reached Chancellorsville on May 1st, and was followed by the First Corps on the 2d.—EDITORS.

great success. On the morning of the fifth day my army was astir, and was put in motion on three lines through the tangled forest (the Wilderness) which covers the whole country around Chancellorsville, and in three hours' time I would have been in position on these crests, and in possession of Banks's Ford, in short and easy communication with the other wing of my army. But at midnight General Lee had moved out with his whole army, and by sunrise was in firm possession of Banks's Ford, had thrown up this line of breastworks which you can still follow with the eye, and it was bristling with cannon from one end to the other. Before I had proceeded two miles the heads of my columns, while still upon the narrow roads in these interminable forests, where it was impossible to manœuvre my forces, were met by Jackson with a full two-thirds of the entire Confederate army. I had no alternative but to turn back, as I had only a fragment of my command in hand, and take up the position about Chancellorsville which I had occupied during the night, as I was being rapidly outflanked upon my right, the enemy having open ground on which to operate.

"And here again my reputation has been attacked because I did not undertake to accomplish an impossibility, but turned back at this point; and every history of the war that has been written has soundly berated me because I did not fight here in the forest with my hands tied behind me, and allow my army to be sacrificed. I have always believed that impartial history would vindicate my conduct in this emergency."

Soon after leaving the open ground opposite Banks's Ford we entered the dense forest, or "Wilderness," which covers the entire Chancellorsville battle-ground,—“a dense forest,” says General Warren, “of not very large trees, but very difficult to get through; mainly of scrubby oak, what they call black-jack there, so that a man could hardly ride through it, and a man could not march through it very well with musket in hand, unless he trailed it.”

Every important position was observed and commented upon by the man who on those fierce battle-days had wielded, on this very ground, an army of a hundred thousand men. On approaching the pine-tree under which Generals Lee and Jackson had planned the mode of attack, General Hooker observed: “It was under that tree that the mischief was devised which came near ruining my army. My position at Chancellorsville was a good one for this monotonous country. I felt confident when I reached it that I had eighty chances in a hundred to win. To make sure that everything was firm and strong, very early on the 2d of May, the first day of the battle, I rode along the whole line, and personally examined every part, suggesting some changes and counseling extreme vigilance. Upon my return to headquarters I was informed that a continuous column of the enemy had been marching past my front since early in the morning, as of a corps with all its *impedimenta*. This put an entirely new phase upon the problem, and filled me with apprehension for the safety of my right wing, which was posted to meet a front attack from the south, but was in no condition for a flank attack from the west; for this marching of the enemy's corps, to my mind, meant

a flank movement upon my right. I immediately dictated a dispatch† to 'Generals Slocum and Howard,' the latter commanding the Eleventh Corps, which stood upon the extreme right, saying that I had good reason to believe that the enemy was moving to our right, and that they must be ready to meet an attack from the west. This was at 9:30 in the morning. In the course of two hours I got a dispatch from General Howard, saying that he could see a column of the enemy moving westward, and that he was taking the precautions necessary 'to resist an attack from the west.'‡ I had previously put Williams's division of the Twelfth Corps on an interior line looking westward, and had it fortified, so that if Howard should give way, this interior line would be for safety, as it afterward proved my salvation.

"I sent Sickles to pierce this moving column of the enemy, and made preparations to flank the portion of Lee's army that was still upon my front, in the direction of Fredericksburg, and, sweeping down in reverse, to destroy it if possible. But a swamp intervened which had to be corduroyed, and a small stream had to be bridged, which consumed time; and though Sickles was successful in breaking in upon the enemy's column and making some captures, yet, before he was in position to make his decisive attack, Jackson, who had led his column by a long circuit, out of sight and hearing, through the dense forest, came in upon my right flank, and by one concentrated blow of his whole corps, some 25,000 men, had crushed and put to flight almost the entire corps of Howard; and it was with the utmost difficulty that I could lead up my reserves to the interior line of Williams, and bring Jackson's victorious forces to a halt. This failure of Howard to hold his ground cost us our position, and I was forced, in the presence of the enemy, to take up a new one. Upon investigation I found that Howard had failed properly to obey my instructions to prepare to meet the enemy from the west." In this connection the following extracts from a letter to Hooker from Schurz (who subsequently gave General Hooker leave to print it) will be read with interest:

"40 W. 32d St., NEW YORK, April 22d, 1876.

"MY DEAR GENERAL: Your letter of the 8th inst. was forwarded to me from St. Louis, and reached me here early this morning, and I hasten to reply. I regret very much that, my papers being boxed up, I have no access to a memorandum of the circumstances connected with the

† "H'DQ'RS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, CHANCELLORSVILLE, VA., May 2d, 1863, 9:30 A. M. *Circular*. MAJOR-GENERALS SLOCUM AND HOWARD: I am directed by the Major-General commanding to say that the disposition you have made of your corps has been with a view to a front attack by the enemy. If he should throw himself upon your flank, he wishes you to examine the ground and determine upon the position you will take in that event, in order that you may be prepared for him in whatever direction he advances. He suggests that you have heavy reserves well in hand to meet this contingency. The right of your line does not appear to be strong enough. No artificial defenses worth naming have been thrown up, and there appears to be a scarcity of troops at that point, and not, in the general's opinion, as favorably posted as might be. We have good reason

to suppose that the enemy is moving to our right. Please advance your pickets for purposes of observation as far as may be safe, in order to obtain timely information of their approach. J. H. VAN ALLEN, Brigadier-General and Aide-de-camp." [This is the dispatch which General Howard states he did not receive at the time. See p. 196. In the "Official Records" the word circular does not appear, and the address is "Major-Generals Howard and Slocum."—EDITORS.]

‡ "HEADQUARTERS, 11TH CORPS, May 2d, 10 m. to 11 o'clock [10:50 A. M.] MAJ.-GENL. HOOKER, Comd'g Army. GENERAL: From Gen. Devens's headquarters we can observe a column of infantry moving westward on a road parallel with this on a ridge about 1½ to 2 miles south of this. I am taking measures to resist an attack from the west. Respectfully, O. O. HOWARD, Maj.-Gen."

battle of Chancellorsville, as they came under my observation, which memorandum I put on paper shortly after that event. So I have to depend upon my memory in answering your questions. According to my recollection, you are mistaken in your impression that General Howard put your dispatches and orders into his pocket without communicating them to his division commanders. About noon or a little after on the day of the attack on the Eleventh Corps I was at General Howard's headquarters, a house on the Chancellorsville road near the center of our position. General Howard, being very tired, wanted to rest a little, and asked me as next in rank to open dispatches that might arrive and to wake him in case they were of immediate importance. Shortly after a courier arrived with a dispatch from you calling General Howard's attention to the movement of the enemy toward our right flank, and instructing him to take precautionary measures against an attack from that quarter. I went into General Howard at once and read it to him, and, if I remember rightly, while we were speaking about it another courier, or one of your young staff-officers, arrived with a second dispatch of virtually the same purport. We went out and discussed the matter on the porch of the house. I am not sure whether General Steinwehr was present or not. . . .

"I have seen it stated that my troops were already gone when General Devens's division in its hurried retreat reached my position. This is utterly untrue. Some of my regiments, which had remained in their old position, succeeded in wheeling round under the fire of the enemy; others were swept away, but those whose front I had changed during the afternoon in anticipation of the attack held their ground a considerable time after the débris of General Devens's division had swept through our line. I saw General Devens, wounded, carried by, and he had long been . . . in the rear when we were overpowered and fell back upon Colonel Buschbeck's position, where General Howard in the meantime had been trying to rally the routed troops. This also you will find in my report. My loss in killed and wounded was quite heavy; if I remember rightly, about twenty per cent.

"I ought to add that he [General Howard] thought he could not carry out as well as he desired your instruction to hold a strong reserve in hand, for the reason that General Barlow's brigade of Steinwehr's division had been ordered to the support of Sickles. All the precaution that was taken against a flank attack, aside from what I did without orders, was the construction of a small rifle-pit across the Chancellorsville road in the rear of my division, near the house [Dowdall's Tavern] occupied by General Howard as headquarters. . . . Of course this hasty note is not written with any expectation on my part to see it printed as part of an historical narrative. It is simply to give *you* the information you wish for, and which it gives me pleasure to furnish.

Very truly yours,

C. SCHURZ.

"MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER.

"P. S.—Whether General Howard received on that day any dispatches or instructions from you subsequent to those mentioned, I do not know."↵

When we arrived at the Chancellor House (which is all there is of Chancellorsville), where General Hooker had his headquarters, and where he received the hurt that came near proving mortal, General Hooker said, "I was standing on this step of the portico on the Sunday morning of the 3d of May, and

↵ The following are extracts from the official report of General Schurz, who shows, besides, that his division made strenuous efforts to stem the assaults of Jackson's men:

"In the course of the forenoon I was informed that large columns of the enemy could be seen from General Devens's headquarters, moving from east to west. . . . I observed them plainly as they moved on. I rode back to your [General Howard's] headquarters, and on the way ordered Captain Dilger to look for good artillery positions on the field fronting west, as the troops would in all probability have to execute a change of front. The matter was largely discussed at your headquarters, and I entertained and expressed in our informal conversations the opinion that we should form upon the open

ground we then occupied, with our front at right angles with the Plank road, lying the church grove and the border of the woods east of the open plain with infantry, placing strong échelons behind both wings, and distributing the artillery along the front on ground most favorable for its action, especially on the eminence on the right and left of Dowdall's Tavern. . . . In the absence of orders, but becoming more and more convinced that the enemy's attack would come from the west and fall upon our right and rear, I took it upon my own responsibility to detach two regiments from the second line of my Second Brigade and to place them in a good position on the right and left of Ely's Ford road, west of Hawkins's farm, so as to check the enemy if he should attack our extreme right and penetrate through the woods at that point. This was subsequently approved by you. . . .

was giving direction to the battle, which was now raging with great fury, the cannon-balls reaching me from both the east and the west, when a solid shot struck the pillar near me, splitting it in two, and throwing one-half longitudinally against me, striking my whole right side, which soon turned livid. For a few moments I was senseless, and the report spread that I had been killed. But I soon revived, and, to correct the misapprehension, I insisted on being lifted upon my horse, and rode back toward the white house, which subsequently became the center of my new position. Just before reaching it, the pain from my hurt became so intense that I was likely to fall, when I was assisted to dismount, and was laid upon a blanket spread out upon the ground, and was given some brandy. This revived me, and I was assisted to remount. Scarcely was I off the blanket when a solid shot, fired by the enemy at Hazel Grove, struck in the very center of that blanket, where I had a moment before been lying, and tore up the earth in a savage way." As he ended this recital General Hooker turned to Major Chancellor, who was standing by, and said, "Ah, Major! Your people were after me with a sharp stick on that day."

A short distance from the Chancellor House, in the direction of Dowdall's Tavern, our carriage was halted, and, dismounting, Major Chancellor led us a few paces out of the road, along a faint cart-path, when he said, "This is the place where Stonewall Jackson received the wounds that proved mortal." "I have always been struck," observed General Hooker, "with the last words of General Jackson, evincing how completely he was absorbed in the progress of the battle. In his delirium he was still upon the field, and he cried out, 'Order A. P. Hill to prepare for action—pass the infantry to the front rapidly—tell Major Hawks—' when he stopped with the sentence unfinished. After a little his brow relaxed, as if from relief, and he said, 'Let us cross over the river, and rest under the shade of the trees,'—and these were his last words."

Arriving at Dowdall's Tavern, General Hooker pointed out the excellent position here afforded for Howard's corps to have made a stout defense. "Buschbeck's brigade of that corps," said he, "did wonders here, and held the whole impetuous onset of the enemy in check for an hour or more, which gave me opportunity to bring my reserves into position. The loss of this ground brought me into so cramped a condition that I was obliged to take up a new position, which I successfully accomplished. I now ordered Sedgwick, who commanded the Sixth Corps, the largest in my army, some 22,000 men,

With these exceptions, no change was made in the position occupied by the corps. The losses suffered by my division in the action of May 2d were very severe in proportion to my whole effective force. I had 15 officers killed, 23 wounded, and 15 missing, and 102 men killed, 365 wounded, and 441 missing,—total, 953. ☆ . . . My whole loss amounted to about 23 per cent. . . . In closing this report I beg leave to make one additional remark. The Eleventh Corps, and, by error or malice, especially the Third Division, has been held up to the whole country as a band of cowards. My division has been made responsible for the defeat of the Eleventh

Corps, and the Eleventh Corps for the failure of the campaign. Preposterous as this is, yet we have been overwhelmed by the army and the press with abuse and insult beyond measure. We have borne as much as human nature can endure. I am far from saying that on May 2d everybody did his duty to the best of his power.

"But one thing I will say, because I know it: these men are no cowards. . . . I have seen, with my own eyes, troops who now affect to look down upon the Eleventh Corps with sovereign contempt behave much worse under circumstances far less trying. . . ."

EDITORS.

☆ This was the loss reported by General Schurz, but a recently revised table of the War Department shows 9 officers and 120 men killed, 32 officers and 461 men wounded, and 8 officers and 290 men captured or missing,—a total of 920.—EDITORS.



RETREAT OF THE UNION ARMY ACROSS THE RAPPAHANNOCK AT UNITED STATES FORD.
FROM A WAR-TIME SKETCH.

which had been left to demonstrate in front of Fredericksburg, to cross the river and move rapidly up to my left. The effect of so heavy a body of fresh troops coming in upon the enemy's flank I calculated would be decisive. But Sedgwick was dilatory in moving,[†] which gave the enemy time to concentrate and stop him before he had moved over half the distance, and I consequently got no help from him."

I ventured to ask why he did not attack when he found that the enemy had weakened his forces in the immediate front and sent them away to meet Sedgwick. "That," said he, "would seem to have been the reasonable thing to do. But we were in this impenetrable thicket. All the roads and openings leading through it the enemy immediately fortified strongly, and planted thickly his artillery commanding all the avenues, so that with reduced numbers he could easily hold his lines, shutting me in, and it became utterly impossible to manœuvre my forces. My army was not beaten. Only a part of it had been engaged. The First Corps, commanded by Reynolds, whom I regarded as the ablest officer under me, was fresh and ready and eager to be brought into action, as was my whole army. But I had been fully convinced of the futility of attacking fortified positions, and I was determined not to sacrifice my men needlessly, though it should be at the expense of my reputation as a fighting officer. We had already had enough grievous experience in that line. I made frequent demonstrations to induce the enemy to attack me, but he would not accept my challenge. Accordingly, when the eight days' rations with which my army started out were exhausted, I retired across the river. Before doing so I sent orders to General Sedgwick to hold his position near

[†]See statements in "Sedgwick at Fredericksburg and Salem Heights," p. 224.—EDITORS.

Banks's Ford, on the south side of the stream, and I would bring my whole army to his support; but the order failed to reach him until he had already recrossed the river.† Could I have had my army on the open grounds at that point where I could have manœuvred it properly, I felt assured that I could have gained a decisive victory. But this, my last chance, was frustrated.”‡

† The “Official Records” (Vol. XXV., Part II., p. 418) show that Sedgwick recrossed the Rappahannock in obedience to an order from General Hooker, dated May 5th, 1 A. M., and received by Sedgwick at 2 A. M. At 1:20 A. M. Hooker sent the following order to Sedgwick (*Ibid.*, p. 419): “Yours received, saying you should hold position [as ordered]. Order to withdraw countermanded.” This countermand was received by Sedgwick at 3:20 A. M., but meanwhile almost his entire command had recrossed under the order of 1 A. M.—EDITORS.

‡ The subjoined letter has been kindly furnished to us for publication by Lieutenant Worth G. Ross, son of the late Colonel Samuel Ross, to whom it is addressed. It is believed that it had not been printed before its appearance in “The Century” for April, 1888.—EDITORS.

“LOOKOUT VALLEY, TENN., February 28th, 1864.

“MY DEAR COLONEL: For some reason your letter was a long time in reaching me. When the Eleventh Corps gave way on Saturday, Berry's division and Hays's brigade were dispatched to seize and hold the ground occupied by the left of that corps. Berry double-quickened his men to the point, but was too late. The enemy were already in possession. When this was reported to me I directed my engineers to establish a new line, which was pointed out to them on the map, and at the same time stated to them that we would probably have to move on it as soon as the enemy opened on us in the morning, as his batteries would sweep the plain in front of the Chancellorsville House, and, besides, enfilade the line held by the Second and Twelfth corps nearly its entire length. Soon after these instructions were given to the engineers, peremptory orders were sent to General Sedgwick to advance over the Plank road from Fredericksburg and attack the enemy in front of the Second and Twelfth corps at daylight. My single object in holding on to the position as long as I did was to hear Sedgwick's guns, which I momentarily expected,

of course. General Warren had been sent to guide him. The orders reached him between 10 and 11 o'clock, [he] had but eight miles to march, a bright moonlight night, with only a small force to oppose. Probably had he marched as directed, not a gun would have been fired. With Lee in my front and Jackson on my flank I was unwilling to attempt to force my way through Lee, especially as the roads through the forests would only enable me to present my columns with narrow fronts, which the enemy could cut down as fast as they were exposed. I knew that I could do this, and I gave the enemy credit for being able to do as much as I could, but no more. Had Sedgwick come up on Lee's rear, the latter would have found himself between two armies, and would doubtless have followed Jackson's flank movement, which I desired, as that would throw the enemy off the short road to Richmond and our troops on it. I do not know that you ever heard that I had one and a half millions of rations afloat in the Potomac to throw up the Pamunkey River in view of this contingency.

“I recrossed the Rappahannock, expecting to return at or near Franklin's Crossing, where I had elbow-room [see p. 74], and at least an even chance for being victorious, and so stated to the President at the time. No general battle was fought at Chancellorsville, for I was unwilling to give battle with such great odds against me. I rejoice that what was not gained was not lost.

“We lost no honors at Chancellorsville. With all of our misfortunes the enemy's loss exceeded our own by one-third. Of this I have abundant evidence in the official returns of the enemy's casualties, as they have from time to time been published. [But see p. 238.] If I did not cross the river again it will appear that it was for reasons over which I had no control. The rains had nothing to do with our returning from Chancellorsville, for it had been determined on in my mind long before the rain commenced falling. I do not like to be quoted as authority on this subject until after the official report is published, and for the flattering terms in which you speak of me—not ever. I hope that you and yours are well. My kindest regards to Mrs. Ross and my best wishes for yourself. Your friend,

“JOSEPH HOOKER.

“COLONEL SAMUEL ROSS,
Commanding Brigade, Twelfth Corps.”



FORAGING IN THE WILDERNESS.



FEELING THE ENEMY. FROM A WAR-TIME SKETCH.

SEDGWICK AT FREDERICKSBURG AND SALEM HEIGHTS.

BY HUNTINGTON W. JACKSON, BREVET LIEUTENANT-COLONEL, U. S. V.

FROM our encampment on the Stafford Heights, the bright camp-fires of the enemy and the scenes of the terrible encounters under Burnside were daily presented to our sight from December, 1862, until the following April. During this period, with the exception of a futile movement on the right known as the "Mud March," the army remained quiet. The pickets stationed on either bank of the Rappahannock were within hailing distance of each other, and dress and faces could be easily distinguished. By the comity that prevailed, there was no firing from either side. One could ride or walk down to the banks of the river with perfect security. Sometimes "Johnny Reb," as he was called, would rig up a little raft, and, loading it with tobacco, start it with sails and rudder set for the other shore. When the precious freight was unloaded, the craft, generously burdened with coffee and salt, would be headed by "Yank" in an opposite direction, where it would be received with loud expressions of thanks. In this and other ways the asperities of the war were mollified. As time rolled on and the weather improved, arrangements were made for an advance. The men were well clothed, rested, and eager to move again to test the fortunes of war.

Of the several plans of attack, Hooker determined to march around the enemy's left flank to Chancellorsville, leaving a portion of the army at Fredericksburg to conceal the real movement. The army struck camp on the 27th of April, and on the 30th Hooker established his headquarters at Chancellorsville. The same evening, in general orders, he said, "It is with heartfelt satisfaction the commanding general announces to the army that the operations of the last three days have determined that our enemy must either ingloriously fly, or come out from behind his defenses and give us battle on our own ground, where certain destruction awaits him." Hooker

forgot the injunction of Ahab to Benhadad: "Tell him," he said, "Let not him that girdeth on his harness boast himself as he that putteth it off."

While the right wing was concentrating at Chancellorsville, the corps of Sedgwick and Reynolds, after considerable opposition, crossed the Rappahannock on pontoon-bridges below Fredericksburg, and by the evening of the 30th were deployed on the wide plain where Franklin's Left Grand Division had fought in the previous battle. Sickles's corps was in supporting distance. The position of Lee's army remained unchanged until the 29th, when Lee was informed that large bodies of Federals were moving toward Chancellorsville. It was the first information he had received of Hooker's movement on his left, and it is said he was incensed at the delay of the communication. [See p. 233.] At midnight Anderson's division of Lee's army hurriedly moved from Fredericksburg and intrenched about four or five miles from Hooker's headquarters.

In an address of Fitzhugh Lee delivered to the Association of the Army of Northern Virginia he stated: "General Robert E. Lee said that Jackson had first preferred to attack Sedgwick's corps in the plain at Fredericksburg; Lee told him he felt it was as impracticable as at the first battle of Fredericksburg; it was hard to get at the enemy and harder to get away, on account of the artillery on the north bank, if we drove them into the river; but, said he to Jackson, 'If you think it can be done, I will give you orders for it.' Jackson then asked to be allowed to examine the grounds, and did so during the afternoon, and at night came to Lee and said he thought he (Lee) was right; it would be inexpedient to attack them. 'Move then,' said Lee, 'at dawn to-morrow, up to Anderson.'"

Sickles's and Reynolds's corps having subsequently been ordered to Chancellorsville by Hooker, Sedgwick was left alone below Fredericksburg with about 24,000 men, the Sixth Corps being by several thousand the largest in the army.

During the evening of the 2d of May Hooker sent word to Sedgwick "to take up his line on the Chancellorsville road and attack and destroy any forces he might meet." He also added that "he (Sedgwick) would probably fall upon the rear of Lee's forces, and between them they would use Lee up." If Hooker thought an insignificant force was in Sedgwick's front, the engagement soon to take place showed how mistaken he was. Sedgwick received the order about 11 o'clock at night. He at once advanced his command to the Bowling Green road and then marched by the right flank toward Fredericksburg. Newton's division was in the advance. The night was dark and the road made darker by the foliage of the trees on either side. The progress was necessarily slow. Frequent short halts were made while the skirmishers were feeling their way. Once, when the halt was prolonged and nothing broke the deep silence of the night except an occasional shot followed by the never-to-be-forgotten *ping* of the minie-ball, General Newton, who was riding with the third or fourth regiment from the advance, called out: "Is any one of my staff here?" Those present promptly responded, and I was directed to "ride ahead and tell Colonel Shaler to brush away the enemy's



THE STONE WALL UNDER MARY'S HEIGHTS. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IMMEDIATELY AFTER SEDGWICK CARRIED THE POSITION BY ASSAULT.

pickets." The road was filled with soldiers, some lying down, others resting on their guns, but a passage was quickly cleared. At Hazel Run Colonel Shaler and Colonel Hamblin were found standing together. Here the enemy made a determined resistance. Their pickets were but a few yards distant. On the other side of the creek the road made a sharp ascent and curved to the right. In a subdued tone Colonel Shaler said: "Colonel Hamblin, you have heard the order from General Newton?" At once Colonel Hamblin left. In a moment there was the noise of hurrying feet, the troops quickly disappeared in the dark; a shout, a bright, sudden flash, a roll of musketry followed, and the road was open.

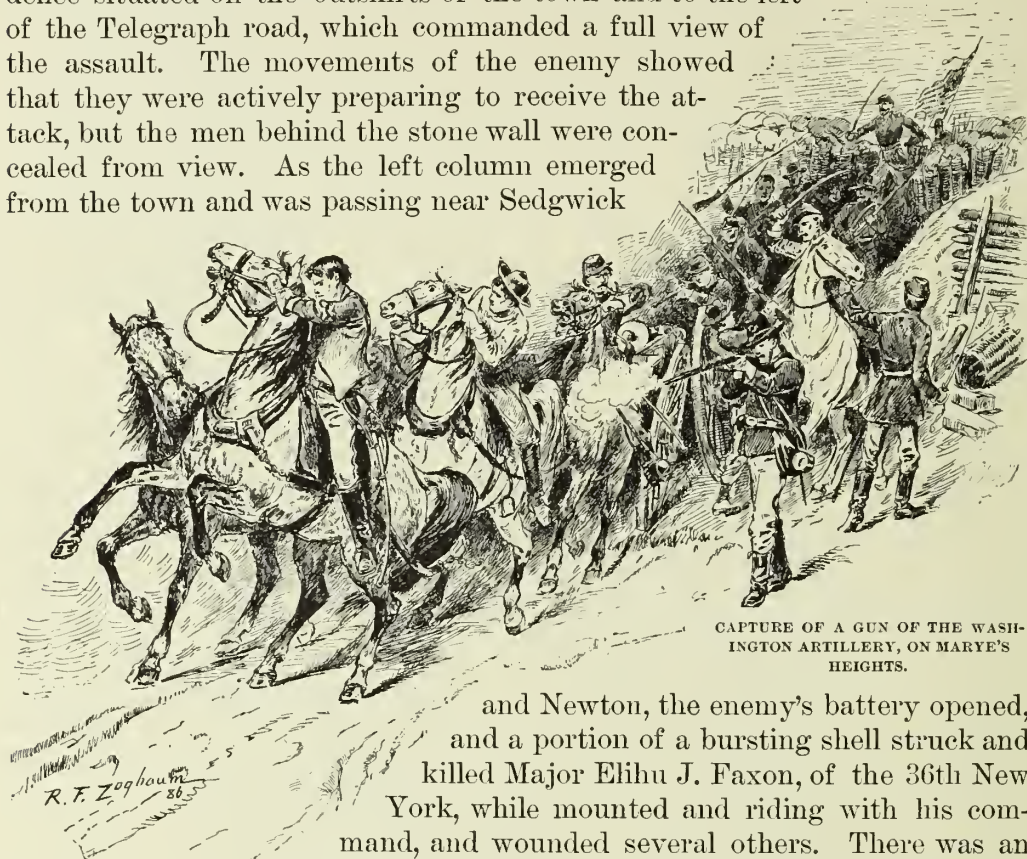
It was the gray of morning when the advance reached the rear and left of Fredericksburg. A negro who came into the lines reported the heights occupied and that the enemy were cutting the canal to flood the roads. To ascertain whether this was true, another delay was caused. No one in the command was acquainted with the topography of the country, and the advance was compelled to move with great caution through the streets and in the outskirts of the town. As the morning dawned, Marye's Heights, the scene of the fierce attacks under Burnside in the previous December, were presented to our view. Several regiments were speedily moved along the open ground in the rear of the town toward the heights, and this movement discovered the enemy in force behind the famous stone wall at the base of the hill. Lee had left Early with his division and Barksdale's brigade, a force of about ten thousand men, to hold Fredericksburg Heights. They were protected by strong works and supported by well-served artillery. It was at once felt that a desperate encounter was to follow, and the recollections of the previous disaster were by no means inspiring.

It was Sunday morning, the 3d of May, and the weather was beautiful. The town was perfectly quiet, many of the inhabitants had fled, not a person was to be seen on the streets, and the windows and blinds of the houses were closed. The marks of the fierce cannonade to which the place had previously been exposed were everywhere visible.

As soon as practicable and as secretly as possible, Sedgwick prepared to attack the heights. Gibbon, of the Second Corps, who had been left on the north bank, crossed shortly after Sedgwick had captured the town and moved to the right, but his advance was stopped by the canal in front, over which it was impossible to lay bridges in face of the fire from the artillery and infantry on the hill. Sedgwick says, "Nothing remained but to carry the works by direct assault." The attack on Marye's Heights was made under direction of Newton. Two columns, each marching by fours, were formed on the Plank and Telegraph roads, and were supported by a line of infantry from the Light Brigade on the left, commanded by Colonel Burnham. The right column, under Colonel George C. Spear, was composed of the 61st Pennsylvania and the 43d New York. These two regiments belonged to the Light Brigade. This column was supported by the 67th New York and 82d Pennsylvania, under Colonel Alexander Shaler. The left column consisted of the 7th Massachusetts and the 36th New York, under Colonel Thomas D. Johns.

The line of battle, commanded by Colonel Hiram Burnham, was composed of the 5th Wisconsin (acting as skirmishers), the 6th Maine, 31st New York (these three regiments also belonging to the Light Brigade), and the 23d Pennsylvania. Howe's division was posted south of Hazel Run, and coöperated handsomely, capturing five guns. †

The order to advance was given at 11 o'clock. Sedgwick and Newton with the deepest interest watched the attack from the garden of a brick residence situated on the outskirts of the town and to the left of the Telegraph road, which commanded a full view of the assault. The movements of the enemy showed that they were actively preparing to receive the attack, but the men behind the stone wall were concealed from view. As the left column emerged from the town and was passing near Sedgwick



CAPTURE OF A GUN OF THE WASHINGTON ARTILLERY, ON MARYE'S HEIGHTS.

and Newton, the enemy's battery opened, and a portion of a bursting shell struck and killed Major Elihu J. Faxon, of the 36th New York, while mounted and riding with his command, and wounded several others. There was an exclamation of horror and a momentary scattering of the rear of the column, but the men quickly closed up and pressed on. Colonel Spear, commanding the right column, was killed at about the same time. Both columns and line, in light marching order, advanced at double-quick without firing a shot. The enemy kept up an incessant artillery fire, and the noise was deafening. Their musketry fire was reserved until our men were within easy range. Then a murderous storm of shot from the stone wall, and grape and canister from the hill, burst upon the columns and line. For a moment the head of the left column was checked and broken. The column on the right was also broken. Colonel Burnham's line of blue on the green field paused as if to recover breath, and

† Brooks's division was posted along Deep Run as far as Bernard's house. Bartlett's brigade of this division held the railroad crossing at Deep

Run to guard against an attack on the flank of the storming column, and was sharply engaged during the forenoon.—EDITORS.

slightly wavered. Sedgwick and Newton looked on with unconcealed anxiety, and turned to each other, but remained silent. The suspense was intense. Was it to be a victory or a defeat? Was the place a second time to be a "slaughter-pen?" Was the Sixth Corps to be driven into the river? Staff-officers, waving their swords and hurrahing to the men, dashed down the Telegraph road. A blinding rain of shot pierced the air. It was more than human nature could face. The head of the column as it reached the lowest part of the decline near a fork in the road seemed to melt away. Many fell; others bending low to the earth hurriedly sought shelter from the undulations of ground and the fences and the two or three wooden structures along the road. Out of 400 comprising the 7th Massachusetts, 150 were killed and wounded. Colonel Johns, commanding, was severely wounded. Then, as if moved by a sudden impulse and nerved for a supreme effort, both columns and the line in the field simultaneously sprang forward. The stone wall was gained and the men were quickly over it.† Just as my horse was jumping through a break in the wall one of the enemy, standing slightly to the left and about a horse's length from me, raised his gun and fired. The excitement of the hour must have unnerved his hand, for the ball *zipped* harmlessly by to my right. In a second a bayonet was thrust into his breast by one of our men on my left. Along the wall a hand-to-hand fight took place, and the bayonet and the butt of the musket were freely used. The brilliant and successful charge occupied perhaps ten or fifteen minutes, and immediately after the wall was carried the enemy became panic-stricken. In the flight they threw away guns, knapsacks, pistols, swords, and everything that might retard their speed. One thousand prisoners were taken, besides several battle-flags and pieces of artillery. The commander of a Louisiana battery handed his saber to Colonel Thomas S. Allen, of the 5th Wisconsin. This regiment out of 500 men lost 123, and the 6th Maine out of about the same number lost 167 in killed and wounded. Over 600 were killed and wounded in the direct assault upon the heights, and the loss to the corps on the entire front was about 1000.

General G. K. Warren, who had arrived that morning with instructions from headquarters, said in his telegram to Hooker: "The heights were carried splendidly at 11 A. M. by Newton." Upon reaching the summit of the sharp hill, after passing through the extensive and well-wooded grounds of

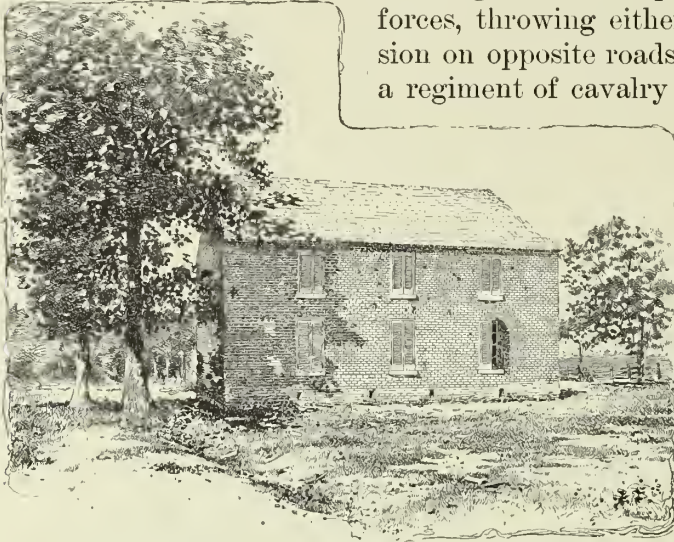
†A private of Company F, 7th Massachusetts, writes to the editors:

"The assault took place Sunday, May 3d, at about 11 o'clock A. M., the 7th Massachusetts leading the left column, the 36th New York Volunteers in support. Both marched by the flank. Our company (F), leading the 7th, consequently caught the whole body of the first fire of the 'Johnnies,' which they withheld until we were certainly within twenty-five yards. As some of the officers sang out 'Retreat, Retreat,' the men began to yell 'Forward! don't go back! we sha'n't get so close up again.' Lieutenant-Colonel Franklin P. Harlow was the man above all others who held the men up to their work, and I have never yet seen his name even worthily mentioned. Just before and in front of the wall facing down the street is a house standing in a small plat, V-shaped, and inclosed by a high board fence. This wall in our front along the base of the hill was a rough stone wall forming the rear bank of the sunken road, while on

our side in front of the sunken road was a good stone wall even with the level of the field. In this sunken road were two Confederate lines of battle, the front line firing on our charging lines on the left of the road and the rear line sitting on their heels, with their backs against the terrace wall at the base of the hill and rear of the road. About opposite the right of our regiment was a depression on the hill made some time, I should think, by water from the land above, but now grassed over; at the head of this depression was a battery placed, I suppose, to rake the ravine or depression. Some one looked through the board fence, and saw the enemy's flank. In a moment the men rushed to the fence, and we went through pell-mell right upon the flank of the Confederates, at the same time giving them the contents of the muskets point-blank without aiming. The whole thing was a surprise; they were not prepared for anything from this quarter, as we were hidden from them, and they from us, by the house and fence."

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the Marye House, an exciting scene met the eye. A single glance exhibited to view the broad plateau alive with fleeing soldiers, riderless horses, and artillery and wagon trains on a gallop. The writer hurried back to Sedgwick, who was giving directions for Brooks and Howe to come up, and suggested that it was a rare opportunity for the use of cavalry. With evident regret Sedgwick replied that he did not have a cavalryman. The carrying of the heights had completely divided the enemy's forces, throwing either flank with much confusion on opposite roads, and it seemed as though a regiment of cavalry might not only have captured



SALEM CHURCH. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN 1884.

The view is from the Plank road. On the left is what remains of the Confederate trenches. The bricks on the four sides of the church are spotted with bullet-marks, and especially on the line of the upper windows toward the road, showing that many Union soldiers aimed high. This church was a refuge for many Fredericksburg families during Burnside's battle.—EDITORS.

many prisoners, guns, ammunition, and wagons, but also have cleared the way for the corps almost as far as the immediate rear of Lee's army at Chancellorsville.

Newton's division, exhausted by the night march, the weight of several days' rations and sixty rounds of ammunition, and by the heat, fatigue, and excitement of battle, were allowed to halt for a

short time. Many were soon asleep, while others made coffee and partook of their first meal that day.

Brooks's division soon came up from below Hazel Run, and took the advance. Newton and Howe followed. The enemy in the meantime had united their forces, and delayed the rapid advance by frequent stands, retiring successively from hill to hill, and opening with artillery. Ravines running at right angles to the main road and the rolling character of the country were favorable for impeding the pursuit, which was continued for three or four miles until we reached Salem Church, an unpretentious red-brick structure situated on a ridge covered with dense woods and undergrowth. To-day it bears many scars of the contest waged around it.

At this point the enemy were in position with four fresh brigades withdrawn from Hooker's front, and prepared to contest any farther advance. Lee had met with such complete success in his attack upon Hooker that he felt he could well spare these troops and not suffer. Brooks on the left of the road and Newton on the right quickly formed their commands and made several gallant assaults. The fight was very severe in the thick woods, and for a time was waged with varying success. The crest of the woods and a little school-house near the church were gained, and once it was thought they could

be held, but the enemy, in superior numbers, pressed on, and the ground and the church were left in their possession. The contest did not last long, but nearly 1500 were killed and wounded. Bartlett's brigade, numbering less than 1500, lost 580 officers and men. That night the soldiers slept on their arms.

It was understood throughout the Sixth Corps that as soon as it should become engaged with the enemy Hooker would immediately attack in his front, and prevent any reinforcements from being sent against Sedgwick. All during that Sabbath day and the next the sound of Hooker's guns were eagerly listened for. No sound would have been more welcome. But after 10 o'clock Sunday morning axes and spades were used at Chancellorsville more than the guns. The feeling became widely prevalent that the Sixth Corps would be compelled to take care of itself. At first it was cautiously whispered that Hooker had failed, and soon the worst was surmised, and it was concluded that no help could be expected from him. His dash, promptness, and confidence as a division and corps commander were gone.

Lee that night withdrew his troops, flushed with their brilliant success, from the front of Hooker, with the exception of Jackson's corps, and marched against Sedgwick. Still Hooker remained inactive; with a force greatly in excess of the enemy in his front, he made no effort to relieve Sedgwick from his perilous position. Works were thrown up by the enemy along the Salem Church ridge, and they extended their right until on Monday morning Marye's Heights and Fredericksburg, won at so great a sacrifice, were again theirs.

Sedgwick's position, as finally established, was in the shape of a horseshoe, both flanks resting on the river, the line covering Banks's Ford. His line of battle was between five and six miles in length. Frequent attempts had been made, during Sunday morning, to communicate with Banks's Ford and to direct the laying of pontoon-bridges, but for some time roving bodies of cavalry frustrated this. The late Colonel Henry W. Farrar, then on the staff of Sedgwick, while carrying a message for this purpose, was captured and taken to Richmond. The 4th of May dragged wearily, skirmishing continued all day, the weather was hot, Sedgwick's position was most critical, and the keenest anxiety was felt. Lee was in our front with a force much larger than Sedgwick's then available command of about eighteen thousand men, and an attack was momentarily expected, but fortunately Lee consumed the whole day in establishing his lines. The greatest vigilance and activity were exercised by our men in throwing up rifle-pits. Hooker sent word to Sedgwick to look well to the safety of his corps, and either to fall back upon Fredericksburg or recross at Banks's Ford; he also added that he could do nothing to relieve him.† Sedgwick accordingly intrusted Newton with the arrange-

† These instructions to Sedgwick were sent through General G. K. Warren, Hooker's chief of engineers, who had been sent to Sedgwick to render what assistance he might, and who had returned to Hooker on Sunday evening. Warren says:

"As soon as General Sedgwick's advance had caused the retreat of the troops at Banks's Ford [about 1 P. M., May 3d], General Benham had thrown a bridge across

and communicated with him. By this route and the United States Mine Ford, I returned to headquarters, near Chancellorsville, which I reached at 11 P. M. I found, as the result of the battle at that point, that our line had fallen back from the Chancellorsville house about a mile. After reporting to the general, and getting his ideas, I telegraphed the following to General Sedgwick at midnight:

"I find everything snug here. We contracted the line a little, and repulsed the last assault with ease. General



THE ATTACK ON SEDGWICK AT BANKS'S FORD, MONDAY EVENING, MAY 4, AS SEEN FROM THE SAND-BAG BATTERY NEAR FALMOUTH. FROM A WAR-TIME SKETCH.

ments for the withdrawal. Newton quickly made himself acquainted with the roads leading to Banks's Ford and succeeded in establishing communication with General Henry W. Benham, who was in charge of the pontoons at that place.

At 6 o'clock in the evening the enemy attacked Brooks and Howe on the center and left, with the design of cutting off the corps from Banks's Ford. Howe not only maintained his position until night-fall, but also made several counter-charges, capturing several hundred prisoners. Brooks also held on until dark, but in retiring was closely pursued by the enemy. The whole corps then successfully fell back to Banks's Ford, and the long and painful suspense of the day was over. The picket line in front and on the left of Salem ridge was withdrawn by General David A. Russell in person. I had been directed to assist him. That sterling soldier dismounted, moved along the line saying, "Quietly, men, quietly; don't make any noise"; but the jingle of the canteens and other unavoidable sounds on the evening air revealed the movement to the vigilant enemy, and they followed closely, yelling and firing until the double-quick step brought us to our main column on the march, about a mile distant. Several of the enemy's scouts penetrated almost to the ford and threw up rockets to mark our position. The enemy's artillery responded to the signal, shelling both troops and bridges, but with little injury. During the night we recrossed the river and took position to meet the enemy should they, as expected at the time, cross to the north side to renew their attack, or attempt to destroy our depots for supplies near Fredericksburg. We captured 5 battle-flags and 15 pieces of artillery, 9 of which were brought off. Fourteen hundred prisoners were taken, including many officers of rank.

Hooker wishes them to attack him to-morrow, if they will. He does not desire you to attack again in force unless he attacks him at the same time. He says you are too far away from him to direct. Look well to the safety of your corps, and keep up communication with General Benham at Banks's Ford and Fredericksburg. You can go to either place, if you think best. To cross at Banks's Ford would bring you in supporting distance of the main body, and would be better than falling back to Fredericksburg.'

"This dispatch was written at a time when I was exceedingly exhausted. It did not reach General Sedgwick till late in the forenoon of the 4th, so I have been told, and was the only instruction he received. The enemy attacked him in strong force the next day, and, having resisted them till the evening, he withdrew across the river at Banks's Ford."

EDITORS.

LEE'S KNOWLEDGE OF HOOKER'S MOVEMENTS.

BY R. E. COLSTON, MAJOR-GENERAL, C. S. A.

THE assertion that Hooker's move upon Chancellorsville was a surprise to General Lee is a great mistake. Every day Lee had information of Hooker's movements. The following letter, sent by Lee to Jackson, and by the latter to me, has never been out of my possession since. It shows the remarkable intuition that enabled General Lee on so many occasions to foresee and penetrate the intentions of his antagonist. In this case a demonstration had been made on our extreme right at Port Royal, and without waiting for orders I had gone with a brigade and battery to meet it. I reported the facts to General Jackson, and it is my letter to him to which Lee refers:

"HEADQUARTERS, A. N. V., April 23, 1863. LIEUT. GEN'L T. J. JACKSON, Com'g Corps. GEN'L: I have received General Colston's letter of 8½ o'clock to-day which you forwarded to me. I think from the account given me by Lt-Col. Smith of the Engineers, who was at Port Royal yesterday, of the enemy's operations there, the day and night previous, that his present purpose is to draw our troops in that direction while he attempts a passage elsewhere. I would not, then, send down more troops than are actually necessary. I will notify Gen'ls McLaws and Anderson to be on the alert, for I think that if a real attempt is made to cross the river it will be above Fredericksburg. Very respectfully, R. E. LEE, Gen'l."

The letter was indorsed by Jackson, "Respectfully referred to General Colston for his guidance." It was also marked "confidential," and both the front and the back of the envelope were marked "private," so that not even my adjutant-general should open it in case of my absence.

The Federal writers have wondered why Jackson's corps did not complete its work on the evening of May 2d. They do not realize the condition of our troops after their successful charge on Howard. We had forced our way through brush so dense that the troops were nearly stripped of their uniforms. Brigades, regiments, and companies had become so mixed that they could not be handled; besides which the darkness of evening was so intensified by the shade of the dense woods that nothing could be seen a few yards off. The halt at that time was not a mistake, but a necessity. So far from intending to stop, Jackson, when he was wounded, was hurrying A. P. Hill's division to the front to take the place of Rodes's

and mine and to continue the attack; A. P. Hill was also wounded soon afterward, and the advance of his troops in the narrow road on which alone they could move was checked by the shell and canister of twelve Napoleon guns, from an elevation within five hundred yards. The slaughter and confusion were greatly increased by this terrible fire in the night, so that the pause in the attack was one of those fatalities of war that no foresight can prevent.

It was about 1 o'clock on Sunday, May 3d, that Lee received information that Early had been driven from Marye's Heights and was falling back before Sedgwick. Jackson's corps, which had been fighting since 6 o'clock the previous evening, with very little rest during the night, renewing the conflict at daylight, and capturing the positions at Chancellorsville, was much diminished by casualties and much exhausted by fatigue, hunger, and thirst; but it was preparing to move upon Hooker's last line of intrenchments, erected during the night on very strong positions. My division was in the lead in line of battle. It was then that I received an order to report at once in person to General Lee. I found him standing in a small tent pitched by the roadside. His plain gray sack-coat, with only three stars on the rolling collar, was, like his face, well sprinkled with the dust of the battle-field. In low, quiet tones he said to me: "General, I wish you to advance with your division on the United States Ford road. I expect you will meet with resistance before you come to the bend of the road. I do not want you to attack the enemy's positions, but only to feel them. Send your engineer officer with skirmishers to the front to reconnoiter and report. Don't engage seriously, but keep the enemy in check and prevent him from advancing."

I am confident that these were almost the exact words of General Lee, to which he added, "Move at once," which I did. I was not a little puzzled at the time (not knowing the situation at Fredericksburg), and I wondered why we were not to continue our advance and hurl Hooker into the river. Lee left the field at Chancellorsville immediately after giving me the above orders, and hastened to Early's support with McLaws's division, Mahone's brigade, and other troops, and compelled Sedgwick to retreat across the Rappahannock.

THE OPPOSING FORCES IN THE CHANCELLORSVILLE CAMPAIGN.

The composition, losses, and strength of each army as here stated give the gist of all the data obtainable in the Official Records. K stands for killed; w for wounded; m w for mortally wounded; m for captured or missing; c for captured.

THE UNION ARMY.

ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.—Major-General Joseph Hooker. Staff loss: w, 1.

Provost Guard, Brig.-Gen. Marsena R. Patrick: 93d N. Y., Col. John S. Crocker; E and I. 6th Pa. Cav., Capt. James Starr; 8th U. S. (6 co's), Capt. E. W. H. Read; Detachment Regular Cav., Lieut. Taffnall Paulding. *Patrick's Brigade*, Col. William F. Rogers; B, Md. Art'y,

Capt. Alonzo Snow; 21st N. Y., Lieut.-Col. Chester W. Sternberg; 23d N. Y., Col. Henry C. Hoffman; 35th N. Y., Col. John G. Todd; 80th N. Y. (20th Militia), Col. Theodore B. Gates; 12th Ohio Battery, Capt. Aaron C. Johnson. *Engineer Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. Henry W. Ben-

ham; 15th N. Y., Col. Clinton G. Colgate; 50th N. Y., Col. Charles B. Stuart; Battalion U. S. Engineers, Capt. Channey B. Reese. Brigade loss: k, 1; w, 6; m, 1=8. *Guards and Orderlies*, Oneida (N. Y.) Cav., Capt. Daniel P. Mann.

ARTILLERY, Brig.-Gen. Henry J. Hunt. *Artillery Reserve*, Capt. William M. Graham, Brig.-Gen. Robert O. Tyler; B, 1st Conn., Lieut. Albert F. Brooker; M, 1st Conn., Capt. Franklin A. Pratt; 5th N. Y., Capt. Elijah D. Taft; 15th N. Y., Capt. Patrick Hart; 29th N. Y., Lieut. Gustav von Blueher; 30th N. Y., Capt. Adolph Voegelée; 32d N. Y., Lieut. George Gaston; K, 1st U. S., Lieut. Lorenzo Thomas, Jr.; C, 3d U. S., Lieut. Henry Meinell; G, 4th U. S., Lieut. Marens P. Miller; K, 5th U. S., Lieut. David H. Kinzie; C, 32d Mass., Capt. Josiah C. Fuller. *Train Guard*, 1st N. J. (7 co's), Col. William Birney, Capt. Robert S. Johnston.

FIRST ARMY CORPS, Maj.-Gen. John F. Reynolds. *Escort*: L, 1st Me. Cav., Capt. Constantine Taylor. **FIRST DIVISION**, Brig.-Gen. James S. Wadsworth.

First Brigade, Col. Walter Phelps, Jr.: 22d N. Y., Maj. Thomas J. Strong; 24th N. Y., Col. Samuel R. Beardsley; 30th N. Y., Col. Wm. M. Searling; 84th N. Y. (14th Militia), Col. Edward B. Fowler. Brigade loss: w, 37. *Second Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. Lyssander Cutler: 7th Ind., Lieut.-Col. Ira G. Grover; 76th N. Y., Col. William P. Wainwright; 95th N. Y., Col. George H. Biddle; 147th N. Y., Col. John G. Butler; 56th Pa., Col. J. William Hofmann. Brigade loss: k, 3; w, 25; m, 5=33. *Third Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. Gabriel R. Paul: 22d N. J., Col. Abraham G. Demarest; 29th N. J., Col. William R. Taylor; 30th N. J., Col. John J. Cladek; 31st N. J., Lieut.-Col. Robert R. Honeyman; 137th Pa., Col. Joseph B. Kiddoo. Brigade loss: k, 1; w, 15=16. *Fourth Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. Solomon Meredith: 19th Ind., Col. Samuel J. Williams; 24th Mich., Col. Henry A. Morrow; 2d Wis., Col. Lucius Fairchild; 6th Wis., Col. Edward S. Bragg; 7th Wis., Col. William W. Robinson. Brigade loss: k, 11; w, 46; m, 3=60. *Artillery*, Capt. John A. Reynolds: 1st N. H., Capt. Frederiek M. Edgell; L, 1st N. Y., Capt. John A. Reynolds; B, 4th U. S., Lieut. James Stewart. Artillery loss: w, 9; m, 2=11.

SECOND DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. John C. Robinson.

First Brigade, Col. Adrian R. Root; 16th Me., Col. Charles W. Tilden; 94th N. Y., Capt. Samuel A. Moffett; 104th N. Y., Col. Gilbert G. Prey; 107th Pa., Col. Thomas F. McCoy. Brigade loss: w, 5. *Second Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. Henry Baxter: 12th Mass., Col. James L. Bates; 26th N. Y., Lieut.-Col. Gilbert S. Jennings; 90th Pa., Col. Peter Lyle; 136th Pa., Col. Thomas M. Bayne. Brigade loss: k, 1; w, 16; m, 5=22. *Third Brigade*, Col. Samuel H. Leonard: 13th Mass., Lieut.-Col. N. Walter Batehelder; 83d N. Y. (9th Militia), Lieut.-Col. Joseph A. Moesch; 97th N. Y., Col. Charles Wheelock; 11th Pa., Col. Richard Coulter; 88th Pa., Lieut.-Col. Louis Wagner. Brigade loss: k, 2; w, 13; m, 1=16. *Artillery*, Capt. Dunbar R. Ransom: 2d Me., Capt. James A. Hall; 5th Me., Capt. George F. Leppien (w), Lieut. Edmund Kirby (w), Lieut. Greenleaf T. Stevens; C, Pa., Capt. James Thompson; C, 5th U. S., Capt. Dunbar R. Ransom. Artillery loss: k, 7; w, 25=32.

THIRD DIVISION, Maj.-Gen. Abner Doubleday.

First Brigade, Brig.-Gen. Thomas A. Rowley: 121st Pa., Col. Chapman Biddle; 135th Pa., Col. James R. Porter; 142d Pa., Col. Robert P. Cummins; 151st Pa., Col. Harrison Allen. Brigade loss: k, 1; w, 12; m, 36=49. *Second Brigade*, Col. Roy Stone: 143d Pa., Col. Edmund L. Dana; 149th Pa., Lieut.-Col. Walton Dwight; 150th Pa., Col. Langhorne Wister. Brigade loss: w, 3. *Artillery*, Maj. Ezra W. Matthews: B, 1st Pa., Capt. James H. Cooper; F, 1st Pa., Lieut. R. Bruce Ricketts; G, 1st Pa., Capt. Frank P. Amsden. Artillery loss: w, 9; m, 2=11.

SECOND ARMY CORPS, Maj.-Gen. Darius N. Couch. Staff loss: w, 1.

Escort, D and K, 6th N. Y. Cav., Capt. Riley Johnson. Loss: w, 2.

FIRST DIVISION, Maj.-Gen. Winfield S. Hancock.

First Brigade, Brig.-Gen. John C. Caldwell: 5th N. H., Col. Edward E. Cross, Lieut.-Col. Charles E. Hapgood; 61st N. Y., Col. Nelson A. Miles (w), Lieut.-Col. K. Oscar Broady; 81st Pa., Col. H. Boyd McKeen (w); 148th Pa., Col. James A. Beaver (w), Maj. George A. Fairlamb. Brigade loss: k, 36; w, 196; m, 46=278. *Second Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. Thomas F. Meagher: 28th Mass., Col. Richard Byrnes; 63d N. Y., Lieut.-Col. Richard C. Bentley; 69th N. Y., Capt. James E. McGee; 88th N. Y., Col. Patrick Kelly; 116th Pa. (battalion), Maj. St. Clair A. Mulholland. Brigade loss: k, 8; w, 63; m, 31=102. *Third Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. Samuel K. Zook: 52d N. Y., Col. Paul Frank, Lieut.-Col. Charles G. Freudenberg; 57th N. Y., Lieut.-Col. Alford B. Chapman; 66th N. Y., Col. Orlando H. Morris; 140th Pa., Col. Richards P. Roberts. Brigade loss: k, 13; w, 97; m, 78=188. *Fourth Brigade*, Col. John R. Brooke: 27th Conn., Col. Richard S. Bostwick; 2d Del., Lieut.-Col. David L. Stricker; 64th N. Y., Col. Daniel G. Bingham; 53d Pa., Lieut.-Col. Richards McMichael; 145th Pa., Col. Hiram L. Brown. Brigade loss: k, 19; w, 64; m, 446=529. *Artillery*, Capt. Rufus D. Pettit: B, 1st N. Y., Capt. Rufus D. Pettit; C, 4th U. S., Lieut. Evan Thomas. Artillery loss: k, 2; w, 25=27.

SECOND DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. John Gibbon.

First Brigade, Brig.-Gen. Alfred Sully, Col. Henry W. Hudson, Col. Byron Ladin: 19th Me., Col. Francis E. Heath; 15th Mass., Maj. George C. Joslin; 1st Minn., Lieut.-Col. William Colvill, Jr.; 34th N. Y., Col. Byron Ladin, Lieut.-Col. John Beverly; 82d N. Y. (2d Militia), Col. Henry W. Hudson, Lieut.-Col. James Hinton. Brigade loss: w, 16; m, 4=20. *Second Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. Joshua T. Owen: 69th Pa., Col. Dennis O'Kane; 71st Pa., Col. Richard P. Smith; 72d Pa., Col. De Witt C. Baxter; 106th Pa., Col. Turner G. Morehead. *Third Brigade*, Col. Norman J. Hall: 19th Mass., Lieut.-Col. Arthur F. Devereux; 20th Mass., Lieut.-Col. George N. Macy; 7th Mich., Capt. Amos E. Steele, Jr.; 42d N. Y., Col. James E. Mallon; 59th N. Y., Lieut.-Col. Max A. Thoman; 127th Pa., Col. William W. Jennings. Brigade loss: k, 3; w, 56; m, 8=67. *Artillery*: A, 1st R. I., Capt. William A. Arnold; B, 1st R. I., Lieut. T. Fred. Brown. *Sharpshooters*: 1st Co. Mass., Capt. William Plumer.

THIRD DIVISION, Maj.-Gen. William H. French.

First Brigade, Col. Samuel S. Carroll: 14th Ind., Col. John Coons; 24th N. J., Col. William B. Robertson; 28th N. J., Lieut.-Col. John A. Wildrick (e), Maj. Samuel K. Wilson; 4th Ohio, Lieut.-Col. Leonard W. Carpenter; 8th Ohio, Lieut.-Col. Franklin Sawyer; 7th W. Va., Col. Joseph Snider, Lieut.-Col. Jonathan H. Lockwood. Brigade loss: k, 29; w, 182; m, 57=268. *Second Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. William Hays (e), Col. Charles J. Powers: 14th Conn., Maj. Theodore G. Ellis; 12th N. J., Col. J. Howard Willets (w), Maj. John T. Hill; 108th N. Y., Col. Charles J. Powers, Lieut.-Col. Francis E. Pierce; 130th Pa., Col. Levi Maish (w), Maj. Joseph S. Jenkins. Brigade loss: k, 26; w, 242; m, 61=319. *Third Brigade*, Col. John D. MacGregor, Col. Charles Albright: 1st Del., Col. Thomas A. Smyth; 4th N. Y., Lieut.-Col. William Jameson; 132d Pa., Col. Charles Albright, Lieut.-Col. Joseph E. Shreve. Brigade loss: k, 8; w, 80; m, 11=99. *Artillery*: G, 1st N. Y., Lieut. Nelson Ames; G, 1st R. I., Capt. George W. Adams. Artillery loss: k, 5; w, 18=23.

ARTILLERY RESERVE: I, 1st U. S., Lieut. Edmund Kirby (w while commanding 5th Maine Battery); A, 4th U. S., Lieut. Alonzo H. Cushing. Artillery loss: w, 2.

THIRD ARMY CORPS, Maj.-Gen. Daniel E. Sickles. Staff loss: w, 1.

FIRST DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. David B. Birney. Staff loss: w, 2.

First Brigade, Brig.-Gen. Charles K. Graham, Col. Thomas W. Egan; 57th Pa., Col. Peter Sides; 63d Pa., Lieut.-Col. William S. Kirkwood (m w), Capt. James F. Ryan; 68th Pa., Col. Andrew H. Tiffin; 105th Pa., Col.

† In temporary command of a force consisting of the 5th N. H., 88th N. Y., and 81st Pa.

‡ Served temporarily with the First Brigade.

Amor A. McKnight (k), Lieut.-Col. Calvin A. Craig; 114th Pa., Col. Charles H. T. Collis, Lieut.-Col. Frederiek F. Cavada; 141st Pa., Col. Henry J. Madill. Brigade loss: k, 72; w, 490; m, 194 = 756. *Second Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. J. H. Hobart Ward; 20th Ind., Col. John Wheeler; 3d Me., Col. Moses B. Lakeman; 4th Me., Col. Elijah Walker; 38th N. Y., Col. P. Regis de Trobriand; 40th N. Y., Col. Thomas W. Egan; 99th Pa., Col. Asher S. Leidy. Brigade loss: k, 11; w, 124; m, 113 = 248. *Third Brigade*, Col. Samuel B. Hayman; 17th Me., Lieut.-Col. Charles B. Merrill, Col. Thomas A. Roberts; 3d Mich., Col. Byron R. Pierce (w), Lieut.-Col. Edwin S. Pierce; 5th Mich., Lieut.-Col. Edward T. Sherlock (k), Maj. John Pinford; 1st N. Y., Lieut.-Col. Francis L. Leland; 37th N. Y., Lieut.-Col. Gilbert Riordan. Brigade loss: k, 30; w, 283; m, 253 = 566. *Artillery*, Capt. A. Judson Clark; 2d N. J., Lieut. Robert Sims; E, 1st R. I., Lieut. Pardon S. Jastram; F and K, 3d U. S., Lieut. John G. Turnbull. Artillery loss: k, 6; w, 26; m, 3 = 35.

SECOND DIVISION, Maj.-Gen. Hiram G. Berry (k), Brig.-Gen. Joseph B. Carr. Staff loss: k, 1.

First Brigade, Brig.-Gen. Joseph B. Carr, Col. William Blaisdell; 1st Mass., Col. Napoleon B. McLaughlin; 11th Mass., Col. William Blaisdell, Lieut.-Col. Porter D. Tripp; 16th Mass., Lieut.-Col. Waldo Merriam; 11th N. J., Col. Robert McAllister; 26th Pa., Col. Benjamin C. Tilghman (w), Maj. Robert L. Bodine. Brigade loss: k, 52; w, 387; m, 65 = 504. *Second Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. Joseph W. Revere, Col. J. Egbert Farnum; 70th N. Y., Col. J. Egbert Farnum, Lieut.-Col. Thomas Holt; 71st N. Y., Col. Henry L. Potter; 72d N. Y., Col. William O. Stevens (k), Maj. John Leonard; 73d N. Y., Maj. Michael W. Barnes; 74th N. Y., Lieut.-Col. William H. Lonsbury (w), Capt. Henry M. Allen (w), Capt. Francis E. Tyler; 120th N. Y., Lieut.-Col. Cornelius D. Westbrook. Brigade loss: k, 26; w, 160; m, 131 = 317. *Third Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. Gershom Mott (w), Col. William J. Sewell; 5th N. J., Col. William J. Sewell, Maj. Ashabel W. Angel (w), Capt. Virgil M. Healy; 6th N. J., Col. George C. Burling (w), Lieut.-Col. Stephen R. Gillyson; 7th N. J., Col. Louis R. Francine, Lieut.-Col. Francis Price; 8th N. Y., Col. John Ramsey (w), Capt. John G. Langston; 2d N. Y., Col. Sidney W. Park (w), Lieut.-Col. William A. Olmsted; 115th Pa., Col. Francis A. Lancaster (k), Maj. John P. Dunne. Brigade loss: k, 57; w, 422; m, 48 = 527. *Artillery*, Capt. Thomas W. Osborn; D, 1st N. Y., Lieut. George B. Winslow; 4th N. Y., Lieut. George F. Barstow, Lieut. William T. McLean; H, 1st U. S., Lieut. Justin E. Dimick (w), Lieut. James A. Sanderson; K, 4th U. S., Lieut. Francis W. Seeley. Artillery loss: k, 12; w, 68 = 80.

THIRD DIVISION, Maj.-Gen. Amiel W. Whipple (m w), Brig.-Gen. Charles K. Graham. Staff loss: w, 1.

First Brigade, Col. Emlen Franklin; 86th N. Y., Lieut.-Col. Barna J. Chapin (k), Capt. Jacob H. Lansing; 124th N. Y., Col. A. Van Horne Ellis; 122d Pa., Lieut.-Col. Edward McGovern. Brigade loss: k, 47; w, 304; m, 32 = 383. *Second Brigade*, Col. Samuel M. Bowman; 12th N. H., Col. Joseph H. Potter (w); 84th Pa., Lieut.-Col. Milton Opp; 110th Pa., Col. James Crowther (k), Maj. David M. Jones (w and e). Brigade loss: k, 51; w, 290; m, 236 = 577. *Third Brigade*, Col. Hiram Berdan; 1st U. S. Sharpshooters, Lieut.-Col. Caspar Trepp; 2d U. S. Sharpshooters, Maj. Homer R. Stoughton. Brigade loss: k, 11; w, 61; m, 12 = 84. *Artillery*, Capt. Albert A. von Puttkammer, Capt. James F. Huntington; 10th N. Y., Lieut. Samuel Lewis; 11th N. Y., Lieut. John E. Burton; H, 1st Ohio, Capt. James F. Huntington. Artillery loss: k, 2; w, 26; m, 9 = 37.

FIFTH ARMY CORPS, Maj.-Gen. George G. Meade. FIRST DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. Charles Griffin.

First Brigade, Brig.-Gen. James Barnes; 2d Me., Col. George Varney; 18th Mass., Col. Joseph Hayes; 22d Mass., Col. William S. Tilton; 2d Co. Mass. Sharpshooters, Lieut. Robert Smith; 1st Mich., Col. Ira C. Abbott; 13th N. Y. (battalion), Capt. William Downey; 25th N. Y., Col. Charles A. Johnson; 118th Pa., Col. Charles M. Prevost. Brigade loss: k, 4; w, 40; m, 4 = 48. *Second Brigade*, Col. James McQuade, Col. Jacob B. Sweitzer; 9th Mass., Col. Patrick R. Guiney; 32d Mass., Lieut.-Col. Luther Stephenson; 4th Mich., Col. Harrison H. Jeffords;

14th N. Y., Lieut.-Col. Thomas M. Davies; 62d Pa., Col. Jacob B. Sweitzer, Lieut.-Col. James C. Hull. Brigade loss: k, 9; w, 46; m, 7 = 62. *Third Brigade*, Col. Thomas B. W. Stockton; 20th Me., Lieut.-Col. Joshua L. Chamberlain; Brady's Co. Mich. Sharpshooters; 16th Mich., Lieut.-Col. Norval E. Welch; 12th N. Y., Capt. William Hinson; 17th N. Y., Lieut.-Col. Nelson B. Bartram; 44th N. Y., Col. James C. Rice; 83d Pa., Col. Strong Vincent. Brigade loss: k, 2; w, 18 = 20. *Artillery*, Capt. Augustus P. Martin; 3d Mass., Capt. Augustus P. Martin; 5th Mass., Capt. Charles A. Phillips; C, 1st R. I., Capt. Richard Waterman; D, 5th U. S., Lieut. Charles E. Hazlett. Artillery loss: k, 2; w, 4; m, 2 = 8.

SECOND DIVISION, Maj.-Gen. George Sykes.

First Brigade, Brig.-Gen. Romeyn B. Ayres; 3d U. S. (6 co's), Capt. John D. Wilkins; 4th U. S. (4 co's), Capt. Hiram Dryer; 12th U. S. (5 co's 1st Battalion and 3 co's 2d Battalion), Maj. Richard S. Smith; 14th U. S. (6 co's 1st Battalion and 2 co's 2d Battalion), Capt. Jonathan B. Hagar. Brigade loss: k, 4; w, 17; m, 30 = 51. *Second Brigade*, Col. Sidney Burbank; 2d U. S. (5 co's), Capt. Salem S. Marsh (k), Capt. Samuel A. McKee; 6th U. S. (5 co's), Capt. Levi C. Bootes; 7th U. S. (4 co's), Capt. David P. Hancock; 10th U. S. (3 co's), Lieut. Edward G. Bush; 11th U. S. (6 co's 1st Battalion and 2 co's 2d Battalion), Maj. De L. Floyd-Jones; 17th U. S. (5 co's 1st Battalion and 2 co's 2d Battalion), Maj. George L. Andrews. Brigade loss: k, 17; w, 103; m, 22 = 147. *Third Brigade*, Col. Patrick H. O'Rourke; 5th N. Y., Col. Cleveland Winslow; 140th N. Y., Lieut.-Col. Louis Ernst; 146th N. Y., Col. Kenner Garrard. Brigade loss: k, 4; w, 29; m, 38 = 71. *Artillery*, Capt. Stephen H. Weed; 1st Ohio, Capt. Frank C. Gibbs; I, 5th U. S., Lieut. Malbone F. Watson. Artillery loss: k, 2; w, 13; m, 1 = 16.

THIRD DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. Andrew A. Humphreys.

First Brigade, Brig.-Gen. Erastus B. Tyler; 91st Pa., Col. Edgar M. Gregory (w), Lieut.-Col. Joseph H. Sinex; 126th Pa., Lieut.-Col. David W. Rowe (w); 129th Pa., Col. Jacob G. Frick; 134th Pa., Col. Edward O'Brien. Brigade loss: k, 21; w, 166; m, 53 = 240. *Second Brigade*, Col. Peter H. Allabach; 123d Pa., Col. John B. Clark; 131st Pa., Maj. Robert W. Patton; 133d Pa., Col. Franklin B. Speakman; 155th Pa., Lieut.-Col. John H. Cain. Brigade loss: k, 4; w, 31; m, 2 = 37. *Artillery*, Capt. Alanson M. Randal; C, 1st N. Y., Capt. Almont Barnes; E and G, 1st U. S., Capt. Alanson M. Randal.

SIXTH ARMY CORPS, Maj.-Gen. John Sedgwick. Staff loss, w, 1; m, 1 = 2.

Escort: Maj. Hugh M. Janeway; L, 1st N. J. Cav., Lieut. Voorhees Dye; H, 1st Pa. Cav., Capt. William S. Craft.

FIRST DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. William T. H. Brooks. Staff loss: w, 1.

Provost Guard: A, C, and H, 4th N. J., Capt. Charles Ewing. Loss: w, 1. *First Brigade*, Col. Henry W. Brown (w), Col. William H. Penrose, Col. Samuel L. Buck (w), Col. William H. Penrose; 1st N. J., Col. Mark W. Collet (k), Lieut.-Col. William Henry, Jr.; 2d N. J., Col. Samuel L. Buck, Lieut.-Col. Charles Weihe; 3d N. J., Maj. J. W. H. Stickney; 15th N. J., Col. William H. Penrose, Lieut.-Col. Edward L. Campbell; 23d N. J., Col. E. Bird Grubb. Brigade loss: k, 66; w, 359; m, 86 = 511. *Second Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. Joseph J. Bartlett; 5th Me., Col. Clark S. Edwards; 16th N. Y., Col. Joel J. Seaver; 27th N. Y., Col. Alexander D. Adams; 121st N. Y., Col. Emory Upton; 96th Pa., Maj. William H. Lessig. Brigade loss: k, 101; w, 368; m, 143 = 612. *Third Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. David A. Russell; 18th N. Y., Col. George R. Myers; 32d N. Y., Col. Francis E. Pinto; 49th Pa., Lieut.-Col. Thomas M. Hudings; 95th Pa., Col. Gustavus W. Town (k), Lieut.-Col. Elisha Hall (k), Capt. Theodore H. McCalla; 119th Pa., Col. Peter C. Ellmaker. Brigade loss: k, 35; w, 197; m, 136 = 368. *Artillery*, Maj. John A. Tompkins; 1st Mass., Capt. William H. McCartney; 1st N. J., Lieut. Augustin N. Parsons; A, Md., Capt. James H. Rigby; D, 2d U. S., Lieut. Edward B. Williston. Artillery loss: k, 2; w, 5 = 7.

SECOND DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. Albion P. Howe.

Second Brigade, Col. Lewis A. Grant; 26th N. J., Col. Andrew J. Morrison, Lieut.-Col. Edward Martindale; 2d

Vt., Col. James H. Walbridge; 3d Vt., Col. Thomas O. Seaver, Lieut.-Col. Samuel E. Pingree; 4th Vt., Col. Charles B. Stoughton; 5th Vt., Lieut.-Col. John R. Lewis; 6th Vt., Col. Elisha L. Barney. *Brigade loss*: k, 39; w, 295; m, 97 = 431. *Third Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. Thomas H. Neill; 7th Me., Lieut.-Col. Selden Connor; 21st N. J., Col. Gilliam Van Houten (m w), Lieut.-Col. Isaac S. Mettler; 20th N. Y., Col. Erust von Vegesack; 33d N. Y., Col. Robert F. Taylor; 49th N. Y., Col. Daniel B. Bidwell; 77th N. Y., Lieut.-Col. Winsor B. French. *Brigade loss*: k, 52; w, 394; m, 404 = 850. *Artillery*, Maj. J. Watts de Peyster: 1st N. Y., Capt. Andrew Cowan; F, 5th U. S., Lieut. Leonard Martin. *Artillery loss*: w, 8; m, 1 = 9.

THIRD DIVISION, Maj.-Gen. John Newton.

First Brigade, Col. Alexander Shaler: 65th N. Y., Lieut. Col. Joseph E. Hamblin; 67th N. Y., Col. Nelson Cross; 122d N. Y., Col. Silas Titus; 23d Pa., Col. John Ely; 82d Pa., Maj. Isaac C. Bassett. *Brigade loss*: k, 7; w, 86; m, 67 = 160. *Second Brigade*, Col. William H. Browne (w), Col. Henry L. Eustis: 7th Mass., Col. Thomas D. Johns (w), Lieut.-Col. Franklin P. Harlow; 10th Mass., Lieut.-Col. Joseph B. Parsons; 37th Mass., Col. Oliver Edwards; 36th N. Y., Lieut.-Col. James J. Walsh; 2d R. I., Col. Horatio Rogers, Jr. *Brigade loss*: k, 42; w, 278; m, 22 = 342. *Third Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. Frank Wheaton: 62d N. Y., Lieut.-Col. Theodore B. Hamilton; 93d Pa., Capt. John S. Long; 98th Pa., Col. John F. Ballier (w), Lieut.-Col. George Wynkoop; 102d Pa., Col. Joseph M. Kiukead; 139th Pa., Col. Frederick H. Collier. *Brigade loss*: k, 48; w, 237; m, 200 = 485. *Artillery*, Capt. Jeremiah McCarthy: C and D, 1st Pa., Capt. Jeremiah McCarthy; G, 2d U. S., Lieut. John H. Butler. *Artillery loss*: k, 1; w, 4; m, 4 = 9.

LIGHT DIVISION, Col. Hiram Burnham: 6th Me., Lieut.-Col. Benjamin F. Harris; 31st N. Y., Col. Frank Jones; 43d N. Y., Col. Benjamin F. Baker; 61st Pa., Col. George C. Spear (k), Maj. George W. Dawson; 5th Wis., Col. Thomas S. Allen; 3d N. Y. Battery, Lieut. William A. Harn. *Division loss*: k, 94; w, 404; m, 310 = 808.

ELEVENTH ARMY CORPS, Maj.-Gen. Oliver O. Howard.

Escort: I and K, 1st Ind. Cav., Capt. Abram Sharra.

FIRST DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. Charles Devens, Jr. (w), Brig.-Gen. Nathaniel C. McLean. *Staff loss*: w, 1.

First Brigade, Col. Leopold von Gilsa: 41st N. Y., Maj. Detleo von Einsiedel; 45th N. Y., Col. George von Amsberg; 54th N. Y., Lieut.-Col. Charles Ashby; Maj. Stephen Kovacs; 153d Pa., Col. Charles Glauz, Lieut.-Col. Jacob Daehrodt. *Brigade loss*: k, 16; w, 117; m, 131 = 264. *Second Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. Nathaniel C. McLean, Col. John C. Lee: 17th Conn., Col. William H. Noble (w), Maj. Allen G. Brady; 25th Ohio, Col. William P. Richardson (w), Maj. Jeremiah Williams; 55th Ohio, Col. John C. Lee, Lieut.-Col. Charles B. Gambee; 75th Ohio, Col. Robert Reily (k), Capt. Benjamin Morgan; 107th Ohio, Col. Seraphim Meyer (w), Lieut.-Col. Charles Mueller. *Brigade loss*: k, 45; w, 348; m, 299 = 692. *Unattached*, 8th N. Y. (1 co.), Lieut. Herman Rosenkranz. *Artillery*: 13th N. Y., Capt. Julius Dieckmann. *Artillery loss*: w, 11; m, 2 = 13.

SECOND DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. Adolph von Steinwehr.

First Brigade, Col. Adolphus Buschbeck: 29th N. Y., Lieut.-Col. Louis Hartmann (w), Maj. Alex. von Schluembach; 154th N. Y., Col. Patrick H. Jones (w), Lieut.-Col. Henry C. Loomis; 27th Pa., Lieut.-Col. Lorenz Cantador; 73d Pa., Lieut.-Col. William Moore (w). *Brigade loss*: k, 26; w, 229; m, 228 = 483. *Second Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. Francis C. Barlow: 33d Mass., Col. Adin B. Underwood; 134th N. Y., Col. Charles R. Coster; 136th N. Y., Col. James Wood, Jr.; 73d Ohio, Col. Orland Smith. *Brigade loss*: w, 9; m, 14 = 23. *Artillery*: I, 1st N. Y., Capt. Michael Wedrich. *Artillery loss*: k, 1; w, 10; m, 2 = 13.

THIRD DIVISION, Maj.-Gen. Carl Schurz. *Staff loss*: w, 1.

First Brigade, Brig.-Gen. Alexander Schimmelfennig: 82d Ill., Col. Frederick Hecker (w), Maj. Ferdinand H. Rolshausen (w), Capt. Jacob Lasalle; 68th N. Y., Col.

Gotthilf Bourry; 157th N. Y., Col. Philip P. Brown, Jr.; 61st Ohio, Col. Stephen J. McGroarty; 74th Pa., Lieut.-Col. Adolph von Hartung. *Brigade loss*: k, 84; w, 215; m, 120 = 419. *Second Brigade*, Col. W. Krzyzanowski: 58th N. Y., Capt. Frederick Braun (k), Capt. Emil Koenig; 119th N. Y., Col. Elias Peissner (k), Lieut.-Col. John T. Lockman; 75th Pa., Col. Francis Mahler; 26th Wis., Col. William H. Jacobs. *Brigade loss*: k, 36; w, 219; m, 153 = 408. *Unattached*, 82d Ohio, Col. James S. Robinson. *Loss*: k, 8; w, 48; m, 25 = 81. *Artillery*: I, 1st Ohio, Capt. Hubert Dilger. *Artillery loss*: k, 1; w, 10 = 11.

RESERVE ARTILLERY, Lieut.-Col. Louis Schirmer: 2d N. Y., Capt. Hermann Jahn; K, 1st Ohio, Capt. William L. De Beck; C, 1st W. Va., Capt. Wallace Hill. *Reserve artillery loss*: w, 3.

TWELFTH ARMY CORPS, Maj.-Gen. Henry W. Sloeum. *Staff loss*: w, 1.

Provost Guard: 10th Me. (battalion), Capt. John D. Beardsley. *Loss*: w, 2; m, 1 = 3.

FIRST DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. Alpheus S. Williams. *Staff loss*: m, 1.

First Brigade, Brig.-Gen. Joseph F. Knipe: 5th Conn., Col. Warren W. Packer (e), Lieut.-Col. James A. Betts, Maj. David F. Lane; 28th N. Y., Lieut.-Col. Elliott W. Cook (e), Maj. Theophilus Fitzgerald; 46th Pa., Maj. Cyrus Strous (k), Capt. Ed. L. Witman; 128th Pa., Col. Joseph A. Matthews (e), Maj. Cephas W. Dyer. *Brigade loss*: k, 5; w, 53; m, 394 = 452. *Second Brigade*, Col. Samuel Ross: 20th Conn., Lieut.-Col. William B. Wooster (e), Maj. Philo B. Buckingham; 3d Md., Lieut.-Col. Gilbert P. Robinson; 123d N. Y., Col. Archibald L. McDougall; 145th N. Y., Col. E. Livingston Price (w), Capt. George W. Reid. *Brigade loss*: k, 42; w, 253; m, 204 = 499. *Third Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. Thomas H. Ruger: 27th Ind., Col. Silas Colgrove (w); 2d Mass., Col. Samuel M. Quincy; 13th N. J., Col. Ezra A. Carman, Maj. John Grimes (w), Capt. George A. Beardsley; 107th N. Y., Col. Alexander S. Diven; 3d Wis., Col. William Hawley. *Brigade loss*: k, 81; w, 465; m, 68 = 614. *Artillery*, Capt. Robert H. Fitzhugh: K, 1st N. Y., Lieut. Edward L. Bailey; M, 1st N. Y., Lieut. Charles E. Vinegar (e), Lieut. John D. Woodbury; F, 4th U. S., Lieut. Franklin B. Crosby (k), Lieut. Edward D. Muhlenberg. *Artillery loss*: k, 7; w, 30; m, 9 = 46.

SECOND DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. John W. Geary.

First Brigade, Col. Charles Candy: 5th Ohio, Lieut.-Col. Robert L. Kilpatrick (w), Maj. Henry E. Symmes; 7th Ohio, Col. William R. Creighton; 29th Ohio, Lieut.-Col. Thomas Clark; 66th Ohio, Lieut.-Col. Eugene Powell; 28th Pa., Maj. Lansford F. Chapman (k), Capt. Conrad U. Meyer; 147th Pa., Lieut.-Col. Ario Pardee, Jr. *Brigade loss*: k, 58; w, 314; m, 151 = 523. *Second Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. Thomas L. Kane: 29th Pa., Lieut.-Col. William Rickards, Jr.; 109th Pa., Col. Henry J. Stainbrook (k), Capt. John Young, Jr.; 111th Pa., Col. George A. Cobham, Jr.; 124th Pa., Lieut.-Col. Simon Litzenberg; 125th Pa., Col. Jacob Higgins. *Brigade loss*: k, 16; w, 90, m, 33 = 139. *Third Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. George S. Greene: 60th N. Y., Lieut.-Col. John C. O. Redington; 78th N. Y., Maj. Henry R. Stagg, Capt. William H. Randall; 102d N. Y., Col. James C. Lane; 137th N. Y., Col. David Ireland; 149th N. Y., Maj. Abel G. Cook (w), Capt. Oliver T. May, Lieut.-Col. Koert S. Van Voorhis. *Brigade loss*: k, 49; w, 219; m, 260 = 528. *Artillery*, Capt. Joseph M. Knap: E, Pa., Lieut. Charles Atwell (w), Lieut. James D. McGill; F, Pa., Capt. Robert B. Hampton (k), Lieut. James P. Fleming. *Artillery loss*: k, 3; w, 15 = 18.

CAVALRY CORPS, ↓ Brig.-Gen. George Stoneman.

FIRST DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. Alfred Pleasonton.

First Brigade, Col. Benjamin F. Davis; 8th Ill., Lieut.-Col. David R. Clendenin; 3d Ind., Col. George H. Chapman; 8th N. Y., —; 9th N. Y., Col. William Sackett. *Brigade loss*: k, 1; w, 8; m, 22 = 31. *Second Brigade*, Col. Thomas C. Devin: L, 1st Mich., Lieut. John K. Truax; 6th N. Y., Lieut.-Col. Duncan McVear (k), Capt. William E. Beardsley; 8th Pa., Maj. Pennoek Huey; 17th Pa., Col. Josiah H. Kellogg; 6th N. Y. Battery,

↓ The Second and Third Divisions, First Brigade, First Division, and the Regular Reserve Brigade, with Robertson's and Tidball's batteries, on the "Stoneman Raid."

Lieut. Joseph W. Martin. Brigade loss: k, 12; w, 54; m, 134=200.

SECOND DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. William W. Averell.

First Brigade, Col. Horace B. Sargent: 1st Mass., Lieut.-Col. Greely S. Curtis; 4th N. Y., Col. Louis P. Di Cesnola; 6th Ohio, Maj. Benjamin C. Stanhope; 1st R. I., Lieut.-Col. John L. Thompson. Brigade loss: w, 6; m, 2=8. *Second Brigade*, Col. John B. McIntosh; 3d Pa., Lieut.-Col. Edward S. Jones; 4th Pa., Lieut.-Col. William E. Doster; 16th Pa., Lieut.-Col. Lorenzo D. Rogers. *Artillery*: A, 2d U. S., Capt. John C. Tidball.

THIRD DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. David McM. Gregg.

First Brigade, Col. Judson Kilpatrick: 1st Me., Col. Calvin S. Douty; 2d N. Y., Lieut.-Col. Henry E. Davies, Jr.; 10th N. Y., Lieut.-Col. William Irvine. Brigade loss: k, 1; w, 1; m, 24=26. *Second Brigade*, Col. Percy Wyndham: 12th Ill., Lieut.-Col. Hasbrouck Davis; 1st Md., Lieut.-Col. James M. Deems; 1st N. J., Lieut.-Col. Virgil Brodick; 1st Pa., Col. John P. Taylor. Brigade loss: k, 2; w, 3; m, 40=45. *Reserve Cavalry Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. John Buford: 6th Pa., Maj. Robert Morris, Jr.; 1st U. S., Capt. R. S. C. Lord; 2d U. S., Maj. Charles J. Whiting; 5th U. S., Capt. James E. Harrison; 6th U. S., Capt. George C. Cram. Brigade loss: k, 1; w, 3; m, 75=79. *Artillery*, Capt. James M. Robertson: B and L, 2d U. S., Lieut. Albert O. Vincent; M, 2d U. S., Lieut. Robert Clarke; E, 4th U. S., Lieut. Samuel S. Elder.

The casualties in the Union forces during the campaign were as follows:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Captured or Missing.	Total.
Germania Ford, April 29.....	1	4		5
Franklin's Crossing, April 29—				
May 2.....	2	18		20
Fitzhugh's Crossing, April 29—				
May 2.....	19	144	9	172
Stoneman's Raid, April 29—May 11	4	7	139	150
Old Wilderness Tavern, April 30.....	1	1		2
Chancellorsville, April 30.....	3	12	36	51
Spotsylvania C. H., April 30.....	1	14	24	39
Capidan Station, May 1.....	1082	6849	4214	12,145
Chancellorsville, May 1—6.....				
Fredericksburg, or Marye's and				
Salem Heights, May 3, 4.....	493	2710	1497	4,700
Grand total.....	1606	9762	5919	17,287

According to the returns for April 30, 1863 ("Official Records," Vol. XXV., Pt. II., p. 320), the effective strength of Hooker's army was, in round numbers, about 130,000, distributed as follows: Infantry, 111,000; cavalry, 11,000; and artillery, 8000, with 404 pieces of the latter arm.

THE CONFEDERATE ARMY.

ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA.—General Robert E. Lee.

FIRST ARMY CORPS. ¹

McLAW'S DIVISION, Maj.-Gen. Lafayette McLaws.

Wofford's Brigade, Brig.-Gen. W. T. Wofford: 16th Ga., —; ² 18th Ga., —; 24th Ga., —; Cobb's (Ga.) Legion, —; Phillips's (Ga.) Legion, —. Brigade loss: k, 74; w, 479; m, 9=562. *Semmes's Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. Paul J. Semmes: 10th Ga., Lieut.-Col. W. C. Holt; 50th Ga., Lieut.-Col. F. Kearse; 51st Ga., Col. W. M. Slaughter (k), Lieut.-Col. Edward Ball (w); 53d Ga., Col. James P. Simms. Brigade loss: k, 85; w, 492; m, 26=603. *Kershaw's Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. Joseph B. Kershaw: 2d S. C., Col. John D. Kennedy; 3d S. C., Maj. R. C. Maffett; 7th S. C., Col. Elbert Bland; 8th S. C., Col. John W. Henagan; 15th S. C., Lieut.-Col. Joseph F. Gist; 3d S. C. Battalion, Lieut.-Col. W. G. Rice. Brigade loss: k, 12; w, 90; m, 2=104. *Barksdale's Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. William Barksdale: 13th Miss., Col. J. W. Carter; 17th Miss., Col. W. D. Holder; 18th Miss., Col. Thomas M. Griffin; 21st Miss., Col. B. G. Humphreys. Brigade loss: k, 43; w, 208; m, 341=592. *Artillery*, Col. Henry C. Cabell: Ga. Battery (Troup Art'y), Capt. H. H. Carlton; Ga. Battery, Capt. John C. Fraser; Va. Battery (1st Howitzers), Capt. E. S. McCarthy; N. C. Battery, Capt. B. C. Manly. Artillery loss: k, 5; w, 21; m, 2=28.

ANDERSON'S DIVISION, Maj.-Gen. Richard H. Anderson.

Wilcox's Brigade, Brig.-Gen. Cadmus M. Wilcox: 8th Ala., Col. Y. L. Royston (w), Lieut.-Col. H. A. Herbert; 9th Ala., Maj. J. H. J. Williams; 10th Ala., Col. William H. Forney; 11th Ala., Col. J. C. C. Sanders; 14th Ala., Col. L. Pinckard (w). Brigade loss: k, 72; w, 372; m, 91=535. *Wright's Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. A. R. Wright: 3d Ga., Maj. J. F. Jones (w), Capt. C. H. Andrews; 22d Ga., Lieut.-Col. J. Wasden; 48th Ga., Lieut.-Col. R. W. Carswell; 2d Ga. Battalion, Maj. George W. Ross. Brigade loss: k, 25; w, 271=296. *Mahone's Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. William Mahone: 6th Va., Col. George T. Rogers; 12th Va., Lieut.-Col. E. M. Feild; 16th Va., Lieut.-Col. R. O. Whitehead; 41st Va., Col. William A. Parham; 61st Va., Col. V. D. Groner. Brigade loss: k, 24; w, 134; m, 97=255. *Posey's Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. Carnot Posey: 12th Miss., Lieut.-Col. M. B. Harris (w), Maj. S. B. Thomas;

16th Miss., Col. Samuel E. Baker; 19th Miss., Col. N. H. Harris; 48th Miss., Col. Joseph M. Jayne (w). Brigade loss: k, 41; w, 184; m, 65=290. *Perry's Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. E. A. Perry: 2d Fla., —; 5th Fla., —; 8th Fla., —. Brigade loss: k, 21; w, 88=109. *Artillery*, Lieut.-Col. J. J. Garnett: Va. Battery, Capt. C. R. Grandy; Va. Battery (Lewis's), Lieut. Nathan Penick; La. Battery, Capt. Victor Maurin; Va. Battery, Capt. Joseph D. Moore. Artillery loss: k, 1; w, 13=14.

ARTILLERY RESERVE.

Alexander's Battalion, Col. E. P. Alexander: Va. Battery (Eubank's); Va. Battery (Jordan's); La. Battery (Moody's); Va. Battery (Parker's); S. C. Battery (Rhett's); Va. Battery (Woolfolk's). Battalion loss: k, 6; w, 35; m, 21=62. *Washington (La.) Artillery*, Col. J. B. Walton: 1st Co. (Squire's); 2d Co. (Richardson's); 3d Co. (Miller's); 4th Co. (Eshleman's). Battalion loss: k, 4; w, 8; m, 33=45.

SECOND ARMY CORPS, Lieut.-Gen. Thomas J. Jackson (m w), Maj.-Gen. Ambrose P. Hill (w), Brig.-Gen. R. E. Rodes, Maj.-Gen. James E. B. Stuart. Staff loss: k, 2; w, 3=5.

LIGHT DIVISION, Maj.-Gen. Ambrose P. Hill, Brig.-Gen. Henry Heth (w), Brig.-Gen. William D. Pender (w), Brig.-Gen. James J. Archer. Staff loss: k, 2; w, 2=4.

Heth's Brigade, Brig.-Gen. Henry Heth, Col. J. M. Brockenbrough: 40th Va., Col. J. M. Brockenbrough, Lieut.-Col. F. W. Cox (w), Capt. T. E. Betts; 47th Va., Col. Robert M. Mayo; 55th Va., Col. Francis Mallory (k), Lieut.-Col. William S. Christian (w), Maj. A. D. Saunders (k), Lieut. R. L. Williams, Maj. Evan Rice; 22d Va. Battalion, Lieut.-Col. E. P. Tayloe. Brigade loss: k, 33; w, 270=303. *Thomas's Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. E. L. Thomas: 14th Ga., Col. R. W. Folsom; 35th Ga., Capt. John Duke; 45th Ga., Lieut.-Col. W. L. Grice; 49th Ga., Maj. S. T. Player. Brigade loss: k, 21; w, 156=177. *Lane's Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. James H. Lane: 7th N. C., Col. E. G. Haywood (w), Lieut.-Col. J. L. Hill (k), Maj. William L. Davidson (w), Capt. N. A. Pool; 18th N. C., Col. Thomas J. Purdie (k), Lieut.-Col. Forney George (w), Maj. John D. Barry; 28th N. C., Col. S. D. Lowe, Capt. Edward F.

¹ Lieut.-Gen. James Longstreet, with Hood's and Pickett's divisions and Dearing's and Henry's artillery battalions, absent in South-eastern Virginia.

² The dash indicates that the name of the commanding officer has not been found in the "Official Records."—EDITORS.

Lovill; 33d N. C., Col. Clark M. Avery (w), Capt. Joseph H. Saunders; 37th N. C., Col. W. M. Barbour (w). Brigade loss: k, 161; w, 626; m, 122=909. *McGowan's Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. Samuel McGowan (w), Col. O. E. Edwards (w), Col. Abner Perrin, Col. D. H. Hamilton; 1st S. C. (Prov. Army), Col. D. H. Hamilton, Capt. W. P. Shooter; 1st S. C. Rifles, Col. James M. Perrin (m w), Lieut.-Col. F. E. Harrison; 12th S. C., —; 13th S. C., Col. O. E. Edwards, Lieut.-Col. B. T. Brockman; 14th S. C., Col. Abner Perrin. Brigade loss: k, 46; w, 402; m, 7=455. *Archer's Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. James J. Archer, Col. B. D. Fry; 13th Ala., Col. B. D. Fry; 5th Ala. Battalion, Capt. S. D. Stewart (k), Capt. A. N. Porter; 1st Tenn. (Prov. Army), Lieut.-Col. N. J. George; 7th Tenn., Lieut.-Col. John A. Fite; 14th Tenn., Col. William McComb (w), Capt. R. C. Wilson. Brigade loss: k, 44; w, 305; m, 16=365. *Pender's Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. W. D. Pender; 13th N. C., Col. Alfred M. Seales (w), Lieut.-Col. J. H. Hyman; 16th N. C., Col. John S. McElroy (w), Lieut.-Col. William A. Stowe (w); 22d N. C., Lieut.-Col. Chris. C. Cole (k); 34th N. C., —; 38th N. C., Lieut.-Col. John Ashford. Brigade loss: k, 116; w, 567; m, 68=751. *Artillery*, Col. R. L. Walker, Maj. William J. Pegram; S. C. Battery, Capt. E. B. Brunson; Va. Battery (Crenshaw's), Lieut. John H. Chamberlayne; Va. Battery, Capt. Greenlee Davidson (m w); Va. Battery, Lieut. Joseph McGraw; Va. Battery, Capt. E. A. Marye. Artillery loss: k, 5; w, 28=33.

D. H. HILL'S DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. R. E. Rhodes, Brig.-Gen. S. D. Ramsaur.

Rodes's Brigade, Brig.-Gen. R. E. Rhodes, Col. E. A. O'Neal (w), Col. J. M. Hall; 3d Ala., Capt. M. F. Bonham; 5th Ala., Col. J. M. Hall, Lieut.-Col. E. L. Hobson (w), Capt. W. T. Rufus (m w), Capt. T. M. Riley; 6th Ala., Col. James N. Lightfoot; 12th Ala., Col. Samuel B. Pickens; 26th Ala., Col. E. A. O'Neal, Lieut.-Col. John S. Garvin (w), Lieut. M. J. Taylor. Brigade loss: k, 90; w, 538; m, 188=816. *Colquitt's Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. A. H. Colquitt; 6th Ga., Col. John T. Lofton; 19th Ga., Col. A. J. Hitehins; 23d Ga., Col. Emory F. Best; 27th Ga., Col. C. T. Zachry; 28th Ga., Col. Thilly Graybill. Brigade loss: k, 9; w, 128; m, 312=449. *Ramsaur's Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. S. D. Ramsaur (w), Col. F. M. Parker; 2d N. C., Col. W. R. Cox (w); 4th N. C., Col. Bryan Grimes; 14th N. C., Col. R. T. Bennett; 30th N. C., Col. F. M. Parker. Brigade loss: k, 151; w, 529; m, 108=788. *Doles's Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. George Doles; 4th Ga., Col. Philip Cook (w), Lieut.-Col. D. R. E. Winn; 12th Ga., Col. Edward Willis; 21st Ga., Col. J. T. Mereer; 44th Ga., Col. J. B. Estes. Brigade loss: k, 66; w, 343; m, 28=437. *Iverson's Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. Alfred Iverson; 5th N. C., Col. Thomas M. Garrett (w), Lieut.-Col. J. W. Lea (w), Maj. William J. Hill (w), Capt. S. B. West; 12th N. C., Maj. D. P. Rowe (k), Lieut.-Col. R. D. Johnston; 20th N. C., Col. T. F. Toon (w), Lieut.-Col. Nelson Slough; 23d N. C., Col. D. H. Christie. Brigade loss: k, 67; w, 330; m, 73=470. *Artillery*, Lieut.-Col. T. H. Carter; Ala. Battery, Capt. William J. Reese; Va. Battery, Capt. W. P. Carter; Va. Battery, Capt. C. W. Fry; Va. Battery, Capt. R. C. M. Page. Artillery loss: k, 9; m, 37=46.

EARLY'S DIVISION, Maj.-Gen. Jubal A. Early.

Gordon's Brigade, Brig.-Gen. John B. Gordon; 13th Ga., —; 26th Ga., —; 31st Ga., —; 38th Ga., —; 60th Ga., —; 61st Ga., —. Brigade loss: k, 16; w, 145=161. *Hoke's Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. Robert F. Hoke (w); 6th N. C., —; 21st N. C., —; 54th N. C., —; 57th N. C., —; 1st N. C. Battalion —. Brigade loss: k, 35; w, 195=230. *Smith's Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. William Smith; 13th Va., —; 49th Va., —; 52d Va., —; 58th Va., Col. F. H. Board. Brigade loss: k, 11; w, 75=86. *Hays's Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. Harry T. Hays; 5th La., —; 6th La., —; 7th La., —; 8th La., —; 9th La., —. Brigade loss: k, 63; w, 306=369. *Artillery*, Lieut.-Col. R. S. Andrews; Md. Battery (Brown's); Va. Battery (Carpenter's); Md. Battery (Dement's); Va. Battery (Raine's). Artillery loss (not reported).

TRIMBLE'S DIVISION, Brig.-Gen. R. E. Colston.

First Brigade, Brig.-Gen. E. F. Paxton (k), Col. J. H. S. Funk; 2d Va., Col. J. Q. A. Nadenbonsch; 4th Va., Maj. William Terry; 5th Va., Col. J. H. S. Funk, Lieut.-Col. H. J. Williams; 27th Va., Col. J. K. Edmondson (w), Lieut.-Col. D. M. Shriver; 33d Va., Col. A. Spengler. Brigade loss: k, 54; w, 430; m, 9=493. *Second Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. J. R. Jones, Col. T. S. Garnett (k), Col. A. S. Vandeverter; 21st Va., Capt. John B. Mosley; 42d Va., Lieut.-Col. R. W. Withers; 44th Va., Maj. N. Cobb, Capt. Thomas R. Buckner; 48th Va., Col. T. S. Garnett, Maj. Oscar White; 50th Va., Col. A. S. Vandeverter, Maj. L. J. Perkins, Capt. Frank W. Kelly. Brigade loss: k, 52; w, 420=472. *Third Brigade* (Colston's), Col. E. T. H. Warren (w), Col. T. V. Williams (w), Lieut.-Col. S. D. Thurston (w), Lieut.-Col. H. A. Brown; 1st N. C., Col. J. A. McDowell (w); 3d N. C., Lieut.-Col. S. D. Thurston; 10th Va., Col. E. T. H. Warren, Lieut.-Col. S. T. Walker (k), Maj. Joshua Stover (k), Capt. A. H. Smals; 23d Va., Lieut.-Col. Simeon T. Walton; 37th Va., Col. T. V. Williams. Brigade loss: k, 128; w, 594; m, 80=802. *Fourth Brigade*, Brig.-Gen. F. T. Nicholls (w), Col. J. M. Williams; 1st La., Capt. E. D. Willett; 2d La., Col. J. M. Williams, Lieut.-Col. R. E. Burke; 10th La., Lieut.-Col. John M. Legett (k); 14th La., Lieut.-Col. D. Zable; 15th La., Capt. William C. Michie. Brigade loss: k, 47; w, 266; m, 10=323. *Artillery*, Lieut.-Col. H. P. Jones; Va. Battery, Capt. J. McD. Carrington; Va. Battery (Garber's), Lieut. Alexander H. Fultz; Va. Battery, Capt. W. A. Tanner; La. Battery, Capt. C. Thompson. Artillery loss (not reported).

ARTILLERY RESERVE, Col. S. Crutehfield.

Brown's Battalion, Col. J. Thompson Brown; Va. Battery (Brooke's); Va. Battery (Dance's); Va. Battery (Graham's); Va. Battery (Hupp's); Va. Battery (Smith's); Va. Battery (Watson's). Battalion loss (not reported). *McIntosh's Battalion*, Maj. D. G. McIntosh; Ala. Battery (Hurt's), Va. Battery (Johnson's); Va. Battery (Lusk's); Va. Battery (Wooding's). Battalion loss (not reported).

RESERVE ARTILLERY, Brig.-Gen. William N. Pendleton. *Sumter (Ga.) Battalion*, Lieut.-Col. A. S. Cutts; Battery A (Ross's); Battery B (Patterson's); Battery C (Wingfield's). Battalion loss: w, 3. *Nelson's Battalion*, Lieut.-Col. William Nelson; Va. Battery (Kirkpatrick's); Va. Battery (Massie's); Ga. Battery (Milledge's). Battalion loss (not reported).

CAVALRY, Maj.-Gen. James E. B. Stuart.

Second Brigade, Brig.-Gen. Fitzhugh Lee; 1st Va., —; 2d Va., —; 3d Va., Col. Thomas H. Owen; 4th Va., Col. Williams C. Wickham. Brigade loss: k, 4; w, 7=11. *Third Brigade* (engaged in resisting "the Stoneman raid"), Brig.-Gen. W. H. F. Lee; 2d N. C., Lieut.-Col. William H. Payne; 5th Va., Col. Thomas L. Rosser; 9th Va., Col. R. L. T. Beale; 10th Va., —; 13th Va., Col. John R. Chambliss, Jr.; 15th Va., —. Brigade loss (not reported). *Horse Artillery*, Maj. R. F. Beckham; Va. Battery, Capt. M. N. Moorman; Va. Battery, Capt. James Breathed; Va. Battery, Capt. William M. McGregor. Horse Artillery loss: k, 4; w, 6=10.

The total loss of the Confederate Army, based mainly upon the reports of brigade and division commanders, aggregated 1649 killed, 9106 wounded, and 1708 captured or missing=12,463.

The return of the Army of Northern Virginia for March 31st, 1863 ("Official Records," Vol. XXV., Pt. II., p. 696), shows an "effective total" of all arms of 57,112. To this number there should be added the net increase during the month of April, a period of "rest and reuniting," of perhaps 3000, and say 1500 for the reserve artillery of Jackson's corps, not reported on the return for March. This addition gives a total of 61,612. Then, deducting Hampton's brigade of cavalry, recruiting south of the James River, and numbering, perhaps, 1600, the effective force of Lee's Army on the Rappahannock may be estimated at not less than 60,000, with probably 170 pieces of artillery.



BREAKING UP THE UNION CAMP AT FALMOUTH. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

HOOKER'S APPOINTMENT AND REMOVAL.

BY CHARLES F. BENJAMIN. †

WHEN, after the Mud March ‡, that succeeded the disaster of Fredericksburg, General Burnside, in a fit of humiliation, telegraphed to Washington requesting, for the second time, to be relieved, the question of his successor was already being considered as a probability. Though stung by the loud call that went up for McClellan from the army that had twice met disaster after parting with him, the cabinet were not shaken in the conclusion that McClellan must not be restored, for the jocund Seward, equally with the patient Lincoln, drew the line at a military dictatorship, such as would be virtually implied by a second restoration, under such pressure. But while firm, the authorities were circumspect, and concluded that it would not be prudent to increase the tension between themselves and a possible prætorian camp by sending an outsider to take the command from Burnside. Subject to this conclusion, General Halleck and Secretary Stanton favored the transfer of Rosecrans, for whom McClellan might

be expected to say a good word to supplement his inherent strength as a repeatedly victorious commander; but it was then thought injudicious to put another Western man in command.

The choice being narrowed to the Army of the Potomac, a process of exclusion began. Franklin was under a cloud [see note, p. 216] and was considered out of the question; Sumner had many qualifications, but his age and growing feebleness were beyond remedy; Couch was a possible second, and still more likely third choice; and, briefly, the selection was found to lie among Hooker, Reynolds, and Meade. † The first-named had a strong popular lead, but General Halleck, backed by the Secretary of War, contended that there were reasons of an imperative character why he should not be intrusted with an independent command of so high a degree of responsibility. Stress was laid upon the fact that in the dispositions for the attack on Marye's Heights, General Burnside, who at that time could have had no valid motive for jealousy

† The writer of this paper occupied responsible and confidential positions at the headquarters of the Army of the Potomac and in the War Department.—EDITORS.

‡ In his official report of the Rappahannock campaign, General Burnside says: "I made four distinct attempts, between November 9th, 1862, and January 25th, 1863. The first failed for want of pontoons; the second was the battle of Fredericksburg; the third was stopped by the President; and the fourth was defeated by the elements or other causes. After the last attempt to move I was, on January 25th, 1863, relieved of the command of the Army of the Potomac." The fourth attempt mentioned by General Burnside has passed into history as the "Mud March." The plan was to move Franklin's two corps, or the Left Grand Division, to Banks's Ford, where Franklin was to cross and seize the heights on the river road north of the Orange Turnpike. Franklin was to be supported by Hooker and Sumner, with the Center and Right Grand Divisions. Franklin and Hooker marched from their camps and bivouacked near Banks's Ford on January 20th; but a rain storm set

in that evening making the roads impassable for pontoon wagons, and after several attempts to haul the boats to the river by hand the movement was abandoned. The artillery and wagons became mired, and the army, with all of its necessary material, was in fact foot-fast in the soft, clayey soil that abounds in that region. In a dejected mood the army splashed back to its old camps around Falmouth. See also p. 118.—EDITORS.

† I have been told recently, on hearsay testimony, that Sedgwick was sounded and said he ought not to be appointed because he was a McClellan man. I never heard that Sedgwick was ever proposed as successor to Burnside, and I cannot believe it, knowing the *limited* though warm regard of Secretary Stanton for him. Stanton always spoke of Sedgwick as a brave, thorough-going soldier, who staid in camp, gave Washington a wide berth, and did not intrigue against his superiors; but I never heard him attribute to Sedgwick such high qualities for a great command as he imputed to some other officers of that army.—C. F. B.

of Hooker, had intrusted him with no important part, although he was present on the field and of equal rank with Sumner and Franklin, to whom the active duties of the battle were assigned. President Lincoln apparently yielded to the views of those in charge of the military department of affairs, and thereupon Halleck confidentially inquired of Reynolds if he was prepared to accept the command. Reynolds replied that he expected to obey all lawful orders coming to his hands, but as the communication seemed to imply the possession of an option in himself, he deemed it his duty to say frankly that he could not accept the command in a voluntary sense, unless a liberty of action should be guaranteed to him considerably beyond any which he had reason to expect. He was thereupon dropped, and the choice further and finally restricted to Hooker and Meade, with the chances a hundred to one in favor of the latter by reason of the fixed conviction of the Secretary of War that the former ought not to be chosen in any contingency. Stanton knew that there were two Hookers in the same man. He knew one as an excellent officer, mentally strong, clever and tireless, and charming (almost magnetic) in address. It was the other Hooker on whom he wished to take no chances.

Hooker and Meade were in camp, attending to such military duties as the lull of action gave occasion for, neither having taste nor talent for intrigue, each aware that "something" was afoot, but both supposing that the ferment concerned Hooker and Reynolds, and, possibly, some third man beyond the lines of the army. But there were men about Hooker who believed in, and hoped to rise with him, and who, at all events, could afford to take the chances of success or failure with him; and these men were rich in personal and external resources of the kinds needed for the combination of political, financial, and social forces to a common end. By their exertions, such influences had been busy for Hooker ever since the recent battle, greatly aided by the unselfish labor of earnest men who believed that Hooker's military reputation (the pugnacious disposition implied in his popular cognomen of "Fighting Joe") and his freedom from suspicion of undue attachment to the fortunes of General McClellan, pointed him out as the man for the occasion by the unerring processes of natural selection. The attitude and character of the Secretary of War, however, justified nothing but despair until connection was made with a powerful faction which had for its object the elevation of Mr. Chase to the Presidency at the end of Mr. Lincoln's term. Making every allowance for the strength and availability of Mr. Chase, as against Mr. Lincoln or any other civilian candidate, his friends did not conceal from themselves that the general who should conquer the rebellion would have the disposal of the next Presidency, and they were on the lookout for the right military alliance when they came into communication with Hooker's friends and received their assurances that, if it should be his good fortune to bring the war to a successful close, nothing could possibly induce him to accept other than military honors in recognition of his services. General

Hooker thereupon became the candidate of Mr. Chase's friends. Hooker probably knew of these dickeringings. Certainly Stanton did, through a friend in Chase's own circle.

As soon as Burnside's tenure of the command had become a question rather of hours than of days, new efforts were made to win over the Secretary of War, but necessarily without avail, because, apart from any personal considerations that may have had place in his mind, he had certain convictions on the subject of a kind that strong men never abandon when once formed. At this critical moment the needed impulse in the direction of Hooker was supplied by a person of commanding influence in the councils of the Administration, and Mr. Lincoln directed the appointment to be made. [See Lincoln's letter to Hooker, p. 216.]

Mr. Stanton's first conclusion was that he should resign; his second, that duty to his chief and the public forbade his doing so; his third, that Hooker must be loyally supported so long as there was the least chance of his doing anything with the army placed in his keeping. This latter resolution he faithfully kept, and General Hooker, who soon had occasion to know the facts connected with his appointment, was both surprised and touched by the generous conduct of his lately implacable opponent.

Mr. Chase found his situation as sponsor for the new commander embarrassing. As a member of the cabinet he could freely express his views with reference to any military question coming up for cabinet discussion, and upon any matter introduced to him by the President he had fair opportunity of making a desired impression; but further than this he could not directly go without disclosing a personal interest inconsistent with his place and duty. Yet the circumstances connected with the appointment of Hooker made it imperatively necessary that the influence of Mr. Chase should be exerted in respect of matters that could not formally come to him for consideration, although, on the other hand, they could not safely be intrusted wholly to the keeping of a suspicious and probably hostile War Department. Fortunately for the perplexed statesman, the influence that had proved sovereign when the balance had hung in suspense between Hooker and Meade was safely and wholly at his service, and, being again resorted to, provided a *modus vivendi* so long as one was needed. Out of all these anomalies a correspondence resulted between Mr. Chase and General Hooker, the publication of which is historically indispensable to the saying of the final word on the leading events of Mr. Lincoln's administration.

When General Hooker telegraphed to Washington that he had brought his army back to the north side of the river, because he could not find room for it to fight at Chancellorsville, President Lincoln grasped General Halleck and started for the front post-haste. He would likewise have taken the Secretary of War, in his anxiety, but for the obvious indelicacy of the latter's appearance before Hooker at such a moment. Mr. Lincoln went back to Washington that night, enjoining upon Halleck to remain till he knew "everything." Halleck

was a keen lawyer, and the reluctant generals and staff-officers had but poor success in stopping anywhere short of the whole truth. When he got back to his post, a conference of the President and Secretary of War with himself was held at the War Department, whereat it was concluded that both the check at Chancellorsville and the retreat were inexcusable, and that Hooker must not be intrusted with the conduct of another battle. Halleck had brought a message from Hooker to the effect that as he had never sought the command, he could resign it without embarrassment, and would be only too happy if, in the new arrangement, he could have the command of his old division and so keep in active service.

The friends of Mr. Chase considered that the fortunes of their leader were too much bound up with Hooker to permit of the latter's ignominious removal and, although the President had learned much that he did not dream of at the time he parted company with the War Department in the matter of appointing a successor to Burnside, the Treasury faction had grown so powerful that he could not consent to a rupture with it, and a temporizing policy was adopted all around, which General Couch, commander of the Second Corps, all unconsciously, nearly spoiled by contemptuously refusing to serve any longer under Hooker, despite an abject appeal to him by Hooker not to leave the army. ¶

General Lee's invasion of Pennsylvania broke up the nearly intolerable situation, and Hooker's diligent and skillful management of his army rapidly brought matters back to the hopeful state

they were in before the late battle. ¶ But Mr. Stanton was determined that the deliberate decision of the council of war, held after Halleck's return from the front, should not be set aside, and he was now the master of the situation. Hooker was so full of hope and energy that severe measures had to be resorted to in order to wring from him that tender of resignation deemed to be necessary to enable his supporters at Washington to keep on onward terms with the Administration. When it did come, the impending battle was evidently so close at hand that the Secretary of War was seized with the fear that, either by accident or design, the change of command to General Meade would not be effected in time to avoid the very contingency aimed at by the change. At the last moment, the President too became alarmed, and there was another conference at the Department to settle the means of insuring the transfer.

Duplicate copies of the President's order, changing the command, were made, authenticated by the signature of the adjutant-general and addressed, severally, to Generals Hooker and Meade. General James A. Hardie, chief of the staff of the Secretary of War, and a personal friend of both the officers concerned, was then called into the conference room and directed to start at once for Frederick City and, without disclosing his presence or business, make his way to General Meade and give him to understand that the order for him to assume the command of the army immediately was intended to be as unquestionable and peremptory as any that a soldier could receive. He was then, as the representative of the President, to

¶ General F. A. Walker says in his "History of the Second Army Corps" (pp. 253-255):

"One of the results of the Chancellorsville campaign was a change in the command of the Second Corps. General Couch had felt outraged in every nerve and fiber of his being by the conduct of General Hooker from the 1st to the 5th of May. . . .

"Not that General Couch was alone in this feeling, which was shared by nearly all the commanders of the army; but at once his nature as a man and his position as the senior corps commander made him peculiarly the spokesman in the representations and remonstrances addressed to General Hooker. . . . and when consulted by President Lincoln on the 22d of May he advised that General Meade should be placed in command, stating that he himself would have great pleasure in serving under that officer, though senior to him. To the suggestion of his own succession to the command General Couch returned a firm and sincere negative. . . .

"In this spirit [having lost confidence in Hooker], with pain inexpressible, General Couch asked to be relieved from further service with the Army of the Potomac."—EDITORS.

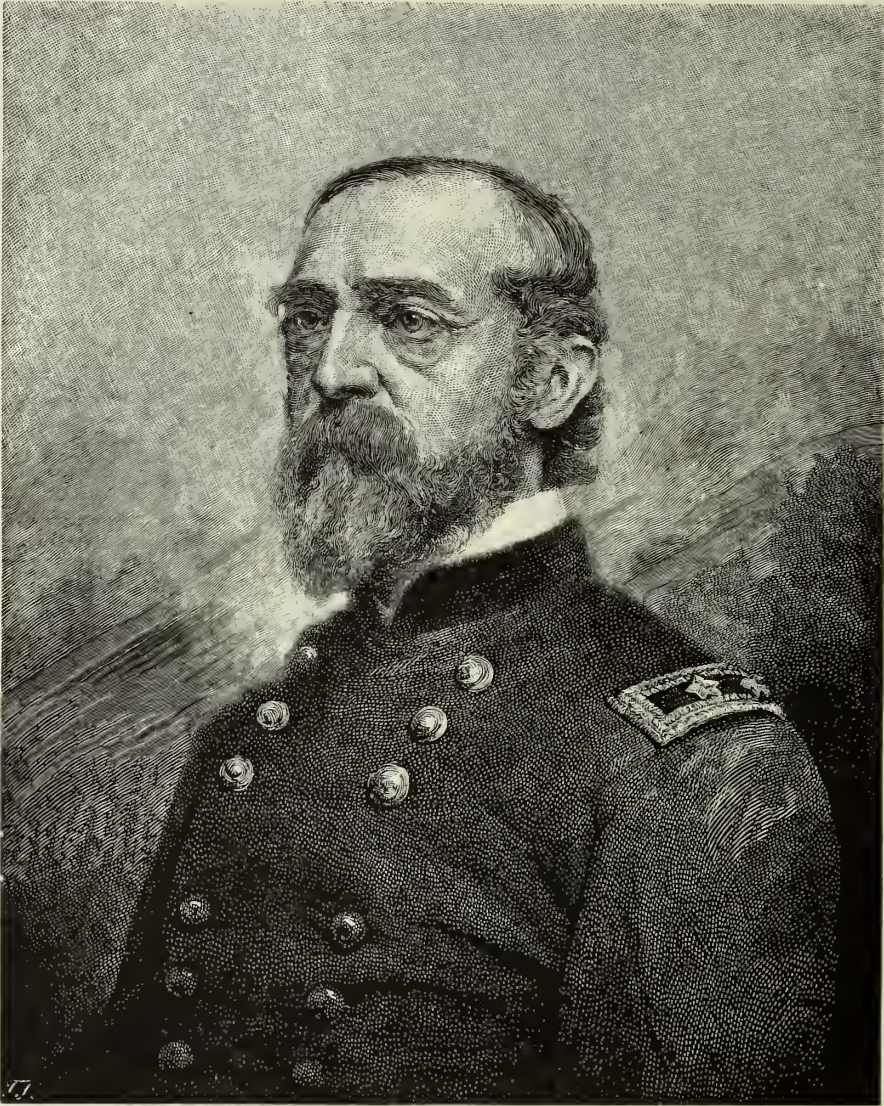
¶ On the 5th of June General Hooker sent to the President a long dispatch, to which Mr. Lincoln replied on the same day. These communications throw an interesting light on Hooker's relations with the Administration. After stating his suspicion that Lee was about to undertake an aggressive movement, Hooker says:

"As I am able to be called on to make a movement with the utmost promptitude, I desire that I may be informed as early as practicable of the views of the Government concerning this army. Under instructions from the major-general commanding the army, dated January 31st, I am instructed to 'keep in view always the importance of covering Washington and Harper's Ferry, either directly or by so operating as to be able to punish any force of the enemy sent against them.' In the event the enemy should move, as I almost anticipate he will, the head of his column will probably be headed toward the Potomac, *via* Gordonsville or Culpeper, while

the rear will rest on Fredericksburg. After giving the subject my best reflection, I am of opinion that it is my duty to pitch into his rear, although in so doing the head of his column may reach Warrenton before I can return. Will it be within the spirit of my instructions to do so? In view of these contemplated movements of the enemy, I cannot too forcibly impress upon the mind of His Excellency, the President, the necessity of having one commander for all of the troops whose operations can have an influence on those of Lee's army. Under the present system, all independent commanders are in ignorance of the movements of the others; at least such is my situation. I trust that I may not be considered in the way to this arrangement, as it is a position I do not desire, and only suggest it, as I feel the necessity for concert as well as vigorous action. It is necessary for me to say this much that my motives may not be misunderstood. JOSEPH HOOKER, Major-General."

President Lincoln's reply is as follows:

"WASHINGTON, June 5th, 1863, 4 P. M.—MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER: Yours of to-day was received an hour ago. So much of professional military skill is requisite to answer it that I have turned the task over to General Halleck. He promises to perform it with his utmost care. I have but one idea which I think worth suggesting to you, and that is, in case you find Lee coming to the north of the Rappahannock, I would by no means cross to the south of it. If he should leave a rear force at Fredericksburg, tempting you to fall upon it, it would fight in intrenchments and have you at disadvantage, and so, man for man, worst you at that point, while his main force would in some way be getting an advantage of you northward. In one word, I would not take any risk of being entangled upon the river, like an ox jumped half over a fence, and liable to be torn by dogs front and rear without a fair chance to gore one way or kick the other. If Lee would come to my side of the river, I would keep on the same side and fight him or act on the defense, according as might be my estimate of his strength relatively to my own. But these are mere suggestions, which I desire to be controlled by the judgment of yourself and General Halleck. A. LINCOLN."—EDITORS.



MAJOR-GENERAL GEORGE G. MEADE. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

take General Meade to the headquarters of General Hooker and transfer the command from the latter to the former. General Hardie manifested some reluctance to doing his appointed task in the prescribed manner, but Mr. Stanton sententiously remarked that in this case the manner was of the substance of the matter, to which Mr. Lincoln added that he would take the responsibility upon himself for any wound to the feelings of the two generals, or of the bearer of the order. General Hardie was supplied with passes and orders to facilitate his progress, and with money to buy his way through to his destination if delayed or obstructed on the road. If compelled by the imminency of capture by Stuart's raiders to destroy his papers, and he could still make his way through, he was to deliver verbally the order for the changing of the command and supervise its execution.

General Hardie, in civilian's dress, reached Frederick in safety, and by diligent inquiry ascertained the whereabouts of General Meade's headquarters, several miles from town. By some oversight at headquarters, no governor or provost-marshal had been appointed for the town, and the streets and all the roads leading to the camps were thronged with boisterous soldiers, more or less filled with Maryland whisky, and many of them ripe for rudeness or mischief. By liberal use of money he at last obtained a buggy and a driver who knew the roads; but his progress through straggling parties of soldiers and trains of wagons was so slow, and he was so often obliged to appeal to officers to secure passage and safety from one stage to another, that the night was far spent when he reached General Meade's headquarters and, after some wrangling, penetrated to his tent.

Meade was asleep, and when awakened was confounded by the sight of an officer from the War Department standing over him. He afterward said that, in his semi-stupor, his first thought was that he was to be taken to Washington in arrest, though no reason occurred to him why he should be. When he realized the state of affairs he became much agitated, protesting against being placed in command of an army that was looking toward Reynolds as the successor, if Hooker should be displaced; referring to the personal friendship between Reynolds and himself, which would make the President's order an instrument of injustice to both; urging the heaviness of the responsibility so suddenly placed upon him in presence of the enemy and when he was totally ignorant of the positions and dispositions of the army he was to take in charge; and strenuously objecting to the requirement that he should go to Hooker's headquarters to take over the command without being sent for by the commanding general, as McClellan had sent for Burnside ☆ and Burnside for Hooker. Meade proposed to Hardie that he should telegraph to Stanton to be relieved from taking the command, but Hardie told him that in the council it had been assumed that he would wish to be excused, that he would prefer Reynolds first and anybody else but himself afterward, and that he might even deem it too late to displace Hooker; but that, notwithstanding, it had been determined that Hooker should be relieved, and by Meade alone, and that it should be done immediately upon Hardie's arrival. It was a mental relief to the stern Secretary of War, when General Meade's spontaneous utterances were reported to him, to note that he had uttered no protest against Hooker's being relieved of the command, even in what might almost be called the presence of the enemy. This silence on the part of a man so regardless of himself, so regardless of others, Mr. Stanton accepted as being, in itself, his complete vindication.

After taking General Hardie's opinion, as a professional soldier, that he had no lawful discretion to vary from the orders given, horses and an escort were ordered out and the party proceeded to general headquarters, some miles distant. Hardie undertook to break the news to Hooker, who did not need to be told anything after seeing who his visitors were. It was a bitter moment to all, for Hooker had construed favorably the delay in responding to his tender of resignation, and could not wholly mask the revulsion of feeling. General Butterfield, the chief of staff, between whom and General Meade much coldness existed, was called in, and the four officers set themselves earnestly to work to do the state some service by honestly transferring the command and all that could help

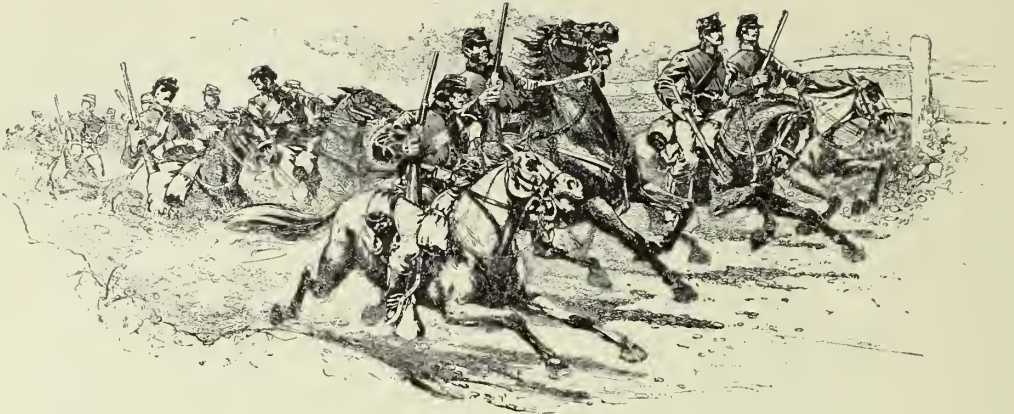
to make it available for good. During the interview Meade unguardedly expressed himself as shocked at the scattered condition of the army, and Hooker retorted with feeling. Tension was somewhat eased by Meade's insisting upon being regarded as a guest at headquarters while General Hooker was present, and by his requesting General Butterfield, upon public grounds, not to exercise his privilege of withdrawing with his chief; but Hooker's chagrin and Meade's overstrung nerves made the lengthy but indispensable conference rather trying to the whole party.

When Reynolds heard the news, he dressed himself with scrupulous care and, handsomely attended, rode to headquarters to pay his respects to the new commander. Meade, who looked like a wagon-master in the marching clothes he had hurriedly slipped on when awakened in his tent, understood the motive of the act, and after the exchange of salutations all around, he took Reynolds by the arm, and, leading him aside, told him how surprising, imperative, and unwelcome were the orders he had received; how much he would have preferred the choice to have fallen on Reynolds; how anxious he had been to see Reynolds and tell him these things, and how helpless he should hold himself to be did he not feel that Reynolds would give him the earnest support that he would have given to Reynolds in a like situation. Reynolds answered that, in his opinion, the command had fallen where it belonged, that he was glad that such a weight of responsibility had not come upon him, and that Meade might count upon the best support he could give him. Meade then communicated to Reynolds all that he had learned from Hooker and Butterfield concerning the movements and positions of the two armies, and hastily concerted with him a plan of coöperation which resulted in the fighting of the battle of Gettysburg upon ground selected by Reynolds.

During the afternoon the consultations were ended, and, with the aid of the representative of the War Department, the two generals drew up the orders that were to announce formally the change of command. In the evening, standing in front of the commanding general's tent, General Hooker took leave of the officers, soldiers, and civilians attached to headquarters, and, amid many a "God bless you, General!" got into the spring wagon that was to convey him and General Hardie to the railroad station, the former *en route* to Baltimore, the latter to Washington. When all was ready for the start, the throng about the vehicle respectfully drew back as Meade approached with uncovered head; the two men took each other by the hand, some words passed between them in a low tone, the wagon moved off, and Meade walked silently into the tent just vacated by his predecessor.

☆ Meade was mistaken in thinking that McClellan had sent for Burnside when the command was turned over to him.—C. F. B.

Hardie told me that Meade at last said, half playfully, "Well, I've been tried and condemned without a hearing, and I suppose I shall have to go to execution."—C. F. B.



UNION CAVALRY SCOUTING IN FRONT OF THE CONFEDERATE ADVANCE.

LEE'S INVASION OF PENNSYLVANIA.

BY JAMES LONGSTREET, LIEUTENANT-GENERAL, C. S. A.

ONE night in the spring of 1863 I was sitting in my tent opposite Suffolk, Virginia, when there came in a slender, wiry fellow about five feet eight, with hazel eyes, dark hair and complexion, and brown beard. He wore a citizen's suit of dark material, and except for his stooping shoulders was well formed and evidently a man of great activity. He handed me a note from Mr. Seddon, Secretary of War. That was my first meeting with the famous scout, Harrison, who in his unpretending citizen's dress passed unmolested from right to left through the Federal army, visited Washington City, ate and drank with the Federal officers, and joined me at Chambersburg with information more accurate than a force of cavalry could have secured.

While my command was at Suffolk, engaged in collecting supplies from the eastern coasts of Virginia and North Carolina, General Burnside was relieved and General Hooker put in command of the Federal Army of the Potomac. General Lee was not expecting Hooker to move so early, and gave me no warning until the Federals moved out to turn his left by Chancellorsville. He then sent urgent demand for me, but it so happened that all my trains were down on the eastern coasts, and I could not move my troops without leaving the trains to the enemy. I made haste to get them back as quickly as possible, and the moment we got them within our lines I pulled up from around Suffolk, and, recrossing the Blackwater, started back on my march to join General Lee at Fredericksburg. Before we got to Richmond, however, we received dispatches announcing the Confederate success. But with these tidings of victory came the sad intelligence that General Stonewall Jackson was seriously wounded, a piece of news that cast a deep gloom over the army.

On the 9th of May I joined General Lee at his headquarters at Fredericksburg. At our first meeting we had very little conversation; General Lee merely stated that he had had a severe battle, and the army had been very much broken up. He regarded the wound accidentally inflicted on Jackson as

a terrible calamity. Although we felt the immediate loss of Jackson's services, it was supposed he would rally and get well. He lingered for several days, one day reported better and the next worse, until at last he was taken from us to the shades of Paradise. The shock was a very severe one to men and officers, but the full extent of our loss was not felt until the remains of the beloved general had been sent home. The dark clouds of the future then began to lower above the Confederates.

General Lee at that time was confronted by two problems: one, the finding a successor for Jackson, another, the future movements of the Army of Northern Virginia. After considering the matter fully he decided to reorganize his army, making three corps instead of two. I was in command of the First Corps, and he seemed anxious to have a second and third corps under the command of Virginians. To do so was to overlook the claims of other generals who had been active and very efficient in the service. He selected General Ewell to command the Second, and General A. P. Hill for the Third Corps. General Ewell was entitled to command by reason of his rank, services, and ability. Next in rank was a North Carolinian, General D. H. Hill, and next a Georgian, General Lafayette McLaws, against whom was the objection that they were not Virginians.†

In reorganizing his army, General Lee impaired to some extent the *morale* of his troops, but the First Corps, dismembered as it was, still considered itself, with fair opportunities, invincible, and was ready for any move warranted by good judgment.

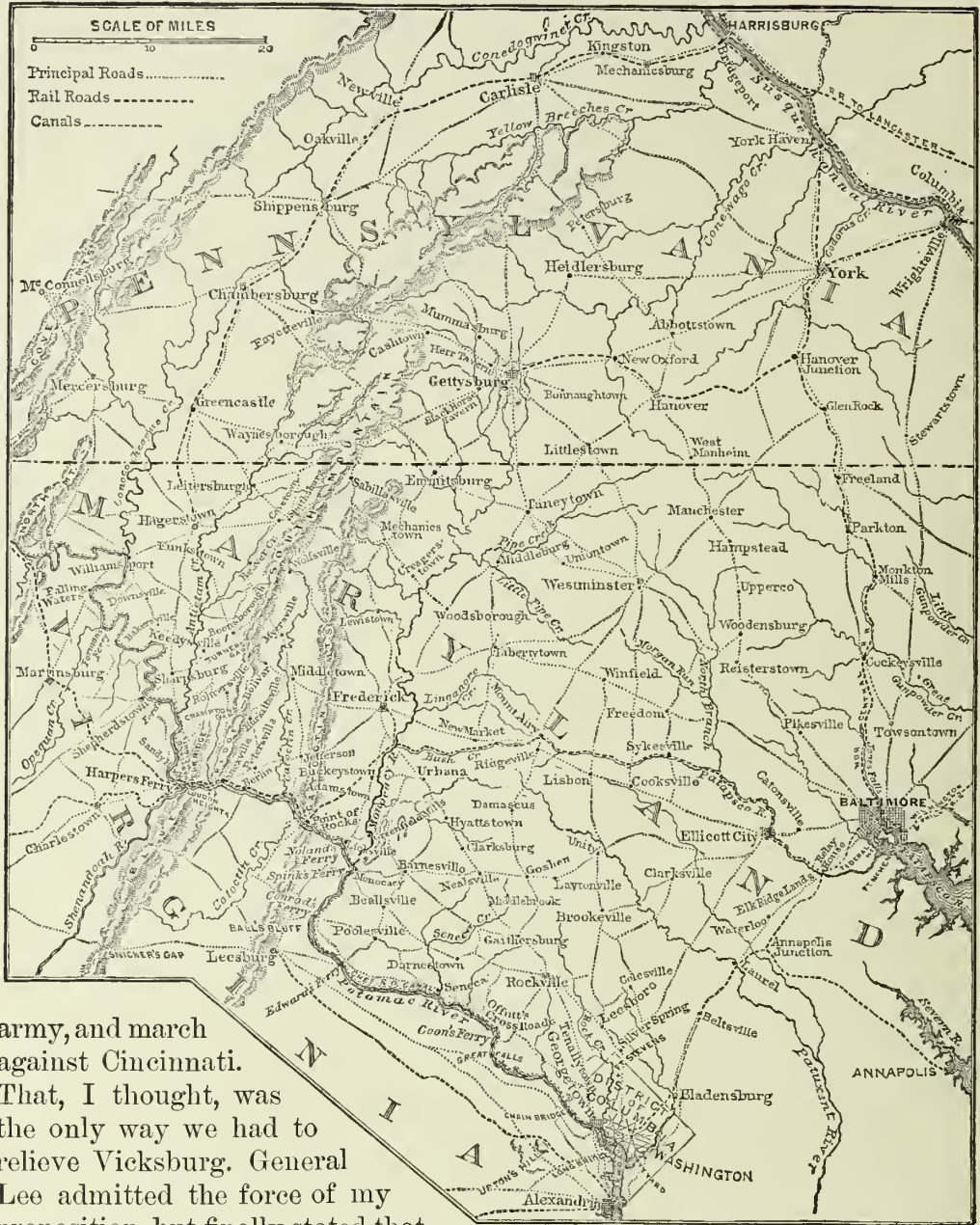
While General Lee was reorganizing his army he was also arranging the new campaign. Grant had laid siege to Vicksburg, and Johnston was concentrating at Jackson to drive him away. Rosecrans was in Tennessee and Bragg was in front of him. The force Johnston was concentrating at Jackson gave us no hope that he would have sufficient strength to make any impression upon Grant, and even if he could, Grant was in position to reënforce rapidly and could supply his army with greater facility. Vicksburg was doomed unless we could offer relief by strategic move. I proposed to send a force through east Tennessee to join Bragg and also to have Johnston sent to join him, thus concentrating a large force to move against Rosecrans, crush out his

†General D. H. Hill was the superior of General A. P. Hill in rank, skill, judgment, and distinguished services. He had served with the army in Virginia, on the Peninsula in the battles of Williamsburg, Seven Pines, and the Seven Days' battles around Richmond. In the Maryland campaign he made the battle of South Mountain alone from morning till late in the afternoon, with five thousand against a large part of McClellan's army. [See foot-note, Vol. II., p. 578.] He also bore the brunt of the battle of Sharpsburg. He came, however, not from Virginia but from North Carolina, and had just been detailed for service in that State.

Next in rank after General D. H. Hill was General Lafayette McLaws, who had served with us continuously from the Peninsular campaign. His attack on Maryland Heights in the campaign

of 1862 was the crowning point in the capture of Harper's Ferry with its garrison and supplies. With Maryland Heights in our hands Harper's Ferry was untenable. Without Maryland Heights in our possession Jackson's forces on the south side of the Potomac could not have taken the post. At Fredericksburg McLaws held the ground at Marye's Hill with 5000 men (his own and Ransom's division) against 40,000, and put more than double his defending forces *hors de combat*, thus making, for his numbers, the best battle of the war. General McLaws was not in vigorous health, however, and was left to command his division in the campaign. He called on General Lee to know why his claims had been overlooked, but I do not know that Lee gave him satisfactory reasons.—J. L.

See Colonel William Allan's comments, to follow.—EDITORS.



MAP OF THE GETTYSBURG CAMPAIGN.

army, and march
against Cincinnati.

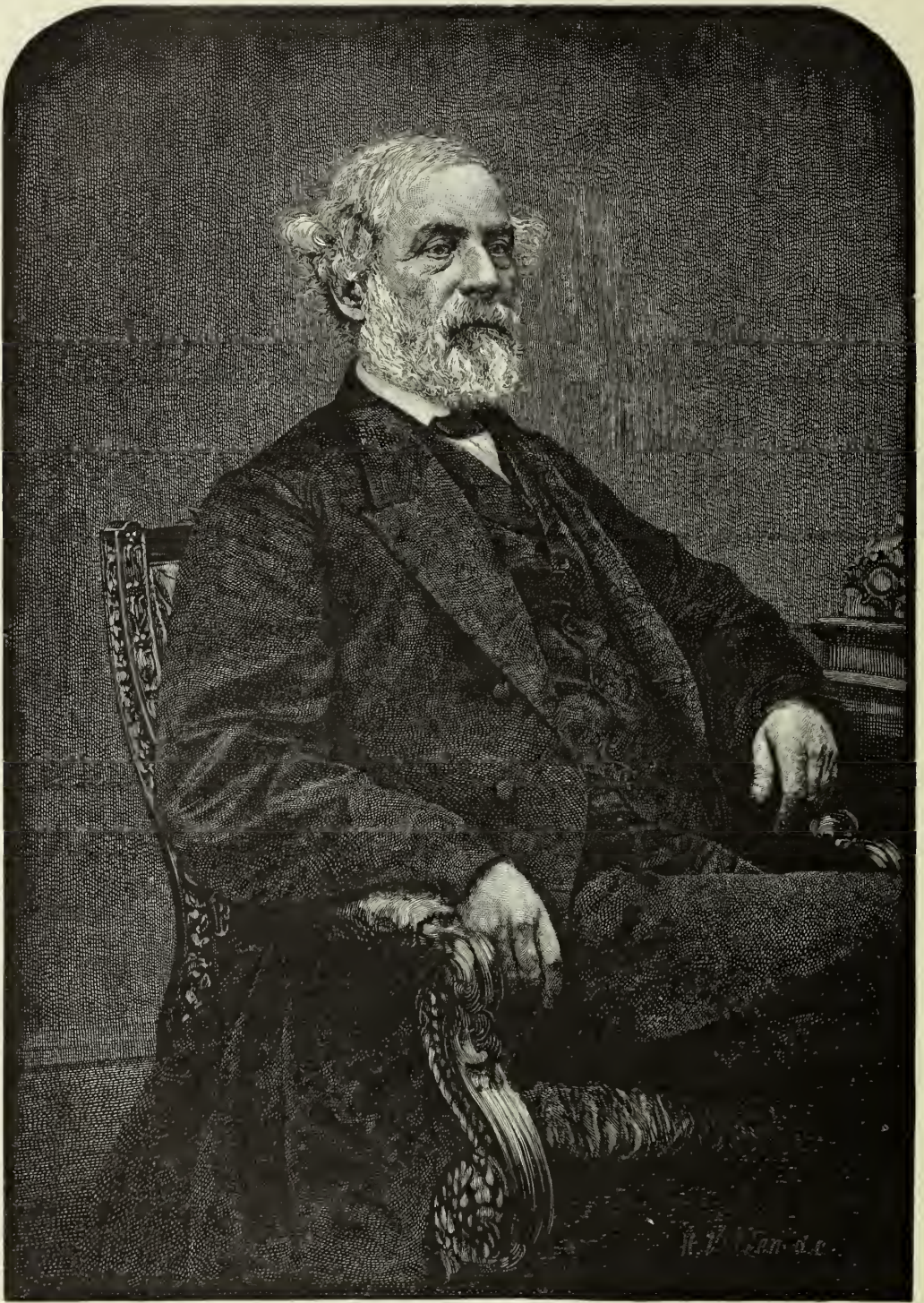
That, I thought, was
the only way we had to
relieve Vicksburg. General
Lee admitted the force of my
proposition, but finally stated that
he preferred to organize a campaign
into Maryland and Pennsylvania, hoping thereby to draw the Federal troops
from the southern points they occupied. After discussing the matter with
him for several days, I found his mind made up not to allow any of his troops
to go west. I then accepted his proposition to make a campaign into Pennsyl-
vania, provided it should be offensive in strategy but defensive in tactics, forc-
ing the Federal army to give us battle when we were in strong position and
ready to receive them. One mistake of the Confederacy was in pitting force
against force. The only hope we had was to outgeneral the Federals. We



RELIEF MAP OF THE GETTYSBURG CAMPAIGN.
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH OF THE ORIGINAL CAST MADE BY A. E. LEHMAN FOR THE CUMBERLAND VALLEY RAILROAD COMPANY.

were all hopeful and the army was in good condition, but the war had advanced far enough for us to see that a mere victory without decided fruits was a luxury we could not afford. Our numbers were less than the Federal forces, and our resources were limited while theirs were not. The time had come when it was imperative that the skill of generals and the strategy and tactics of war should take the place of muscle against muscle. Our purpose should have been to impair the *morale* of the Federal army and shake Northern confidence in the Federal leaders. We talked on that line from day to day, and General Lee, accepting it as a good military view, adopted it as the key-note of the campaign. I suggested that we should have all the details and purposes so well arranged and so impressed upon our minds that when the critical moment should come, we could refer to our calmer moments and know we were carrying out our original plans. I stated to General Lee that if he would allow me to handle my corps so as to receive the attack of the Federal army, I would beat it off without calling on him for help except to guard my right and left, and called his attention to the battle of Fredericksburg as an instance of defensive warfare, where we had thrown not more than five thousand troops into the fight and had beaten off two-thirds of the Federal army with great loss to them and slight loss to my own troops. I also called his attention to Napoleon's instructions to Marmont at the head of an invading army.

A few days before we were ready to move General Lee sent for General Ewell to receive his orders. I was present at the time and remarked that if we were ever going to make an offensive battle it should be done south of the



FROM A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN AFTER THE WAR.

GENERAL ROBERT E. LEE.

Potomac — adding that we might have an opportunity to cross the Rappahannock near Culpeper Court House and make a battle there. I made this suggestion in order to bring about a discussion which I thought would give Ewell a better idea of the plan of operations. My remark had the desired effect and we talked over the possibilities of a battle south of the Potomac. The enemy would be on our right flank while we were moving north. Ewell's corps was to move in advance to Culpeper Court House, mine to follow, and the cavalry was to move along on our right flank to the east of us. Thus, by threatening his rear we could draw Hooker from his position on Stafford Heights opposite Fredericksburg. Our movements at the beginning of the campaign were necessarily slow in order that we might be sure of having the proper effect on Hooker.

Ewell was started off to the valley of Virginia to cross the mountains and move in the direction of Winchester, which was occupied by considerable forces under Milroy. I was moving at the same time east of the Blue Ridge with Stuart's cavalry on my right so as to occupy the gaps from Ashby on to Harper's Ferry. Ewell, moving on through the valley, captured troops and supplies at Winchester, and passed through Martinsburg and Williamsport into Maryland. As I moved along the eastern slope of the Blue Ridge we heard from day to day of the movements of Hooker's army, and that he had finally abandoned his position on Stafford Heights, and was moving up the Potomac in the direction of Washington. Upon receipt of that information, A. P. Hill was ordered to draw off from Fredericksburg and follow the movements of General Ewell, but to cross the Potomac at Shepherdstown. When Hill with his troops and well-supplied trains had passed my rear, I was ordered to withdraw from the Blue Ridge, pass over to the west of the Shenandoah and follow the movements of the other troops, only to cross the Potomac at Williamsport. I ordered General Stuart, whom I considered under my command, to occupy the gaps with a part of his cavalry and to follow with his main force on my right, to cross the Potomac at Shepherdstown, and move on my right flank. Upon giving him this order, he informed me that he had authority from General Lee to occupy the gaps with a part of his cavalry, and to follow the Federal army with the remainder. At the same time he expressed his purpose of crossing the river east of the Blue Ridge and trying to make way around the right of the Federal army; so I moved my troops independent of the cavalry, and, following my orders, crossed at Williamsport, came up with A. P. Hill in Maryland, and moved on thence to Chambersburg.

Before we left Fredericksburg for the campaign into Maryland and Pennsylvania, I called up my scout, Harrison, and, giving him all the gold he thought he would need, told him to go to Washington City and remain there until he was in possession of information which he knew would be of value to us, and directed that he should then make his way back to me and report. As he was leaving, he asked where he would find me. That was information I did not care to impart to a man who was going directly to the Federal capital. I answered that my command was large enough to be found without



CONFEDERATES AT A FORD.

difficulty. We had reached Chambersburg on the 27th of June and were remaining there to give the troops rest, when my scout straggled into the lines on the night of June 28th. He told me he had been to Washington and had spent his gold freely, drinking in the saloons and getting upon confidential terms with army officers. In that way he had formed a pretty good idea of the general movements of the Federal army and the preparation to give us battle. The moment he heard Hooker had started across the Potomac he set out to find me. He fell in with the Federal army before reaching Frederick—his plan being to walk at night and stop during the day in the neighborhood of the troops. He said there were three corps near Frederick when he passed there, one to the right and one to the left, but he did not succeed in getting the position of the other. This information proved more accurate than we could have expected if we had been relying upon our cavalry. I sent the scout to report to General Lee, who was near, and suggested in my note that it might be well for us to begin to look to the east of the Blue Ridge. Meade was then in command of the Federal army, Hooker having been relieved.

The two armies were then near each other, the Confederates being north and west of Gettysburg, and the Federals south and south-east of that memorable field. On the 30th of June we turned our faces toward our enemy and marched upon Gettysburg. The Third Corps, under Hill, moved out first

and my command followed. We then found ourselves in a very unusual condition: we were almost in the immediate presence of the enemy with our cavalry gone. Stuart was undertaking another wild ride around the Federal army. We knew nothing of Meade's movements further than the report my scout had made. We did not know, except by surmise, when or where to expect to find Meade, nor whether he was lying in wait or advancing. The Confederates moved down the Gettysburg road on June 30th, encountered the Federals on July 1st, and a severe engagement followed. The Federals were driven entirely from the field and forced back through the streets of Gettysburg to Cemetery Hill, which had been previously selected as a Federal rallying-point and was occupied by a reserve force of the Eleventh Corps.

THE CONFEDERATE CAVALRY IN THE GETTYSBURG CAMPAIGN.

I. BY JOHN S. MOSBY, COLONEL, C. S. A.

IT is generally agreed by Southern writers that the battle of Gettysburg was the result of an accidental collision of armies. General Lee in effect says in his report of the campaign that his failure was due to his ignorance of the movements of the enemy; and the absence of a portion of the cavalry under Stuart, or rather its separation from the army, is assigned as the primary cause of its failure by General Long, the biographer of Lee, and by General Longstreet. Both ignore the fact that Stuart left with General Lee, under command of General Beverly H. Robertson, a larger body of cavalry than he took with him. General Long charges that Stuart's expedition around Hooker was made either from "a misapprehension of orders or love of the *éclat* of a bold raid" (which, of course, implies disobedience); and General Longstreet, while admitting that Stuart may have acted by authority of Lee, says that it was undertaken against his own orders, which were to cross the Potomac at Shepherdstown, west of the Blue Ridge.

That General Lee was greatly embarrassed by want of intelligence of the movements of the enemy was not due to the lack of cavalry; and Stuart is not responsible for the inefficient manner in which Lee was served.

When it was determined that Stuart should take three brigades of cavalry to join Ewell on the Susquehanna and leave his other two to perform outpost duty for the army in Virginia, General Lee

was in the Shenandoah Valley with the corps of Hill and Longstreet. The latter was holding the gaps and Stuart was guarding the approaches to them east of the ridge. Hence Stuart came under Longstreet's orders. Hooker's headquarters were in Fairfax, with his army spread out like a fan—his left being at Thoroughfare Gap and his right on the Potomac at Leesburg. On returning from a scout, I reported to Stuart the scattered condition of Hooker's corps, and he determined, with the approval of General Lee, to pass around, or rather through, them, as the shortest route to Ewell. There was an opportunity besides to inflict much damage and to cut off communication between Washington and the North.

I have lately discovered documents in the archives of the War Department that set at rest the question of Stuart's alleged disobedience of orders, and show that General Longstreet then approved a plan which he now condemns as "a wild ride around the Federal army." He directed Stuart to pass around *the rear of the enemy* in preference to crossing west of the ridge, in order to prevent disclosing our designs.☆

Under date of June 22d, 7:30 P. M., he writes to General Lee: "I have forwarded your letter to General Stuart, with the suggestion that he *pass by the enemy's rear* if he thinks he may get through."

Up to the morning of June 25th it was perfectly practicable for Stuart to have done so. In accordance with Lee's and Longstreet's instruc-

☆ "HEADQUARTERS, MILLWOOD, June 22d, 1863, 7 P. M. MAJOR-GENERAL J. E. B. STUART, Commanding Cavalry. GENERAL: General Lee has inclosed to me this letter for you to be forwarded to you provided you can be spared from my front, and provided I think you can move across the Potomac without disclosing our plans. He speaks of your leaving *via* Hopewell Gap and passing by the rear of the enemy. If you can get through by that route, I think that you will be less likely to indicate what our plans are than if you should cross by passing to our rear. I forward the letter of instructions with these suggestions. Please advise me of the condition of affairs before you leave, and order General Hampton—who I suppose you will leave here in command—to report to me at Millwood either by letter or in person, as may be

most agreeable to him. Most respectfully, J. LONGSTREET, Lieutenant-General.—N. B. I think that your passage of the Potomac by our rear at the present moment will in a measure disclose our plans. You had better not leave us, therefore, unless you can take the proposed route in rear of the enemy. J. LONGSTREET, Lieutenant-General."

"HEADQUARTERS, 22d June, 1863. MAJOR-GENERAL J. E. B. STUART, Commanding Cavalry. GENERAL: I have just received your note of 7:45 this morning to General Longstreet. I judge the efforts of the enemy yesterday were to arrest our progress and ascertain our whereabouts. Perhaps he is satisfied. Do you know where he is and what he is doing? I fear he will steal a march on us and get across the Potomac before we are aware.

tions Stuart withdrew from the front on the evening of the 24th to pass around Hooker, leaving Robertson about Middleburg with 3000 cavalry and 2 batteries of artillery to observe the enemy. Stuart's success depended upon preserving the *status quo* of the Federal army until he could get through it. Hooker was on the defensive waiting for his adversary to move. It did not seem to occur to General Longstreet that the march of the infantry down the Shenandoah Valley would disclose all to the enemy that the cavalry would have done. It was no fault of Stuart's that he was foiled by events which he could not control. When on the morning of the 25th he reached Hooker's rear, he found his whole army moving to the Potomac and all the roads occupied by his troops. This compelled a wide *détour*, and instead of crossing the river in advance of the enemy, as he had expected, he was two days behind him. Thus all communication was broken with Generals Lee and Ewell. The march of Hill's and Longstreet's corps on the day before had been in full view of the signal stations on Maryland Heights and was telegraphed to Hooker, who made a corresponding movement.

On the morning of June 26th the enemy disappeared from Robertson's front and crossed the Potomac. In that event his instructions from Stuart were, "to watch the enemy and harass his rear—to cross the Potomac and follow the army, keeping on its right and rear," and to "report anything of importance to Lieutenant-General Longstreet, with whose position you will communicate by relays through Charlestown."

Robertson retired to the mountain gaps and remained until the afternoon of the 29th, when he was recalled to the army by a courier from General Lee. At night on the 28th General Lee heard, through a scout at Chambersburg, of Hooker's advance. As no information of it had come from the cavalry he had left in Hooker's front in Virginia, he thought that Hooker was still there. He

immediately issued an order for the concentration at Gettysburg, and sent for Robertson's command, that had been left, he says, to hold the mountain passes, "*as long as the enemy remained south of the Potomac.*" It had staid there three days after they had gone. As Stuart had been ordered to Ewell on the Susquehanna, it could not have been expected that he should also watch Hooker on the Potomac. Stuart's instructions to divide the cavalry and take three brigades with him to Ewell, on the Susquehanna, were peremptory; he was only given discretion as to the *point of crossing the Potomac*. It was therefore immaterial, so far as giving information to Lee was concerned, whether he crossed east or west of the ridge. In either event they would have been separated and out of communication with each other. Lee must then have relied on Robertson or nobody to watch Hooker.

Instead of keeping on the right of the army and in close contact with the enemy, as Stuart had ordered, Robertson's command marched on the left by Martinsburg and did not reach the battle-field. The rear-guard of the Federal army moving into Pennsylvania crossed the Potomac on June 26th, east of the Blue Ridge; Robertson crossed at Williamsport, about twenty-five miles to the west of it, on July 1st, the day the fighting began at Gettysburg. When General Lee crossed the Potomac, he left General Robertson between him and the enemy. By July 3d Robertson had so manoeuvred that Lee was between him and the enemy. Stuart had ridden around General Hooker while Robertson was riding around General Lee. If, in accordance with Stuart's instructions, Robertson had promptly followed on the right of the army when the enemy left, Lee's forces would have been concentrated and ready for attack; a defensive battle would have been fought, and Gettysburg might have been to Southern hearts something more than a

"Glorious field of grief."

WASHINGTON, Feb. 9th, 1887.

If you find that he is moving northward, and that two brigades can guard the Blue Ridge and take care of your rear, you can move with the other three into Maryland and take position on General Ewell's right, place yourself in communication with him, guard his flank and keep him informed of the enemy's movements, and collect all the supplies you can for the use of the army. One column of General Ewell's army will probably move toward the Susquehanna by the Emmitsburg route, another by Chambersburg. Accounts from him last night state that there was no enemy west of Fredericktown. A cavalry force (about one hundred) guarded the Monocacy bridge, which was barricaded. You will, of course, take charge of Jenkins's brigade and give him necessary instructions. All supplies taken in Maryland must be by authorized staff-officers for their respective departments, by no one else. They will be paid for or receipts for the same given to the owners. I will send you a general order on this subject, which I wish you to see is strictly complied with. I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant, R. E. LEE, General."

On the following day General Lee wrote as follows:

"HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA, June 23d, 1863, 5 P. M. MAJOR-GENERAL J. E. B. STUART, Commanding Cavalry. GENERAL: Your notes of 9 and 10:30 A. M. to-day have just been received. . . . If General

Hooker's army remains inactive you can leave two brigades to watch him and withdraw with the three others, but should he not appear to be moving northward, I think you had better withdraw this side of the mountain to-morrow night, cross at Shepherdstown next day, and move over to Fredericktown. You will, however, be able to judge whether you can pass around their army without hindrance, doing them all the damage you can, and cross the river east of the mountains. In either case, after crossing the river, you must move on and feel the right of Ewell's troops, collecting information, provisions, etc. Give instructions to the commander of the brigades left behind to watch the flank and rear of the army and (in event of the enemy leaving their front) retire from the mountains west of the Shenandoah, leaving sufficient pickets to guard the passes, and bringing everything clean along the valley, closing upon the rear of the army. As regards the movements of the two brigades of the enemy moving toward Warrenton, the commander of the brigades to be left in the mountains must do what he can to counteract them; but I think the sooner you cross into Maryland, after to-morrow, the better. The movements of Ewell's corps are as stated in my former letter. Hill's first division will reach the Potomac to-day, and Longstreet will follow to-morrow. Be watchful and circumspect in all your movements. I am very respectfully and truly yours, R. E. LEE, General."—J. S. M.

H. BY BEVERLY H. ROBERTSON, BRIGADIER-GENERAL, C. S. A.

COLONEL JOHN S. MOSBY has seen proper to make mention of my command in the cavalry of the Army of Northern Virginia during the Gettysburg campaign, and as a means of defending General J. E. B. Stuart from an imaginary attack, has misrepresented a portion of General Stuart's cavalry. Colonel Mosby knows very little of Stuart's character if he supposes that so true a soldier would have silently passed over such disobedience of orders as Colonel Mosby imputes to me. The fact that Colonel Mosby has "lately discovered documents in the archives" at Washington, which are to "set at rest" something that has not been set in motion, will not excuse him for attempting in 1887 to prove by argument that in 1863 Stuart did not know whether I had obeyed his orders in the Gettysburg campaign.

The orders left with me by General Stuart, dated June 24th, were exactly obeyed by me, to his entire satisfaction as well as to that of General R. E. Lee. These orders embraced the duty of holding Ashby's and Snicker's gaps, to prevent Hooker from interrupting the march of Lee's army; and "in case of a move by the enemy on Warrenton," to counteract it if possible. I was also ordered when I withdrew from the gaps to "withdraw to the west side of the Shenandoah," to cross the Potomac where Lee crossed, and to "follow the army, keeping on its right and rear." The full text of my orders was as follows:

"HEADQUARTERS, CAVALRY DIVISION, ARMY NORTHERN VIRGINIA, June 24th, 1863. BRIGADIER-GENERAL B. H. ROBERTSON, Commanding Cavalry. GENERAL: Your own and General Jones's brigades will cover the front of Ashby's and Snicker's Gaps, yourself, as senior officer, being in command.

"Your object will be to watch the enemy, deceive him as to our designs, and harass his rear if you find he is retiring. Be always on the alert; let nothing escape your observation, and miss no opportunity which offers to damage the enemy.

"After the enemy has moved beyond your reach, leave sufficient pickets in the mountains and withdraw to the west side of the Shenandoah and place a strong and reliable picket to watch the enemy at Harper's Ferry, cross the Potomac and follow the army, keeping on its right and rear.

"As long as the enemy remains in your front, in force, unless otherwise ordered by General R. E. Lee, Lieutenant-General Longstreet, or myself, hold the gaps with a line of pickets reaching across the Shenandoah by Charlestown to the Potomac.

"If, in the contingency mentioned, you withdraw, sweep the valley clear of what pertains to the army and cross the Potomac at the different points crossed by it.

"You will instruct General Jones from time to time as the movements progress, or events may require, and report anything of importance to Lieutenant-General Longstreet, with whose position you will communicate by relays through Charlestown.

"I send instructions for General Jones, which please read. Avail yourself of every means in your power to

increase the efficiency of your command and keep it up to the highest number possible. Particular attention will be paid to shoeing horses, and to marching off of the turnpikes.

"In case of an advance of the enemy you will offer such resistance as will be justifiable to check him and discover his intentions, and if possible you will prevent him from gaining possession of the gaps. In case of a move by the enemy upon Warrenton, you will counteract it as much as you can, compatible with previous instructions.

"You will have with the two brigades two batteries of horse-artillery. Very respectfully, your obedient servant, J. E. B. STUART, Major-General Commanding.

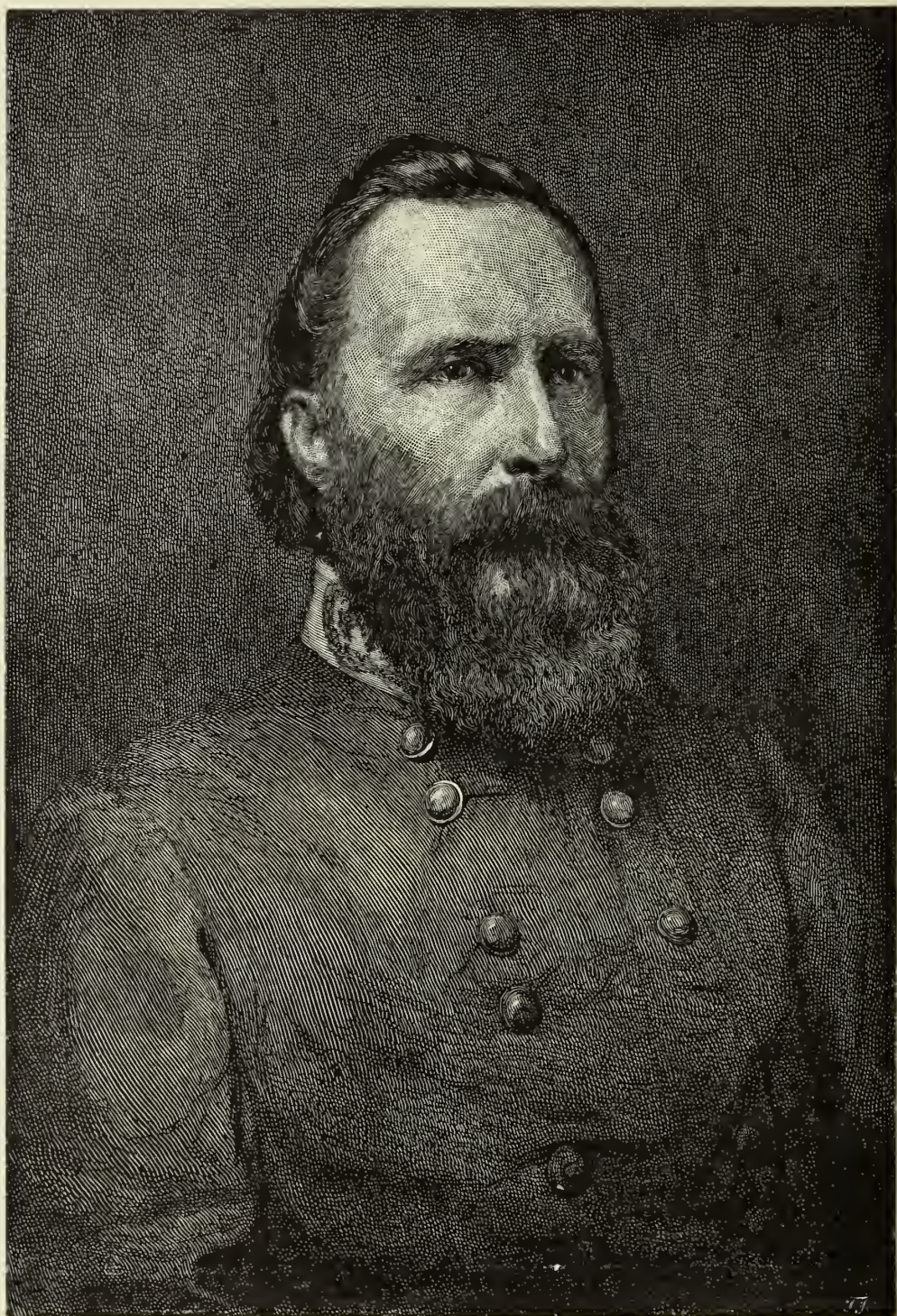
"Do not change your present line of pickets until daylight to-morrow morning unless compelled to do so."

The only road by which the orders (which particularly specified the avoidance of "turnpikes" on account of the difficulty and delay of shoeing horses) could be complied with, carried my command to Martinsburg; at which place, and *not in the gaps of the mountains*, as Colonel Mosby insinuates, a courier from General Lee met me. My command was hurried from there to Chambersburg, and thence by forced march, on the night of July 2d, to Cashtown, where it arrived at about 10 A. M. on July 3d. Ascertaining at Cashtown that General Pleasanton was moving from Emmitsburg directly on the baggage and ammunition trains of General Lee's army, which were exposed to his attack without defense of any kind, I pressed forward with my command and intercepted the advance of General Pleasanton, under the command of Major Samuel H. Starr. A severe and gallant fight was made at Fairfield, in which Major Starr of the 6th United States Regular Cavalry was wounded and captured with a large portion of his staff, while his regiment was severely damaged. Adjutant John Allan and three others of the 6th Virginia Cavalry were killed, 19 were wounded, and 5 were reported missing.

That fight at Fairfield, on the last day of the fighting at Gettysburg, refutes the imputation intended by Colonel Mosby to be conveyed in his remark that my command "did not reach the battle-field."

From that fight at Fairfield I was ordered by General R. E. Lee to cover his wagon trains, and in obeying the same my command was engaged in repeated skirmishes, particularly at Funkstown and Hagerstown, after which it returned to Virginia—the last command that recrossed the Potomac.

If there existed the least ground for Colonel Mosby's statements, there would be found among the reports of general officers some reference to the imputed dereliction of duty on my part. As no such reference is made, and no imputation of disobedience of orders is there intimated, it may be assumed that neither Stuart nor Lee had any reason to complain of my command.



FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

James Longstreet



BUFORD'S CAVALRY OPPOSING THE
CONFEDERATE ADVANCE UPON GETTYSBURG.

THE FIRST DAY AT GETTYSBURG.

BY HENRY J. HUNT, BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL, U. S. A., CHIEF OF ARTILLERY OF THE
ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.

THE battles of Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville raised the confidence of the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia to such a height as to cause its subordinate officers and soldiers to believe that, as opposed to the Army of the Potomac, they were equal to any demand that could be made upon them. Their belief in the superiority of the Southerner to the Northerner as a fighter was no longer, as at the beginning of the war, a mere provincial conceit, for it was now supported by signal successes in the field. On each of these two occasions the Army of the Potomac had been recently reorganized under a new general, presumably abler than his predecessor and possessing the confidence of the War Department, and the results were crowning victories for the Confederates. Yet at Fredericksburg defeat was not owing to any lack of fighting qualities on the part of the Federal soldiers, but rather to defective leadership.

At Chancellorsville both qualities were called in question. In none of the previous battles between these armies had the disparity of numbers been so great. The Federal general had taken the initiative, his plan of operations was excellent, and his troops were eager for battle. The Confederates could at first oppose but a portion of their inferior force to the attack of greatly superior numbers, and the boast of the Federal commander, that "the Army of Northern Virginia was the legitimate property of the Army of the Potomac," seemed in a fair way to be justified, when at first contact the advantages already gained were thrown away by the assumption of a timid, defensive attitude. Lee's bold offensive, which followed immediately on this exhibition of weakness, the consequent rout of a Federal army-corps, and the subsequent retreat of the whole army, a large portion of which had not been engaged, confirmed the exultant Confederates in their conviction—which now became an article of faith—that both in combat and in generalship the superiority of the Southerner was fully established. The Federal soldiers

returned from Chancellorsville to their camps on the northern bank of the Rappahannock, mortified and incensed at finding themselves, through no fault of their own, in the condition of having in an offensive campaign lost the battle without fighting, except when the enemy forced it upon them.

Yet in this battle the Northern soldier fought well. Under the circumstances no men could have withstood such a sudden attack as that made by "Stonewall" Jackson on the flank and rear of the Eleventh Corps; but as soon as Jackson encountered troops in condition for action, his pursuit was checked and he was brought to a stand. The panic did not extend beyond the routed corps, nor to all of that, for its artillery and so much of its infantry as could form a proper line did their duty, and the army, far from being "demoralized" by this mishap, simply ridiculed the corps which, from its supposed want of vigilance, had allowed itself to be surprised in a position in which it could not fight. The surprise itself was not the fault of the troops, and in subsequent battles the corps redeemed its reputation. Both armies were composed in the main of Americans, and there was little more difference between their men than might be found between those of either army at different periods, or under varying circumstances; for although high bounties had already brought into the Federal ranks an inferior element which swelled the muster-rolls and the number of stragglers, "bounty jumping"† had not as yet become a regular business.

The morale of the Confederate army was, however, much higher at this time than that of its adversary. It was composed of men not less patriotic, many of whom had gone into the war with reluctance, but who now felt that they were defending their homes. They were by this time nearly all veterans, led by officers having the confidence of their Government, which took pains to inspire its soldiers with the same feeling. Their successes were extolled and magnified, their reverses palliated or ignored. Exaggerations as to the relative numbers of the troops had been common enough on both sides, but those indulged in at the South had been echoed, sometimes suggested, in the North by a portion of the press and people, so that friends and enemies united in inspiring in the Confederate soldier a belief in himself and a contempt for his enemy. In the Army of the Potomac it was different; the proportion of veterans was much smaller; a cessation of recruiting at the very beginning of active operations, when men were easily obtainable to supply losses in existing regiments, had been followed, as emergencies arose, by new levies, for short periods of service, and in new organizations which could not readily be assimilated by older troops. Moreover, there were special difficulties. The Army of the Potomac was not in favor at the War Department. Rarely, if ever, had it heard a word of official commendation after a success, or of sympathy or encouragement after a defeat. From the very beginning its camps had been filled with imputations and charges against its leaders, who were accused on the streets, by the press, in Congress, and even in the War Department itself, and after victories as well as after defeats, not only of incapacity or miscon-

† This term was applied to the practice of enlisting and securing bounty money, and then, either deserting outright, or shirking the serious work of the field.—EDITORS.



GENERAL MEADE IN THE FIELD.
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

duct, but sometimes of "disloyalty" to their superiors, civil and military, and even to the cause for which they fought. These accusations were followed or accompanied by frequent changes of commanders of the army, of army-corps, and even of divisions. Under such circumstances, but little confidence could be felt by the troops, either in the wisdom of a war office which seemed to change its favorites with the caprice of a coquette, or in the capacity of new generals who followed each other in such rapid succession. But it is due to that patient and sorely tried army, to say that the spirit of both officers and men was of the best, and their devotion to duty unconquerable. The army itself had originally been so admirably disciplined and tempered, that there always remained to it a firm self-reliance and a stern sense of duty and of honor that was proof against its many discouragements. In battle it always acquitted itself well and displayed the highest soldierly qualities, no matter who commanded it or whence he came. Chancellorsville furnishes no exception to this assertion, nor evidence of inferiority of the Northern to the Southern soldier, but it does furnish striking illustrations of Napoleon's well-known

saying, "*In war men are nothing, a man is everything.*"

General Lee, who felt great confidence in his own troops, and overrated the effects of successive reverses on the Federal soldiers, now resolved to assume the offensive, for he knew that to remain on the defensive would in the end force him back on Richmond. He determined, therefore, in case the Army of the Potomac could not be brought to action under favorable circumstances in Virginia, to transfer, if permitted, the field of operations to Northern soil, where a victory promptly followed up might give him possession of Baltimore or Washington, and perhaps lead to the recognition of the Confederacy by foreign powers. The valley of the Shenandoah offered a safe line of operations; the Federal troops occupying it were rather a bait than an obstacle, and to capture or destroy them seemed quite practicable to one who controlled absolutely all Confederate troops within the sphere of his operations. The

sharp lesson he had administered the previous year had not been heeded by the Federal War Office; an opportunity now offered to repeat it, and he took his measures accordingly. In case his Government would not consent to a bolder offensive, he could at least clear the valley of Virginia of the enemy,—a distinct operation, yet a necessary preliminary to an invasion of the North. This work was assigned to Lieutenant-General Ewell, an able officer, in every way qualified for such an enterprise.

In anticipation of the new campaign, Lee's army was strengthened and reorganized into three army-corps of three divisions each. Each division consisted of four brigades, except Rodes's and Anderson's, which had five each, and Pickett's, which had three at Gettysburg,—in all, thirty-seven infantry brigades. The cavalry were the select troops of the Confederacy. Officers and men had been accustomed all their lives to the use of horses and arms, "and to the very end the best blood in the land rode after Stuart, Hampton, and the Lees." They were now organized as a division, under Major-General J. E. B. Stuart, consisting of the six brigades of Hampton, Robertson, Fitzhugh Lee, Jenkins, W. E. Jones, and W. H. F. Lee, and six batteries of horse-artillery under Major R. F. Beckham. To these should be added Imboden's command, a strong brigade of over 2000 effective horsemen and a battery of horse-artillery, which had been operating in the mountain country and was now near Staunton, awaiting orders. The artillery had recently received an excellent organization under its commandant-in-chief, General Pendleton. It consisted, besides the horse-artillery, of fifteen so-called "battalions," each of four batteries, with one lieutenant-colonel and a major. To each army-corps were attached five battalions, one for each division and two as a reserve, the whole under a colonel as chief of artillery. The total number of batteries was 69, of guns 287, of which 30 were with the cavalry. With few exceptions the batteries were of four guns each. The army was commanded by a full general, each army-corps, except the artillery, by a lieutenant-general, each division by a major-general, each brigade, except two, by brigadier-generals. Nearly all these officers were veterans of proved ability and many had served in the Mexican war.

In the Army of the Potomac the discharge of 58 regiments had reduced its strength since Chancellorsville by 25,000 effectives, partly replaced by 5 brigades numbering less than 12,000 men. At the battle of Gettysburg the 7 army-corps consisted of 19 infantry divisions, 7 of which had 2 brigades, 11 had 3, and 1 had 4; in all 51 brigades. [See lists of organizations and commanders in "The Opposing Forces in the Gettysburg Campaign," to follow.] The army and army-corps were commanded by major-generals, the divisions by 3 major-generals and 16 brigadier-generals, the infantry brigades by 22 brigadier-generals and 29 colonels. The average strength of army-corps and divisions was about half that of the Confederates, a fact that should be kept in mind, or the terms will be misleading. The cavalry had been raised under disadvantages. Men accustomed to the use of both horses and arms were comparatively few in the North and required training in everything that was necessary to make a trooper. The theater of war was not considered favorable for cavalry, and it was distributed to the various headquarters for

escort duty, guards, and orderlies. It was not until 1863 that it was united under General Pleasonton in a corps consisting of three weak divisions, Buford's, D. McM. Gregg's, and Duffié's, afterward consolidated into two, Stahel's cavalry, which joined at Frederick, June 28th, becoming the third division. The corps was then organized as follows: First Division, Buford: brigades, Gamble, Devin, Merritt; Second Division, Gregg: brigades, McIntosh, Huey, J. Irvin Gregg; Third Division, Kilpatrick: brigades, Farnsworth, Custer. The divisions and three of the brigades were commanded by brigadier-generals, the other five brigades by colonels. To the cavalry were attached Robertson's and Tidball's brigades of horse-artillery. Under excellent chiefs and the spirit created by its new organization, the Federal cavalry soon rivaled that of the Confederates.

The field-artillery was in an unsatisfactory condition. The high reputation it had gained in Mexico was followed by the active and persistent hostility of the War Department, which almost immediately dismounted three-fourths of its authorized batteries. Congress in 1853 made special provision for remounting them as schools of instruction for the whole arm, a duty which the War Department on shallow pretexts evaded. Again in 1861 Congress amply provided for the proper organization and command of the artillery in the field, but as there was no chief nor special administration for the arm, and no regulations for its government, its organization, control, and direction were left to the fancies of the various army commanders. General officers were practically denied it, and in 1862 the War Department announced in orders that field-officers of artillery were an unnecessary expense and their muster into service forbidden. Promotion necessarily ceased, and such able artillerists as Hays, DeRussy, Getty, Gibbon, Griffin, and Ayres could only receive promotion by transfer to the infantry or cavalry. No adequate measures were taken for the supply of recruits, and the batteries were frequently dependent on the troops to which they were attached for men enough to work their guns in battle. For battery-draft they were often glad to get the refuse horses after the ambulance and quartermasters' trains were supplied. Still, many of the batteries attained a high degree of excellence, due mainly to the self-sacrifice, courage, and intelligence of their own officers and men.

On taking command of the army, General Hooker had transferred the military command of the artillery to his own headquarters, to be resumed by the chief of artillery only under specific orders and for special occasions, which resulted in such mismanagement and confusion at Chancellorsville that he consented to organize the artillery into brigades. This was a decided improvement, which would have been greater if the brigade commanders had held adequate rank. As it was, there was no artillery commandant-in-chief for months before the battle of Gettysburg, and of the 14 brigades 4 were commanded by field-officers, 9 by captains, and 1 by a lieutenant, taken from their batteries for the purpose. The number of field-batteries at Gettysburg was 65, of guns 370, of which 212 were with the infantry, 50 with the cavalry, 108 in the reserve. The disadvantages under which the artillery labored all through the war, from want of proper regulations, supervision, and command



FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN F. REYNOLDS.

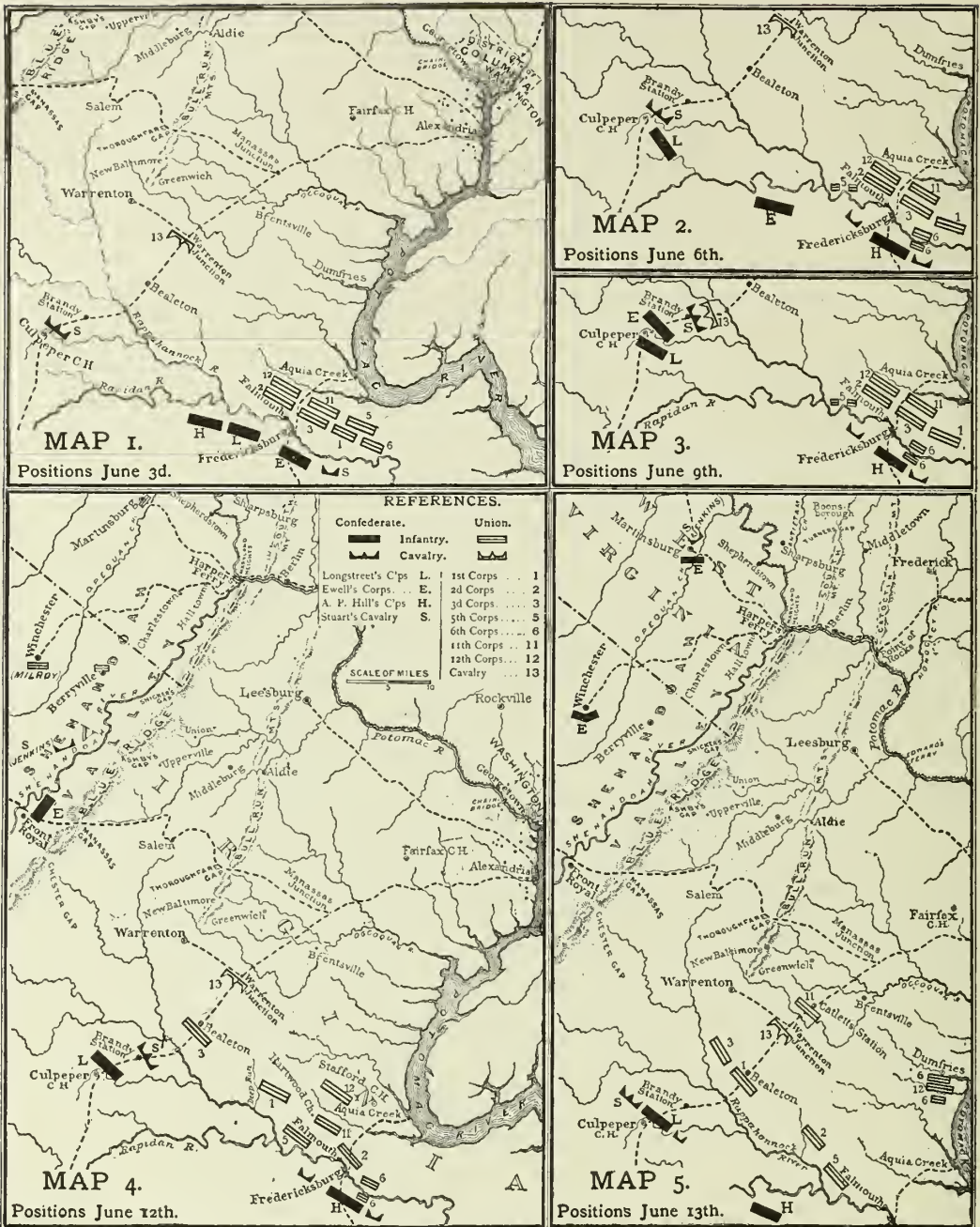
The uniform is that of a field officer in the regular army. Early in the war General Reynolds was promoted from Captain in the 3d Artillery to Lieutenant-Colonel of the 14th United States Infantry, and was made Brigadier-General of Volunteers in September, 1861.—EDITORS.

were simply disgraceful to our army administration from the close of the Mexican to that of the Civil war, and caused an unnecessary expenditure of both blood and treasure.

It will be perceived by comparison that the organization of the Army of the Potomac was at this period in every way inferior to that of its adversary. The army-corps and divisions were too numerous and too weak. They required too many commanders and staffs, and this imposed unnecessary burdens on the general-in-chief, who was often compelled to place several army-corps under the commander of one of them, thus reproducing the much-abused "grand divisions" of Burnside, under every possible disadvantage. Had the number of infantry corps been reduced to four at most, and the divisions to twelve, the army would have been more manageable and better commanded, and the artillery, without any loss, but rather a gain of efficiency, would have been reduced by a dozen or fifteen batteries.

EARLY in JUNE Lee's army began to move, and by the 8th Longstreet's and Ewell's corps had joined Stuart's cavalry at Culpeper. A. P. Hill's corps was left in observation at Fredericksburg; and so skillfully were the changes concealed that Hooker, believing that all the enemy's infantry were still near that town, ordered Pleasonton to beat up Stuart's camps at Culpeper, and get information as to the enemy's position and proposed movements. For these purposes he gave Pleasonton two small brigades of infantry, 3000 men under Generals Ames and Russell, which carried his total force to 10,981. They were echeloned along the railroad, which crosses the river at Rappahannock Station, and runs thence ten miles to Culpeper. [See map, p. 55.] About midway is Brandy Station a few hundred yards north of which is Fleetwood Hill. Dividing his force equally, Pleasonton ordered Buford and Ames to cross at Beverly Ford, and Gregg, Duffié, and Russell at Kelly's Ford. All were to march to Brandy Station, Duffié being thrown out to Stevensburg, seven miles east of Culpeper, to watch the Fredericksburg road. Then the whole force was to move on Culpeper. On the 8th, General Lee, having sent Jenkins's brigade as Ewell's advance into the valley, reviewed the other 5 brigades of Stuart, 10,292 combatants, on the plains near Brandy Station. After the review they were distributed in the neighborhood with a view to crossing the Rappahannock on the 9th, Stuart establishing his headquarters at Fleetwood. Accident had thus disposed his forces in the most favorable manner to meet Pleasonton's converging movements.

At daybreak Buford crossed and drove the enemy's pickets from the ford back to the main body, near St. James's church. Stuart, on the first report of the crossing, sent Robertson's brigade toward Kelly's to watch that ford, and Colonel M. C. Butler's 2d South Carolina to Brandy Station. He himself took the command at the church, where he was attacked by Buford. At Brandy Station W. H. F. Lee was wounded, and Colonel Chambliss took command of his brigade. Meantime Gregg had crossed at Kelly's Ford, and Duffié, leading, took a southerly road, by which he missed Robertson's brigade. Learning that Duffié's advance had reached Stevensburg and that Buford



These maps and the others relating to the campaign and battle of Gettysburg are compilations by Abner Doubleday, Brevet Major-General, U. S. A., from the official reports of the commanders on both sides, and from the maps of Colonel John B. Bachelder, which were purchased by Congress for the War Department.—EDITORS.

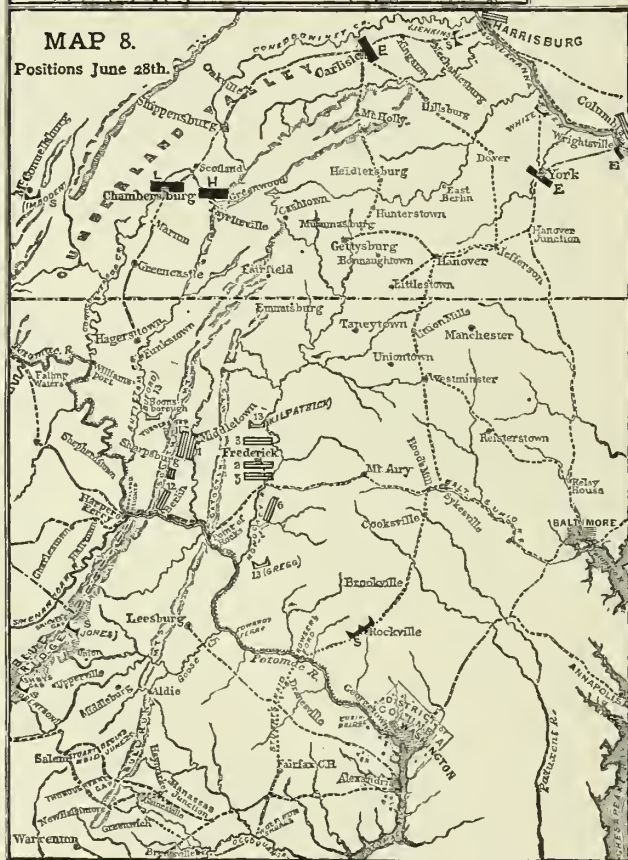
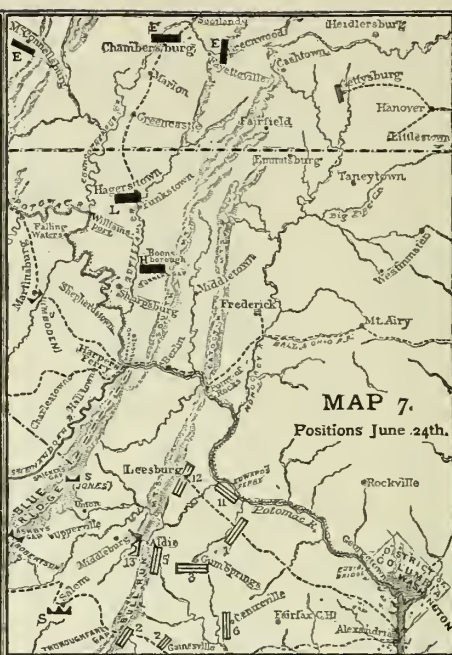
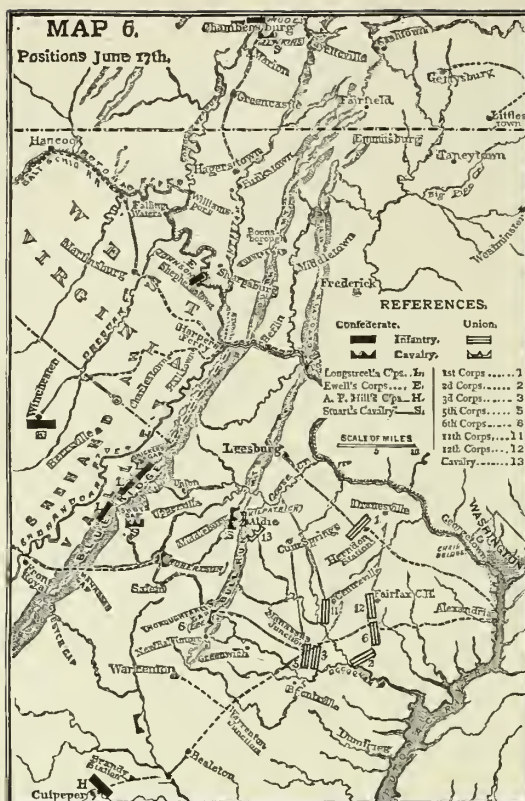
was heavily engaged, Gregg pushed direct for Brandy Station, sending orders to Duffié to follow his movement. Stuart, notified of his approach, had sent in haste some artillery and two of Jones's regiments to Fleetwood, and Colonel Butler started at once for Stevensburg, followed soon after by Wickham's 4th Virginia. On their approach two squadrons of the 6th Ohio, in

occupation of the place, fell back skirmishing. Duffié sent two regiments to their aid, and after a severe action, mainly with the 2d South Carolina, reoccupied the village. In this action Colonel Butler lost a leg, and his lieutenant-colonel, Hampton, was killed.

On Gregg's arrival near Brandy Station the enemy appeared to be in large force, with artillery, on and about Fleetwood Hill. He promptly ordered an attack; the hill was carried, and the two regiments sent by Stuart were driven back. Buford now attacked vigorously and gained ground steadily, for Stuart had to reënforce his troops at Fleetwood from the church. In the struggles that followed, the hill several times changed masters; but as Duffié did not make his appearance, Gregg was finally overmatched and withdrew, leaving three of his guns, two of them disabled, in the enemy's hands, nearly all of their horses being killed and most of their cannoneers *hors de combat*. There were some demonstrations of pursuit, but the approach of Buford's reserve brigade stopped them. Duffié finally came up and Gregg reported to Pleasonton, informing him of the approach of Confederate infantry from Culpeper. Pleasonton, who had captured some important dispatches and orders, now considered his mission accomplished, and ordered a withdrawal of his whole command. This was effected leisurely and without molestation. Gregg recrossed at Rappahannock Station, Buford at Beverly Ford, and at sunset the river again flowed between the opposing forces. Stuart reports his losses at 485, of whom 301 were killed or wounded. Pleasonton reports an aggregate loss (exclusive of Duffié's, which would not exceed 25) of 907, of whom 421 were killed or wounded. In nearly all the previous so-called "cavalry" actions, the troops had fought as dismounted dragoons. This was in the main a true cavalry battle, and enabled the Federals to dispute the superiority hitherto claimed by, and conceded to, the Confederate cavalry. In this respect the affair was an important one. It did not, however, delay Lee's designs on the valley; he had already sent Imboden toward Cumberland to destroy the railroad and canal from that place to Martinsburg.

Milroy's Federal division, about 9000 strong, occupied Winchester, with McReynolds's brigade in observation at Berryville. Kelley's division of about 10,000 men was at Harper's Ferry, with a detachment of 1200 infantry and a battery under Colonel B. F. Smith at Martinsburg. On the night of June 11th, Milroy received instructions to join Kelley, but, reporting that he could hold Winchester, was authorized to remain there. Ewell, leaving Brandy Station June 10th, reached Cedarville *via* Chester Gap on the evening of the 12th, whence he detached Jenkins and Rodes to capture McReynolds, who, discovering their approach, withdrew to Winchester. They then pushed on to Martinsburg, and on the 14th drove out the garrison. Smith's infantry crossed the Potomac at Shepherdstown, and made its way to Maryland Heights; his artillery retreated by the Williamsport road, was pursued, and lost five guns.

Meanwhile Ewell, with Early's and Edward Johnson's divisions, marched direct on Winchester. Arriving in the neighborhood on the evening of the 13th, he ordered Early on the 14th to leave a brigade in observation on the south of the town, move his main force under cover of the hills to the north-



western side, and seize the outworks which commanded the main fort. He also ordered Johnson to deploy his division on the east of the town, so as to divert attention from Early. This was so successfully done that the latter placed, unperceived, twenty guns and an assaulting column in position, and at 6 P. M., by a sudden attack, carried the outworks, driving the garrisons into the body of the place. This capture was a complete surprise, and Milroy called a council of war, which decided on an immediate retreat, abandoning the artillery and wagons. Ewell had anticipated this, and ordered Johnson to occupy with a brigade a position on the Martinsburg pike, north of Winchester. The retreat commenced at

2 A. M. of the 15th, and after proceeding three or four miles, the advance encountered Johnson's troops, attacked vigorously, and at first successfully, but, the enemy receiving reinforcements, a hard fight ensued in which the Federals lost heavily. The retreat was then continued; the troops separated in the darkness, one portion reaching Harper's Ferry, another crossing the Potomac at Hancock. On the 15th Ewell crossed the river, occupied Hagerstown and Sharpsburg, and sent Jenkins's cavalry to Chambersburg to collect supplies. On the 17th the garrison of Harper's Ferry was removed to Maryland Heights, and the valley of the Shenandoah was cleared of Federal troops. In these brilliant operations General Lee claims for Ewell the capture of 4000 prisoners and small-arms, 28 pieces of artillery, 11 colors, 300 loaded wagons, as many horses, and a considerable quantity of stores of all descriptions, the entire Confederate loss, killed, wounded, and missing, being 269.

These operations indicate on the part of General Lee either contempt for his opponent, or a belief that the chronic terror of the War Department for the safety of Washington could be safely relied upon to paralyze his movements,—or both. On no other reasonable hypothesis can we account for his stretching his army from Fredericksburg to Williamsport, with his enemy concentrated on one flank, and on the shortest road to Richmond.

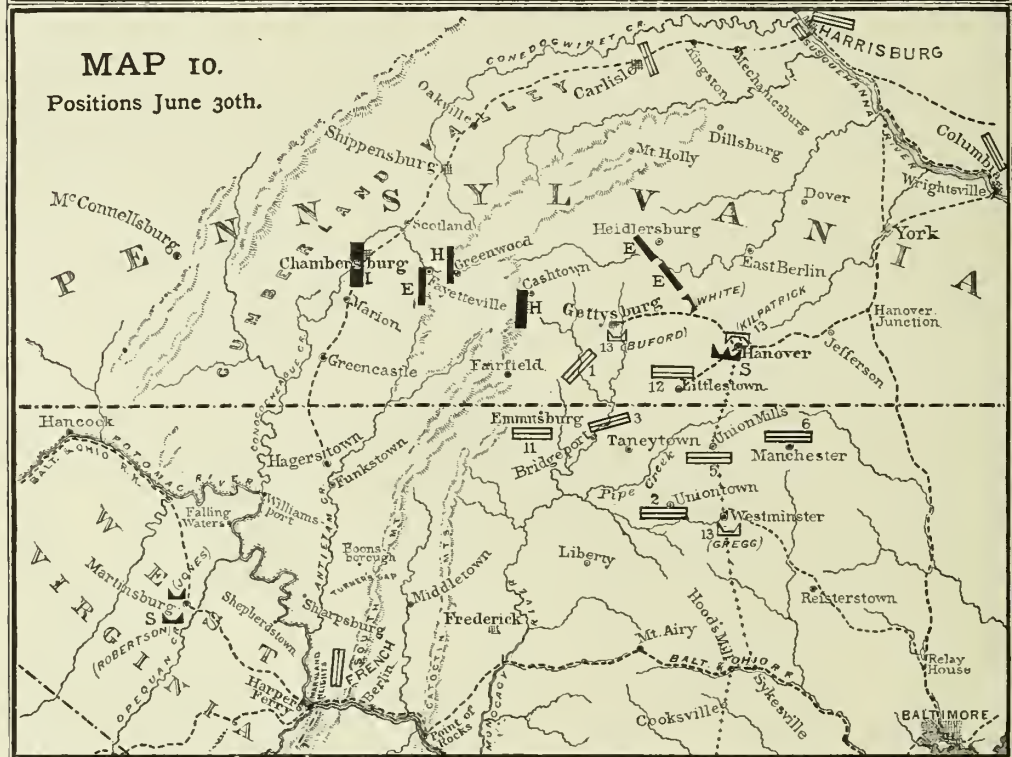
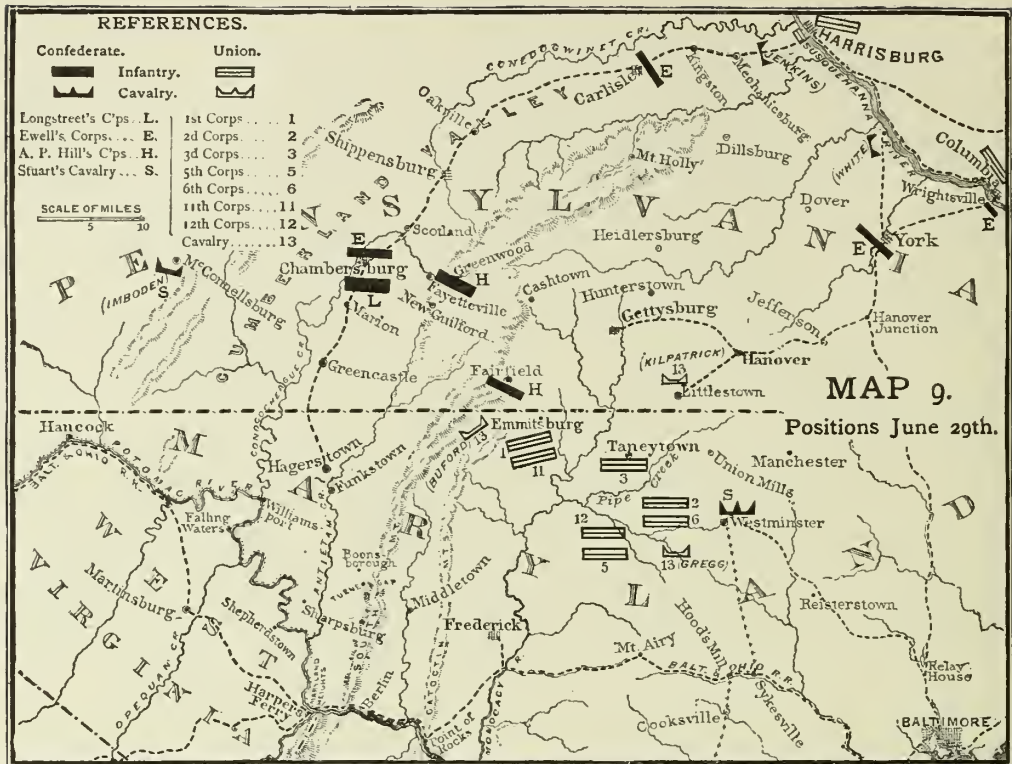
General Hooker's instructions were to keep always in view the safety of Washington and Harper's Ferry, and this necessarily subordinated his operations to those of the enemy. On June 5th he reported that in case Lee moved via Culpeper toward the Potomac with his main body, leaving a corps at Fredericksburg, he should consider it his duty to attack the latter, and asked if that would be within the spirit of his instructions. In reply he was warned against such a course, and its dangers to Washington and Harper's Ferry were pointed out. On June 10th, learning that Lee was in motion, and that there were but few troops in Richmond, he proposed an immediate march on that place, from which, after capturing it, he could send the disposable part of his force to any threatened point north of the Potomac, and was informed that Lee's army, and not Richmond, was his true objective. Had he taken Richmond, Peck's large force at Suffolk and Keyes's 10,000 men ¹ in the Peninsula might have been utilized, and Hooker's whole army set free for operations against Lee.

As yet an invasion of the North had not been definitely fixed upon. On June 8th, the day before the engagement at Brandy Station, Lee, in a confidential letter to Mr. Seddon, Confederate Secretary of War, stated that he was aware of the hazard of taking the aggressive, yet nothing was to be gained by remaining on the defensive; still, if the department thought it better to do so, he would adopt that course. Mr. Seddon replied, June 10th, the date of Hooker's proposal to march on Richmond, concurring in General Lee's views.

¹ The forces referred to consisted (January 1st, 1863) of three brigades and some unassigned commands at Suffolk, under General John J. Peck, and two brigades, and three cavalry commands—also unassigned, stationed at Yorktown, Gloucester Point, and Williamsburg, under General E. D. Keyes. The troops under Peck belonged to the Seventh Corps. Keyes's command was known as

the Fourth Corps. Both were included in the Department of Virginia, commanded by General John A. Dix, with headquarters at Fort Monroe.

While Lee was invading the North an expedition was sent by General Dix from White House to the South Anna River and Bottom's Bridge to destroy Lee's communications and threaten Richmond.—EDITORS.



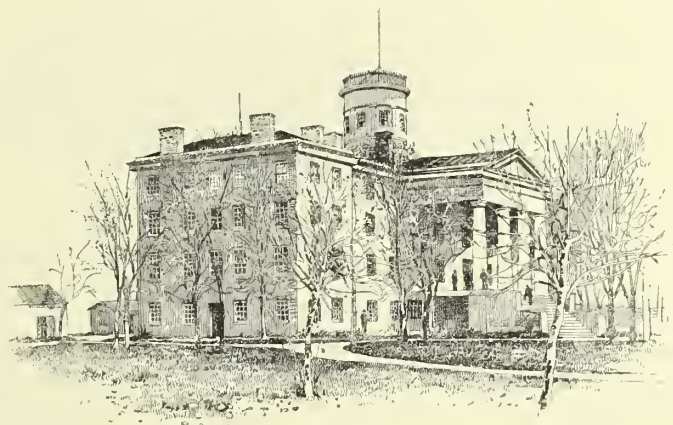
NOTE.—In considering the comparative value of Gettysburg and Westminster (behind Pipe Creek) to Lee and Meade, the maps, above, should make more of the mountain ridge, west of the Monocacy, and defined in

general by Point of Rocks, Fairfield, and Cashtown; and there should be represented on the maps the lesser range called Parr's Ridge, east of Pipe Creek, at the foot of which lie Westminster and Manchester.—EDITORS.

He considered aggressive action indispensable, that "all attendant risks and sacrifices must be incurred," and adds, "I have not hesitated, in coöperating with your plans, to leave this city almost defenseless." General Lee now had full liberty of action, with the assured support of his Government,—an immense advantage over an opponent who had neither.

As soon as Hooker learned from Pleasonton that a large infantry force was at Culpeper, he extended his right up the Rappahannock, and when informed of Ewell's move toward the valley, being forbidden to attack A. P. Hill at Fredericksburg or to spoil Lee's plans by marching to Richmond, he moved his army, on the night of June 13th, toward the line of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, and occupied Thoroughfare Gap in advance of it. On the 15th Longstreet left Culpeper, keeping east of the Blue Ridge and so covering its gaps. Hill left Fredericksburg on the 14th, and reached Shepherdstown via Chester Gap on the 23d. Stuart's cavalry had been thrown out on Longstreet's right to occupy the passes of the Bull Run mountains and watch Hooker's army. On

the 17th he encountered, near Aldie, a portion of Pleasonton's command; a fierce fight ensued, which left the Federals in possession of the field. During the four following days there was a succession of cavalry combats; those of the 19th near Middleburg, and of the 21st near Upperville, were especially well contested, and resulted in the retreat of Stuart through Ashby's Gap. Longstreet had already withdrawn through the gaps and followed Hill



PENNSYLVANIA COLLEGE, GETTYSBURG. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

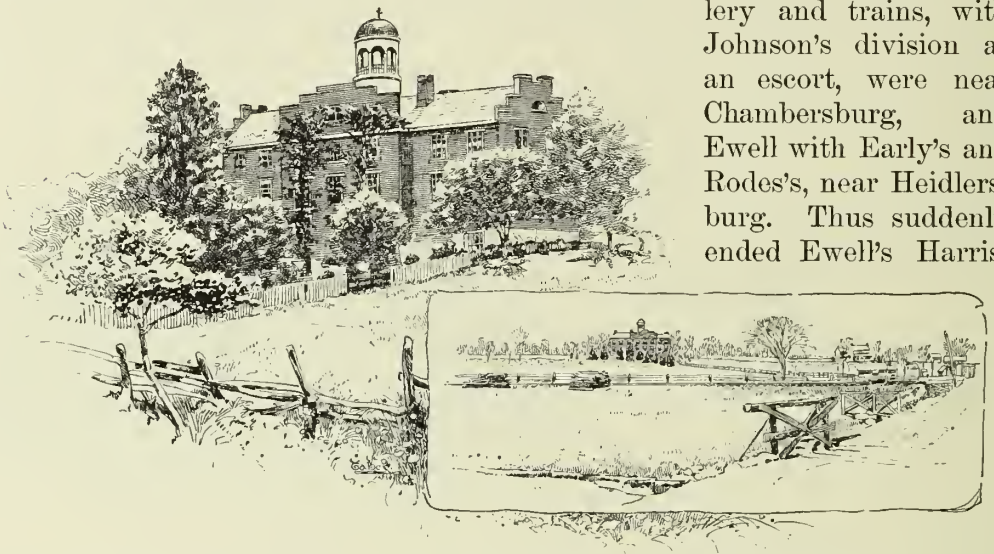
The cupola was first used by Union officers, and then by Confederate, as a station for observation and signals. During the withdrawal of the First and Eleventh corps through the town to Cemetery Hill, there was hard fighting in the college grounds.—EDITORS.

to the Potomac. Imboden, his work of destruction completed, had taken post at Hancock. Longstreet and Hill crossed the Potomac on the 24th and 25th and directed their march on Chambersburg and Fayetteville, arriving on the 27th. Stuart had been directed to guard the mountain passes until the Federal army crossed the river, and, according to General Lee's report, "to lose no time in placing his command on the right of our [Confederate] column as soon as he should perceive the enemy moving northward," in order to watch and report his movements. According to Stuart's report, he was authorized to cross between the Federal army and Washington, and directed after crossing to proceed with all dispatch to join Early in Pennsylvania.

General Lee so far had been completely successful; his army was exultant, and he lost no time in availing himself of his advantages. On the 21st he ordered Ewell to take possession of Harrisburg; and on the 22d Ewell's whole

corps was on the march, Rodes's and Johnson's divisions via Chambersburg to Carlisle, which they reached on the 27th, and Early via Greenwood and Gettysburg to York, with orders from Ewell to break up the Northern Central Railroad, destroy the bridge across the Susquehanna at Wrightsville, and then rejoin the main body at Carlisle. Early entered York on the 28th, and sent Gordon's brigade, not to destroy but to secure possession of the bridge, which would enable him to operate upon Harrisburg from the rear; but a small militia force under Colonel Frick, retreating from Wrightsville across the bridge, after an unsuccessful attempt to destroy one of its spans, set fire to and entirely destroyed that fine structure, Gordon's troops giving their aid to the citizens to save the town from the flames. On the 29th Ewell received orders from General Lee to rejoin the army at Cashtown; the next evening,

30th, his reserve artillery and trains, with Johnson's division as an escort, were near Chambersburg, and Ewell with Early's and Rodes's, near Heidlersburg. Thus suddenly ended Ewell's Harris-



THE LUTHERAN SEMINARY. THE UPPER PICTURE FROM A WAR-TIME PHOTOGRAPH.

Both pictures show the face of the seminary toward the town, and in the right-hand view is seen the Chambersburg Pike. On the first day, Buford and Reynolds used the cupola for observations; thereafter it was the chief signal-station and observatory for the Confederates — EDITORS.

burg expedition. One object was to collect supplies, and contributions were accordingly levied. Much damage was done to roads and bridges, but the prompt advance of the Army of the Potomac made this useless to the Confederates.

Before committing his army to an invasion of the North, General Lee recommended the proper steps to cover and support it. In a letter of June 23d, addressed to President Davis, he states that the season was so far advanced as to stop further Federal operations on the Southern coast, and that Confederate troops in that country and elsewhere were now disposable. He proposed, therefore, that an army should as soon as possible be organized at Culpeper, as "the well-known anxiety of the Northern Government for the safety of its capital would induce it to retain a large force for its defense, and thus relieve the opposition to our advance"; and suggested that General Beauregard be placed in command, "as his presence would give magnitude



GETTYSBURG FROM OAK HILL. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

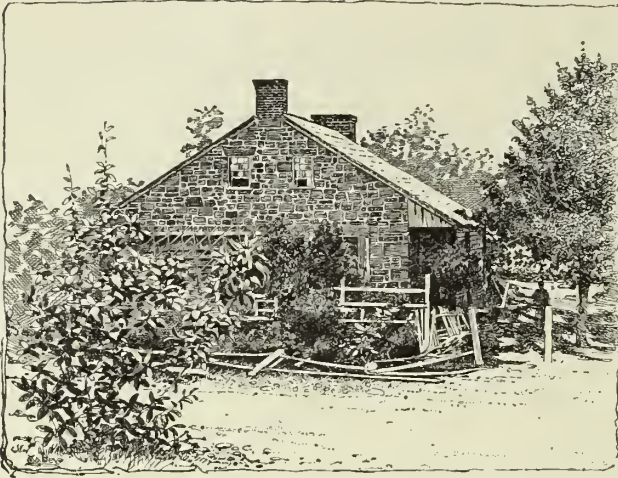
Oak Hill is a mile north-west of Gettysburg, and the view here is south-east, showing Stevens Hall (named after Thaddeus Stevens), the preparatory department of the Pennsylvania College on the left; then Culp's Hill; then Pennsylvania College, and, to the right of its cupola, the observatory on Cemetery Hill.

even to a small demonstration." On the 25th he wrote twice to Mr. Davis urging the same views. The proposition embarrassed Mr. Davis, who could not see how, with the few troops under his hand, it could be carried out. In fact, although General Lee had pointed out the means, the proposition came too late, as the decisive battle took place much earlier than was expected. This correspondence, however, with that between Lee and Mr. Seddon, shows that Hooker's project to capture Richmond by a *coup-de-main* was feasible. It was not now a question of "swapping queens." Washington was safe, being well fortified and sufficiently garrisoned, or with available troops within reach, without drawing on Hooker; and to take Richmond and scatter the Confederate Government was the surest way to ruin Lee's army — "his true objective."

On the first appearance of danger of invasion, Pennsylvania's vigilant governor, Curtin, warned the people of the State and called out the militia. General Couch was sent to Harrisburg to organize and command them, but disbelief in the danger — due to previous false alarms — caused delays until the fugitives from Milroy's command, followed by Jenkins's cavalry, roused the country. Defensive works were then thrown up at Harrisburg and elsewhere, and local forces were raised and moved toward the enemy.

Early in June Hooker represented in strong terms the necessity of having one commander for all the troops whose operations would have an influence on those of Lee's army, and in reply was informed by Halleck that any movements he might suggest for other commands than his own would be ordered *if practicable*. Misunderstandings and confusion naturally resulted, and authority was given Hooker from time to time to exercise control over the troops of Heintzelman, commanding the Department of Washington, and of Schenck, commanding the Middle Department, followed, June 24th, by orders specifically placing the troops in Harper's Ferry and its vicinity at his disposal.

Disregarding Ewell's movements, Hooker conformed his own to those of the enemy's main body, and crossed the Potomac at Edwards's Ferry on the 25th and 26th of June. On the 27th three army-corps under Reynolds occupied Middletown and the South Mountain passes. The Twelfth Corps was near Harper's Ferry, and the three other corps at or near Frederick. Hooker now ordered the Twelfth Corps to march early on the 28th to Harper's Ferry,



GENERAL LEE'S HEADQUARTERS ON THE CHAMBERSBURG PIKE.
FROM A WAR-TIME PHOTOGRAPH.

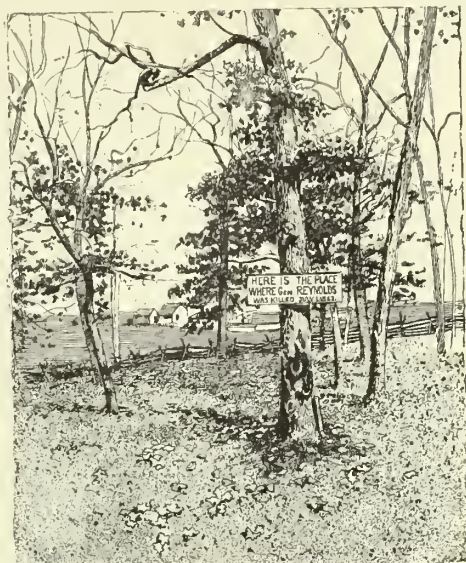
there to be joined by its garrison from Maryland Heights, in order to cut Lee's communications with Virginia, and in conjunction with Reynolds to operate on his rear. General Halleck, however, objected to the abandonment of the Heights, notwithstanding Hooker's representations that the position was utterly useless for any purpose; whereupon Hooker abandoned his project, and finding now that he was

"not allowed to manœuvre his own army in the presence of the enemy," asked to be relieved from his command. He had encountered some of the difficulties which had beset a predecessor whom he had himself mercilessly criticised, and promptly succumbed to them. His request was complied with, and Major-General George G. Meade was appointed his successor, this being the fifth change of commanders of the army in front of Washington in ten months. Meade was an excellent officer of long service, who had always proved equal to his position, whether as a specialist or a commander of troops. Many welcomed his advent—some regretted Hooker's departure. All thought the time for the change unfortunate, but accepted loyally, as that army ever did, the leader designated by the President, and gave Meade their hearty support. He was succeeded in the command of the Fifth Corps by Major-General George Sykes, a veteran of the Mexican war and a distinguished soldier.

When General Meade assumed command, June 28th, the best information placed Longstreet at Chambersburg, A. P. Hill between that place and Cash-town, and Ewell in occupation of Carlisle, York, and the country between them, threatening Harrisburg. Unacquainted with Hooker's plans and views [see p. 243], he determined at once to move on the main line from Frederick to Harrisburg, extending his wings as far as compatible with a ready concentration, in order to force Lee to battle before he could cross the Susquehanna. With this view he spent the day in ascertaining the position of his army, and brought up his cavalry, Buford to his left, Gregg to his right, and Kilpatrick to the front. Directing French to occupy Frederick with seven thousand men of the garrison of Harper's Ferry, he put his army in motion early on the morning of the 29th. Kilpatrick reached Littlestown that night; and on the morning of the 30th the rear of his division, while passing through Hanover, was attacked by a portion of Stuart's cavalry. Stuart, availing himself of the discretion allowed him, had left Robertson's and Jones's brigades to guard the passes of the Blue Ridge, and on the night of the 24th, with those of Hampton, Fitzhugh Lee, and Chambliss, had started to move

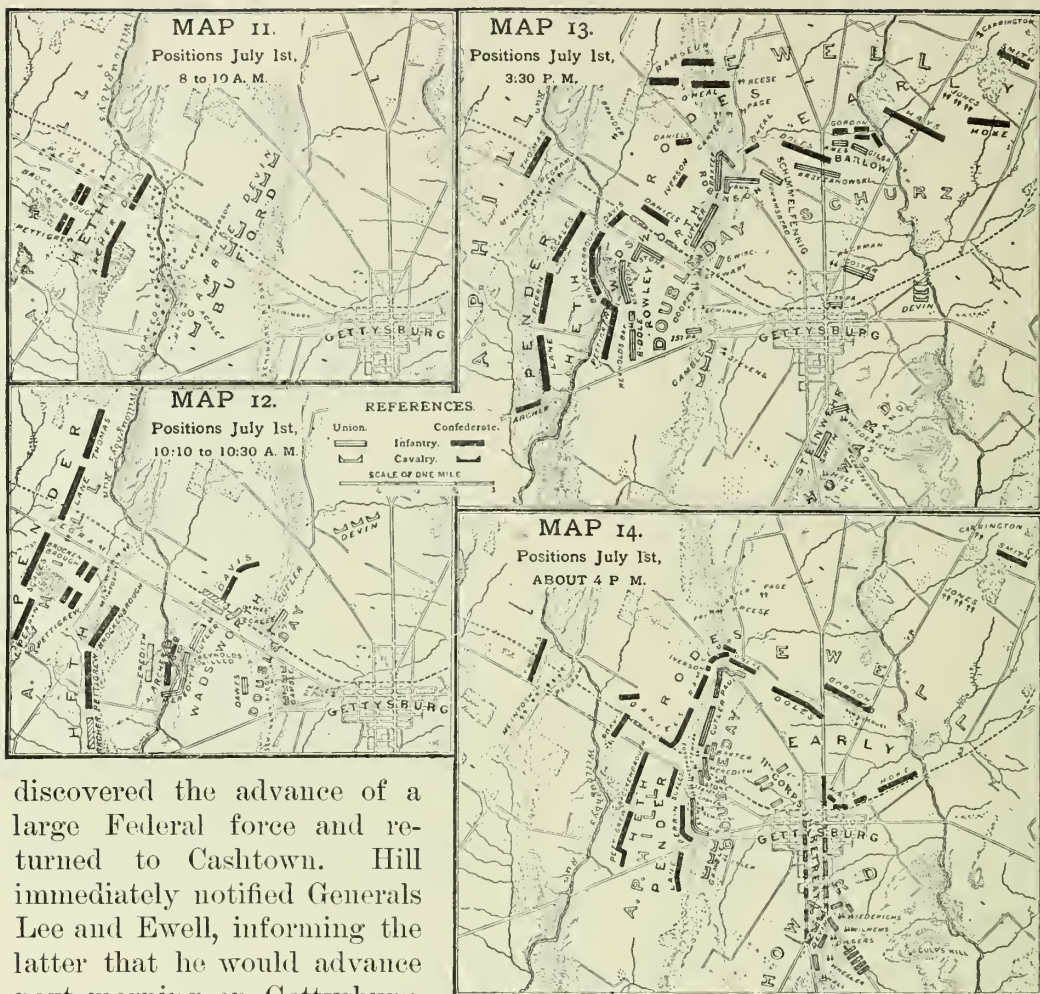
round the Army of the Potomac, pass between it and Centreville into Maryland, and so rejoin Lee; but the movements of that army forced him so far east that he was compelled to ford the Potomac near Seneca [20 miles above Washington], on the night of the 27th. Next morning, learning that Hooker had already crossed the river, he marched north by Rockville, where he captured a wagon train. Paroling his prisoners and taking the train with him, he pushed on—through Westminster, where he had a sharp action with a squadron of Delaware horse—to Union Mills, and encamped there on the 29th. During the night, he learned that the Federal army was still between him and Lee on its march north, and his scouts reported its cavalry in strong force at Littlestown, barring his direct road to Gettysburg; wherefore, on the morning of the 30th he moved across country to Hanover, Chambliss in front and Hampton in rear of his long train of two hundred wagons, with Fitzhugh Lee well out on his left flank. About 10 A. M. Chambliss, reaching Hanover, found Kilpatrick passing through the town and attacked him, but was driven out before Hampton or Lee could come to his support. Stuart's men and horses were now nearly worn out; he was encumbered with a large captured train; a junction with some part of Lee's army was a necessity, and he made a night march for York, only to learn that Early had left the day before. Pushing on to Carlisle, he found that Ewell was gone, and the place occupied by a militia force under General W. F. Smith.† His demand of a surrender was refused; he threw a few shells into the town and burned the Government barracks. That night he learned that Lee's army was concentrating at Gettysburg, and left for that place next day. Thus ended a raid which greatly embarrassed Lee, and by which the services of three cavalry brigades were, in the critical period of the campaign, exchanged for a few hundred prisoners and a wagon train.

Hearing nothing from Stuart, and therefore believing that Hooker was still south of the Potomac, Lee, on the afternoon of the 28th, ordered Longstreet and A. P. Hill to join Ewell at Harrisburg; but late that night one of Longstreet's scouts came in and reported that the Federal army had crossed the river, that Meade had relieved Hooker and was at Frederick. Lee thereupon changed the rendezvous of his army to Cashtown, which place Heth reached on the 29th. Next day Heth sent Pettigrew's brigade on to Gettysburg, nine miles, to procure a supply of shoes. Nearing this place, Pettigrew



NORTH-EAST CORNER OF THE McPHERSON WOODS,
WHERE GENERAL REYNOLDS WAS KILLED.
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH

† General Smith commanded the First Division, Department of the Susquehanna, and was charged with the protection of Harrisburg.—EDITORS.



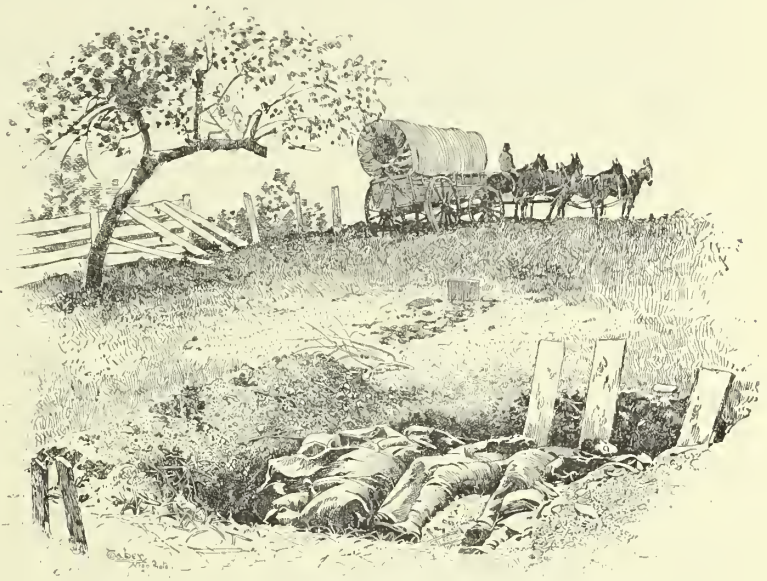
discovered the advance of a large Federal force and returned to Cashtown. Hill immediately notified Generals Lee and Ewell, informing the latter that he would advance next morning on Gettysburg.

Buford, sending Merritt's brigade to Mechanicsstown as guard to his trains, had early on the morning of the 29th crossed into and moved up the Cumberland valley via Boonsboro' and Fairfield with those of Gamble and Devin, and on the afternoon of Tuesday, June 30th, under instructions from Pleasonton, entered Gettysburg, Pettigrew's brigade withdrawing on his approach.

From Gettysburg, near the eastern base of the Green Ridge, and covering all the upper passes into the Cumberland valley, good roads lead to all important points between the Susquehanna and the Potomac. It is therefore an important strategic position. On the west of the town, distant nearly half a mile, there is a somewhat elevated ridge running north and south, on which stands the "Lutheran Seminary." This ridge is covered with open woods through its whole length, and is terminated nearly a mile and a half north of the seminary by a commanding knoll, bare on its southern side, called Oak Hill. From this ridge the ground slopes gradually to the west, and again rising forms another ridge about 500 yards from the first, upon which, nearly opposite the seminary, stand McPherson's farm buildings. The second ridge is wider, smoother, and lower than the first, and Oak Hill, their intersection,

has a clear view of the slopes of both ridges and of the valley between them. West of McPherson's ridge Willoughby Run flows south into Marsh Creek. South of the farm buildings and directly opposite the seminary, a wood borders the run for about 300 yards, and stretches back to the summit of McPherson's ridge. From the town two roads run: one south-west to Hagerstown via Fairfield, the other north-westerly to Chambersburg via Cashtown. The seminary is midway between them, about 300 yards from each. Parallel to and 150 yards north of the Chambersburg pike, is the bed of an unfinished railroad, with deep cuttings through the two ridges. Directly north of the town the country is comparatively flat and open: on the east of it, Rock Creek flows south.

On the south, and overlooking it, is a ridge of bold, high ground, terminated on the west by Cemetery Hill and on the east by Culp's Hill, which, bending to the south, extends half a mile or more and terminates in low grounds near Spangler's Spring. Culp's Hill is steep toward the east, is well wooded, and its eastern base is washed by Rock Creek.



CONFEDERATE DEAD ON THE FIELD OF THE FIRST DAY.
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

Impressed by the importance of the position, Buford, expecting the early return of the enemy in force, assigned to Devin's brigade the country north, and to Gamble's that west of the town; sent out scouting parties on all the roads to collect information, and reported the condition of affairs to Reynolds. His pickets extended from below the Fairfield road, along the eastern bank of Willoughby Run, to the railroad cut, then easterly some 1500 yards north of the town, to a wooded hillock near Rock Creek.

On the night of June 30th Meade's headquarters and the Artillery Reserve were at Taneytown; the First Corps at Marsh Run, the Eleventh at Emmitsburg, Third at Bridgeport, Twelfth at Littlestown, Second at Uniontown, Fifth at Union Mills, Sixth and Gregg's cavalry at Manchester, Kilpatrick's at Hanover. A glance at the map [p. 266] will show at what disadvantage Meade's army was now placed. Lee's whole army was nearing Gettysburg, while Meade's was scattered over a wide region to the east and south of that town.

Meade was now convinced that all designs on the Susquehanna had been abandoned; but as Lee's corps were reported as occupying the country from



UNION DEAD WEST OF THE SEMINARY. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

Chambersburg to Carlisle, he ordered, for the next day's moves, the First and Eleventh corps to Gettysburg, under Reynolds, the Third to Emmitsburg, the Second to Taneytown, the Fifth to Hanover, and the Twelfth to Two Taverns, directing Slocum to take command of the Fifth in addition to his own. The Sixth Corps was left at Manchester, thirty-four miles from Gettysburg, to await orders. But Meade, while conforming to the current of Lee's movement, was not merely drifting. The same afternoon he directed the chiefs of engineers and artillery to select a field of battle on which his army might be concentrated, whatever Lee's lines of approach, whether by Harrisburg or Gettysburg,—indicating the general line of Pipe Creek as a suitable locality. Carefully drawn instructions were sent to the corps commanders as to the occupation of this line, should it be ordered; but it was added that developments might cause the offensive to be assumed from present positions. These orders were afterward cited as indicating General Meade's intention not to fight at Gettysburg. They were, under any circumstances, wise and proper orders, and it would probably have been better had he concentrated his army behind Pipe Creek rather than at Gettysburg; but events finally controlled the actions of both leaders.

At 8 A. M., July 1st, Buford's scouts reported Heth's advance on the Cash-town road,† when Gamble's brigade formed on McPherson's Ridge, from the

† The opening of the battle on the Chambersburg road, on July 1st, is thus described by Captain Newel Cheney, of the 9th N. Y. Cavalry, in a paper prepared for the Gettysburg Monument Commission of New York:

"Colonel William Sackett, commanding the 9th N. Y. Cavalry, was brigade officer of the day and in charge of

the brigade picket-line made up of details from each regiment of Devin's brigade (9th N. Y., 6th N. Y., 4th N. Y., and 17th Pa.) the night of June 30th, and extending from the south side of the Chambersburg road, on the east side of Willoughby Run, northerly and eastwardly across the Mummasburg, Carlisle, and Harrisburg roads. He had his headquarters on the Chambersburg road, near the Lutheran Seminary. The advanced picket put on the Chambersburg road near Willoughby

Fairfield road to the railroad cut; one section of Calef's battery A, 2d United States, near the left of his line, the other two across the Chambersburg or Cashtown pike. Devin formed his disposable squadrons from Gamble's right toward Oak Hill, from which he had afterward to transfer them to the north of the town to meet Ewell. As Heth advanced, he threw Archer's brigade to the right, Davis's to the left of the Cashtown pike, with Pettigrew's and Brockenbrough's brigades in support. The Confederates advanced skirmish-



UNION DEAD NEAR M'HERSON'S WOODS. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

Run consisted of a corporal and three men, relieved every two hours, with orders not to fire on any one approaching from the front, but to notify the pickets in each direction and the reserve. No one approached from the front until daylight next morning, July 1st, when Corporal Alphonse Hodges, of Company F, 9th N. Y. Cavalry, was on this post with three men. At daylight he saw men approaching along the road, nearly a mile away, across Willoughby Run. Acting on his orders, he immediately sent his men to notify the line and the reserve, while he advanced across the Run till near enough to see that those approaching were the enemy, when he turned back, and as he did so the enemy fired at him. He retired to the Run, and from behind the abutments of the bridge fired several shots back at the enemy. These are supposed to be the first shots fired from our side on the morning of July 1st at Gettysburg, and occurred about 5:30 A. M., as near as Hodges can remember. When he fell back from the bridge to the higher ground, he found Colonel Sackett had formed a skirmish-line of the whole of his picket force, which, as I have said, consisted of detachments from the different regiments of the (Devin's) brigade. Here the advance of the enemy was first seriously disputed by this skirmish-line, which they held till after Hall's battery (2d Maine) came up and took position on the right of the Chambersburg road in rear of this skirmish-line and fired. . . . The First Brigade of Buford's division (Colonel Gamble's) coming up on the left of the road, the line of the Second Brigade, still under command of Colonel Sackett, moved farther to the right and occupied the line from the Chambersburg road to the Mummasburg road. That portion of the 9th Cavalry which

had remained in camp received orders to water their horses by squadrons in Roek Creek about 7 A. M. As soon as they had watered, they saddled up and proceeded out on the Mummasburg road to the skirmish-line on Oak Ridge. The first squadron, under Captain Hanley (afterward Lieutenant Colonel), was the first to reach the line, and he immediately ordered Lieutenant A. C. Robertson (afterward Captain) with twenty men to advance down the road into the woods, where he found the enemy's line near the residence of N. Hoffman. Finding the enemy had a strong line, he retired to a position a little back of the residence of J. Forney, from behind which some of the enemy were firing at him. He dismounted his men and drove the enemy from behind Forney's buildings, then fell back to the stone wall on the ridge, where the balance of the regiment were formed dismounted. Here the regiment held their ground for some time while the enemy approached on their hands and knees through the wheat-field in front. Daniel Cornish, of Company F, getting sight of a rebel not far away in the field, fired and killed him. The regiment cheered, and the enemy, evidently thinking our men would charge on them, hastily withdrew out of the wheat-field. As they fell back one man stopped behind a tree in the field near the road, and Perry Nichols, of Company F, advanced and captured him. This is said to be the first prisoner captured. He was immediately taken to Buford's headquarters, and gave the first information we received from the enemy's side. It was during this skirmish that Cyrus W. James, Company G, 9th N. Y. Cavalry, was killed by a rebel bullet, and he is said to have been the first man killed that morning on our side."—EDITORS.



JOHN L. BURNS, "THE OLD HERO OF GETTYSBURG." }
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN SOON AFTER
THE BATTLE.

with three of his five regiments north of the railroad cut, posted the other two under Colonel Fowler, of the 14th New York, south of the pike, and replaced Calef's battery by Hall's, thus relieving the cavalry. Cutler's line

{ I have seen it stated in an account of Burns, that he was an old regular soldier who had served in the Florida war.—H. J. H.

Sergeant George Eustice, of Company F, 7th Wisconsin Volunteers, in a letter from Gilroy, Santa Clara County, California, gives this account of John Burns's action in the ranks of that regiment :

"It must have been about noon when I saw a little old man coming up in the rear of Company F. In regard to the peculiarities of his dress, I remember he wore a swallow-tailed coat with smooth brass buttons. He had a rifle on his shoulder. We boys began to poke fun at him as soon as he came amongst us, as we thought no civilian in his senses would show himself in such a place. Finding that he had really come to fight I wanted to put a cartridge-box on him to make him look like a soldier, telling him he could not fight without one. Slapping his pantaloons-pocket, he replied, 'I can get my hands in here quicker than in a box. I'm not used to them new-fangled things.' In answer to the question what possessed him to come out there at such a time, he replied that the rebels had either driven away or milked his cows, and that he was going to be even with them. About this time the enemy began to advance. Bul-

lets were flying thicker and faster, and we hugged the ground about as close as we could. Burns got behind a tree and surprised us all by not taking a double-quick to the rear. He was as calm and collected as any veteran on the ground. We soon had orders to get up and move about a hundred yards to the right, when we were engaged in one of the most stubborn contests I ever experienced. Foot by foot we were driven back to a point near the seminary, where we made a stand, but were finally driven through the town to Cemetery Ridge. I never saw John Burns after our movement to the right, when we left him behind his tree, and only know that he was true blue and grit to the backbone, and fought until he was three times wounded."

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In his official report, General Doubleday says :

"My thanks are specially due to a citizen of Gettysburg named John Burns, who, although over seventy years of age, shouldered his musket and offered his services to Colonel Wister, 150th Pennsylvania Volunteers. Colonel Wister advised him to fight in the woods, as there was more shelter there; but he preferred to join our line of skirmishers in the open fields. When the troops retired, he fought with the Iron Brigade [Meredith's]. He was wounded in three places."—EDITORS,

was hardly formed when it was struck by Davis's Confederate brigade on its front and right flank, whereupon Wadsworth, to save it, ordered it to fall back to Seminary Ridge. This order not reaching the 147th New York, its gallant major, Harney, held that regiment to its position until, having lost half its numbers, the order to retire was repeated. Hall's battery was now imperiled, and it withdrew by sections, fighting at close canister range and suffering severely. Fowler thereupon changed his front to face Davis's brigade, which held the cut, and with Dawes's 6th Wisconsin—sent by Doubleday to aid the 147th New York—charged and drove Davis from the field. The Confederate brigade suffered severely, losing all its field-officers but two, and a large proportion of its men killed and captured, being disabled for further effective service that day. In the meantime Archer's Confederate brigade had occupied McPherson's wood, and as the regiments of Meredith's "Iron Brigade" came up, they were sent forward by Doubleday, who fully recognized the importance of the position, to dislodge Archer. At the entrance of the wood they found Reynolds in person, and, animated by his presence, rushed to the charge, struck successive heavy blows, outflanked and turned the enemy's right, captured General Archer and a large portion of his brigade, and pursued the remainder across Willoughby Run. Wadsworth's small division had thus won decided successes against superior numbers, but it was at grievous cost to the army and the country, for Reynolds, while directing the operations, was killed in the wood by a sharp-shooter. It was not, however, until by his promptitude and gallantry he had determined the decisive field of the war, and had opened brilliantly a battle which required three days of hard fighting to close with a victory. To him may be applied in a wider sense than in its original one, Napier's happy eulogium on Ridge: "No man died on that field with more glory than he, yet many died, and there was much glory."



MAJOR-GENERAL ABNER DOUBLEDAY.
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

After the repulse of Davis and Archer, Heth's division was formed in line mostly south of the Cashtown pike, with Pender's in second line, Pegram's and McIntosh's artillery (nine batteries) occupying all the commanding positions west of Willoughby Run. Doubleday reestablished his former lines, Meredith holding McPherson's wood. Soon after, Rowley's and Robinson's divisions (two brigades each) and the four remaining batteries of the corps



ASSAULT OF BROCKENBROUGH'S CONFEDERATE BRIGADE (HETH'S DIVISION) UPON THE STONE BARN OF THE MCPHERSON FARM.

The line of the stone barn was held by Stone's brigade, Pennsylvania Bucktails (Doubleday's division), its right resting on the Chambersburg pike (the left of the

picture) and its left on the McPherson woods, where a part of Archer's Confederate brigade of Heth's division was captured by Meredith's brigade.—EDITORS.

arrived. Rowley's division was thrown forward, Stone's brigade to the interval between Meredith and Cutler, and Biddle's with Cooper's battery to occupy the ridge between the wood and the Fairfield road. Reynolds's battery replaced Hall's, and Calef's rejoined Gamble's cavalry, now in reserve. Robinson's division was halted near the base of Seminary Ridge. By this time, near noon, General Howard arrived, assumed command, and directed General Schurz, commanding the Eleventh Corps, to prolong Doubleday's line toward Oak Hill with Schimmelfennig's and Barlow's divisions and three batteries, and to post Steinwehr's division and two batteries on Cemetery Hill, as a rallying-point. By 1 o'clock, when this corps was arriving, Buford had reported Ewell's approach by the Heidlersburg road, and Howard called on Sickles at Emmitsburg and Slocum at Two Taverns for aid, to which both these officers promptly responded. It was now no longer a question of prolonging Doubleday's line, but of protecting it against Ewell whilst engaged in front with Hill. Schurz's two divisions, hardly 6000 effectives, accordingly formed line on the open plain half a mile north of the town. They were too weak to cover the ground, and a wide interval was left between the two corps, covered only by the fire of Dilger's and Wheeler's batteries (ten guns) posted behind it.

That morning, whilst on the march to Cashtown, Ewell received Hill's notice that his corps was advancing to Gettysburg, upon which he turned

the heads of his own columns to that point. Reporting the change by a staff-officer to General Lee, Ewell was instructed that if the Federals were in force at Gettysburg a general battle was not to be brought on until the rest of the army was up. Approaching Gettysburg, Rodes, guided by the sounds of battle, followed the prolongation of Seminary Ridge; Iverson's, Daniel's, and Ramse's brigades on the western, O'Neal's and Doles's on the eastern slope. Ewell, recognizing the importance of Oak Hill, ordered it to be occupied by Carter's artillery battalion, which immediately opened on both the Federal corps, enfilading Donbleday's line. This caused Wadsworth again to

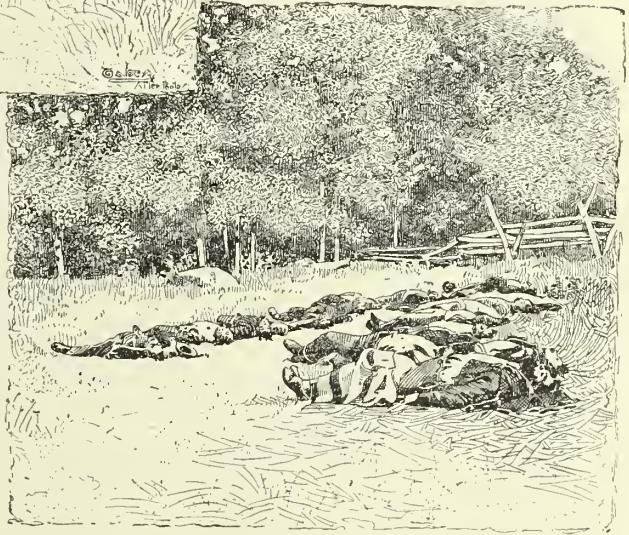
withdraw Cutler to Seminary Ridge, and Reynolds's battery was posted near McPherson's house, under partial cover. Stone therefore placed two of his three regiments on the Cashtown pike, so as to face Oak Hill. This left an interval between Stone and Cutler, through which Cooper and Reynolds could fire with effect, and gave to these lines a cross-fire on troops entering



CONFEDERATE DEAD GATHERED FOR BURIAL NEAR THE MCPHERSON WOODS. FROM PHOTOGRAPHS.

the angle between them. Robinson now sent his two brigades to strengthen Cutler's right. They took post behind the stone walls of a field, Paul's brigade facing west, Baxter's north. Rodes, regarding this advance as a menace, gave orders at 2:30 P. M. to attack. Iverson, sweeping round to his left,

engaged Paul, who prolonged Cutler's line, and O'Neal attacked Baxter. The repulse of O'Neal soon enabled Baxter to turn upon Iverson. Cutler also attacked him in flank, and after losing 500 men killed and wounded, 3 of Iverson's regiments surrendered. General Robinson reports the capture of 1000 prisoners and 3 colors; General Paul was severely wounded, losing both eyes. Meanwhile Daniel's brigade advanced directly on Stone, who maintained his lines against this attack and also Brockenbrough's, of Hill's corps,





LIEUTENANT BAYARD WILKESON HOLDING HIS BATTERY (G, 4TH UNITED STATES ARTILLERY) TO ITS WORK IN AN EXPOSED POSITION.

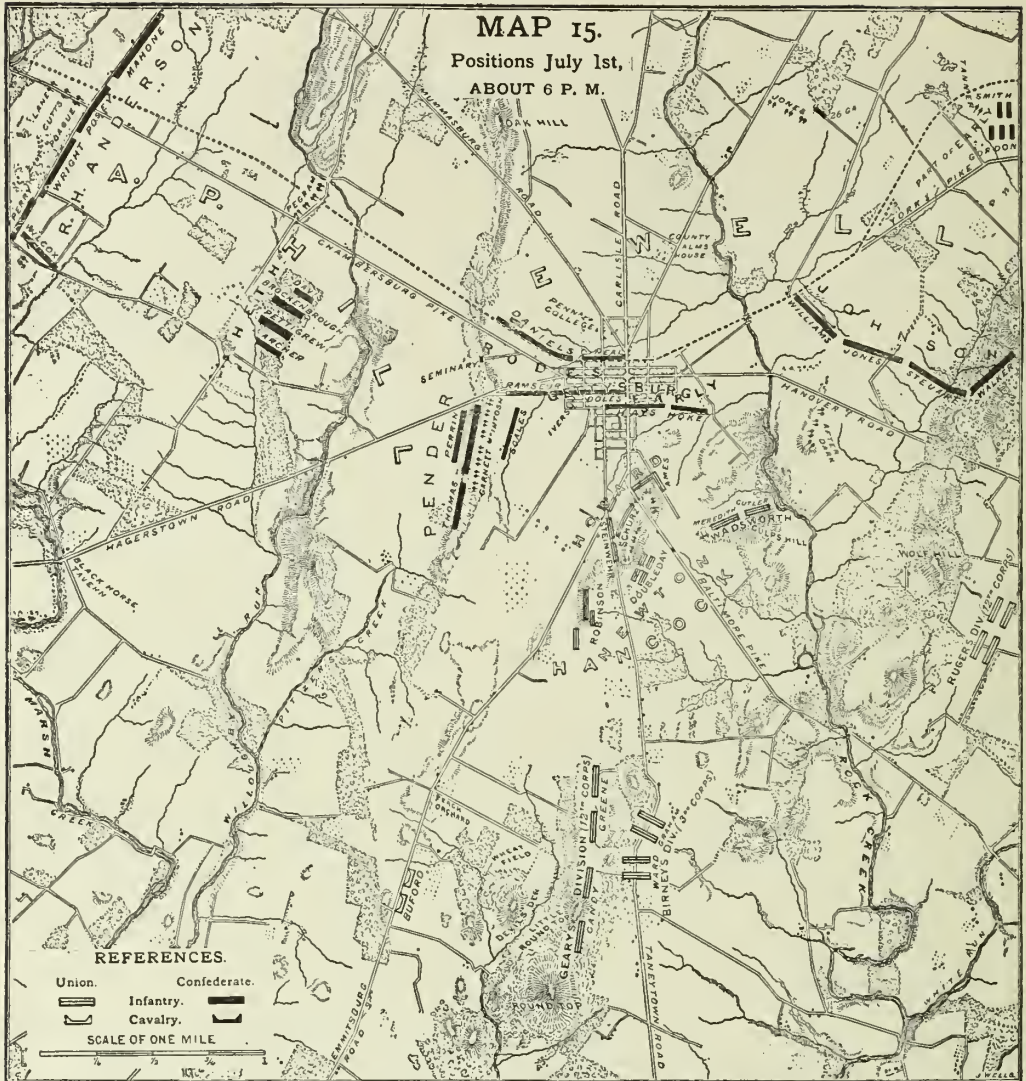
but was soon severely wounded. Colonel Wister, who succeeded him, met the same fate, and Colonel Dana took command of the brigade. Ramseur, who followed Daniel, by a conversion to the left, now faced Robinson and Cutler with his own brigade, the remnant of Iverson's, and one regiment of O'Neal's, his right connecting with Daniel's left, and the fighting became hot. East of the ridge, Doles's brigade had been held in observation, but about 3:30 P. M., on the advance of Early, he sent his skirmishers forward and drove those of Devin—who had gallantly held the enemy's advance in check with his dismounted troopers—from their line and its hillock on Rock Creek. Barlow, considering this an eligible position for his own right, advanced his division, supported by Wilkeson's battery, and seized it. This made it necessary for Schurz to advance a brigade of Schimmelfennig's division to connect with Barlow, thus lengthening his already too extended line.

The arrival of Early's division had by this time brought an overwhelming force on the flank and rear of the Eleventh Corps. On the east of Rock Creek, Jones's artillery battalion, within easy range, enfiladed its whole line and took it in reverse, while the brigades of Gordon, Hays, and Avery in line, with Smith's in reserve, advanced about 4 P. M. upon Barlow's position, Doles, of Rodes's division, connecting with Gordon. An obstinate and bloody contest ensued, in which Barlow was desperately wounded, Wilkeson killed, and the whole corps forced back to its original line, on which, with the aid of Coster's brigade and Heckman's battery, drawn from Cemetery Hill, Schurz endeavored to rally it and cover the town. The fighting here was well sustained, but the Confederate force was overpowering in numbers, and the troops retreated to Cemetery Hill, Ewell entering the town about 4:30 P. M. These retrograde movements had uncovered the flank of the First Corps and made its right untenable.

Meanwhile, that corps had been heavily engaged along its whole line; for, on the approach of Rodes, Hill attacked with both his divisions. There were thus opposed to the single disconnected Federal line south of the Cashtown pike two solid Confederate ones which outflanked their left a quarter of a mile or more. Biddle's small command, less than a thousand men, after a severe contest, was gradually forced back. In McPherson's wood and beyond, Meredith's and Dana's brigades repeatedly repulsed their assailants, but as Biddle's retirement uncovered their left, they too fell back to successive positions from which they inflicted heavy losses, until finally all three reached the

NOTE TO CUT, P. 280.—The death of Lieutenant Bayard Wilkeson, who commanded Battery G, Fourth U. S. Artillery, was one of the most heroic episodes of the fight. He was but nineteen years old and was the son of Samuel Wilkeson, who, as correspondent of the "New-York Times," was at Meade's headquarters during the fight. Young Wilkeson, by his fearless demeanor, held his battery in an exposed position on the Union right. General John B. Gordon, finding it impossible to advance his Confederate division in the face of Wilkeson's fire, and realizing that if the officer on the horse could be disposed of the battery would

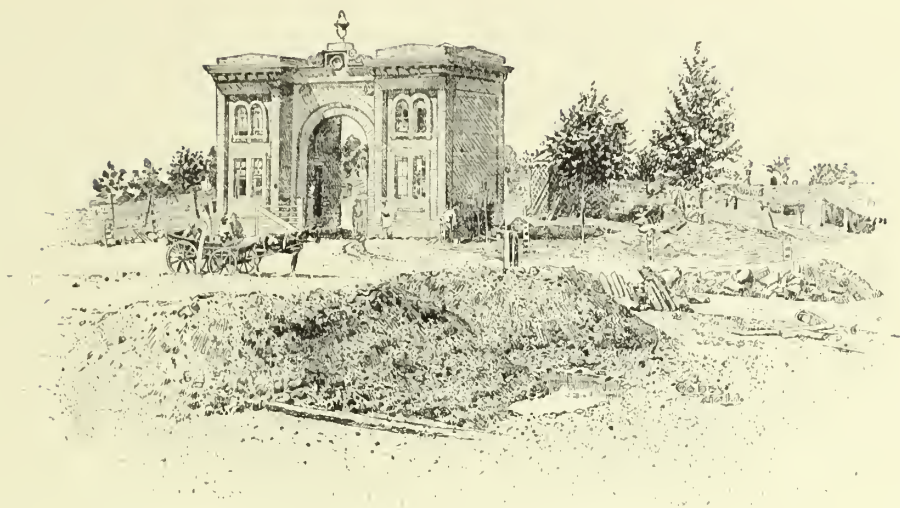
not remain, directed two batteries of his command to train every gun upon him. Wilkeson was brought to the ground, desperately wounded, and his horse was killed. He was carried by the Confederates to the Ahns House (or dragged himself there—the accounts differ), where he died that night. Just before he expired, it is said, he asked for water; a canteen was brought to him; as he took it a wounded soldier lying next to him begged, "For God's sake give me some!" He passed the canteen untouched to the man, who drank every drop it contained. Wilkeson smiled on the man, turned slightly, and expired.—EDITORS.



NOTE.—Edward Johnson's Confederate division (upper right-hand corner) did not reach the position assigned them on this map until after sunset or about dusk of July 1st. See p. 284.—EDITORS.

foot of Seminary Ridge, where Colonel Wainwright, commanding the corps artillery, had planted twelve guns south of the Cashtown pike, with Stewart's battery, manned in part by men of the Iron Brigade, north of it. Buford had already thrown half of Gamble's dismounted men south of the Fairfield road. Heth's division had suffered so severely that Pender's had passed to its front, thus bringing fresh troops to bear on the exhausted Federal line.

It was about 4 P. M. when the whole Confederate line advanced to the final attack. On their right Gamble held Lane's brigade for some time in check, Perrin's and Scales's suffered severely, and Scales's was broken up, for Stewart, swinging half his guns, under Lieutenant Davison, upon the Cashtown pike, raked it. The whole corps being now heavily pressed and its right uncovered, Doubleday gave the order to fall back to Cemetery Hill, which was effected in



THE LINE OF DEFENSE AT THE CEMETERY GATE-HOUSE. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

comparatively good order, the rear, covered by the 7th Wisconsin, turning when necessary to check pursuit. Colonel Wainwright, mistaking the order, had clung with his artillery to Seminary Hill, until, seeing the infantry retreating to the town, he moved his batteries down the Cashtown pike until lapped on both sides by the enemy's skirmishers, at close range, when they were compelled to abandon one gun on the road, all its horses being killed. The Eleventh Corps also left a disabled gun on the field. Of the troops who passed through the town, many, principally men of the Eleventh Corps, got entangled in the streets, lost their way, and were captured.

On ascending Cemetery Hill, the retreating troops found Steinwehr's division in position covered by stone fences on the slopes, and occupying by their skirmishers the houses in front of their line. As they arrived they were formed, the Eleventh Corps on the right, the First Corps on the left of Steinwehr. As the batteries came up, they were well posted by Colonels Wainwright and Osborn, and soon a formidable array of artillery was ready to cover with its fire all the approaches. Buford assembled his command on the plain west of Cemetery Hill, covering the left flank and presenting a firm front to any attempt at pursuit. The First Corps found a small reinforcement awaiting it, in the 7th Indiana, part of the train escort, which brought up nearly five hundred fresh men. Wadsworth met them and led them to Culp's Hill, where, under direction of Captain Pattison of that regiment, a defensive line was marked out. Their brigade (Cutler's) soon joined them; wood and stone were plentiful, and soon the right of the line was solidly established.

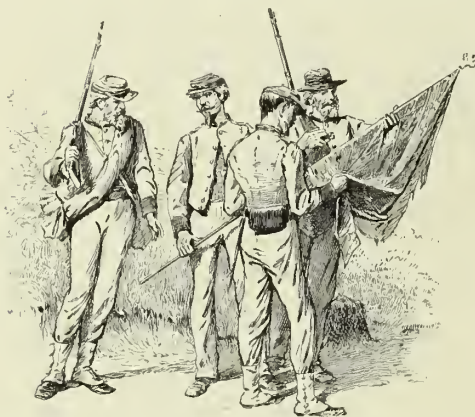
Nor was there wanting other assurance to the men who had fought so long that their sacrifices had not been in vain. As they reached the hill they were received by General Hancock, who arrived just as they were coming up from the town, under orders from General Meade to assume the command. His person was well known; his presence inspired confidence, and it implied also the near approach of his army-corps. He ordered Wadsworth at once to

Culp's Hill to secure that important position, and aided by Howard, by Warren who had also just arrived from headquarters, and by others, a strong line, well flanked, was soon formed.

General Lee, who from Seminary Hill had witnessed the final attack, sent Colonel Long, of his staff, a competent officer of sound judgment, to examine the position, and directed Ewell to carry it if practicable, renewing, however, his previous warning to avoid bringing on a general engagement until the army was all up. Both Ewell, who was making some preparations with a view to attack, and Long found the position a formidable one, strongly occupied and not accessible to artillery fire. Ewell's men were indeed in no condition for an immediate assault. Of Rodes's eight thousand, nearly three thousand were *hors de combat*. Early had lost over five hundred, and had but two brigades disposable, the other two having been sent on the report of the advance of Federal troops, probably the Twelfth Corps, then near by, to watch the York road. Hill's two divisions had been very roughly handled, and had lost heavily, and he withdrew them to Seminary Hill as Ewell entered the town, leaving the latter with not more than eight thousand men to secure the town and the prisoners. Ewell's absent division (Edward Johnson's) was expected soon, but it did not arrive until near sunset, when the Twelfth Corps and Stannard's Vermont brigade were also up, and the Third Corps was arriving. In fact an assault by the Confederates was not practicable before 5:30 P. M., and after that the position was perfectly secure. For the first time that day the Federals had the advantage of position, and sufficient troops and artillery to occupy it, and Ewell would not have been justified in attacking without the positive orders of Lee, who was present, and wisely abstained from giving them. [Continuation on page 290.]

INCIDENTS OF THE FIRST DAY AT GETTYSBURG. I

BY E. P. HALSTEAD, BREVET-MAJOR AND ASSISTANT ADJUTANT-GENERAL, U. S. V.



COUNTING THE SCARS IN THE COLORS.

SOON after daylight on July 1st, General Reynolds, then at Marsh Run, gave orders to move with all possible dispatch to Gettysburg,

where General Buford, with a small division of cavalry, was contending against Heth's division of infantry and vastly superior numbers.

The First Corps moved promptly, covered a distance of nearly eight miles, and the First Division, commanded by General Wadsworth, reached the field about 10 o'clock in the forenoon.

In returning for the Second and Third divisions I met John Burns in the field east of the Seminary, with an old musket on his shoulder and a powder-horn in his pocket, hurrying to the front, looking terribly earnest. When near me he inquired, "Which way are the rebels? Where are our troops?" I informed him that they were just in front, that he would soon overtake them. He then said, with much enthusiasm, "I know how to fight, I have fit before!"

Wadsworth's division was immediately engaged, except the Sixth Wisconsin, held in reserve by General Doubleday's orders. General Robinson and General Rowley were soon up with their divi-

† From a paper read before the District of Columbia Commandery of the Loyal Legion, March 2d, 1887.—EDITORS.

sious and hotly engaged, the former on the right of the line, extending to near the Mummasburg road, and the latter in the center between Meredith's and Cutler's brigades of Wadsworth's division.

The advantages of position were, perhaps, favorable to us, but in numbers the enemy was vastly superior. We had 6 brigades, numbering, with the artillery assigned to duty with us, 8200 men, and we maintained our position for six hours and a half against General A. P. Hill's corps of 13 brigades. General Archer and most of his brigade were captured early in the day by Meredith's "Iron Brigade." He evidently had expected an easy "walk over," judging from his disappointed manner after he was captured. A guard brought him back to General Doubleday, who, in a very cordial manner,—they having been cadets at West Point together,—said: "Good-morning, Archer! How are you? I am glad to see you!" General Archer replied: "Well, I am *not* glad to see *you*, by a — sight!" Very soon after this episode the 6th Wisconsin, under Lieutenant-Colonel Dawes, made a successful charge, resulting in the capture of a force of the enemy in the railroad cut north of the Cashtown road, and a little later General Baxter captured nearly all of Iverson's [Confederate] brigade.

About 2 o'clock in the afternoon the Eleventh Corps reached the field and formed in line of battle at about a right angle to the general line of the First Corps, but did not connect with its right by several hundred yards, so that both flanks were in the air. When Ewell's troops approached from Carlisle and York they struck the Eleventh Corps in front and on both flanks almost simultaneously. The result was an easy victory to the enemy, giving them possession of Gettysburg before the First Corps had ceased fighting or had left its position west of the Seminary. Thus the First Corps was enveloped on its right and rear and was contending against vastly superior numbers in its front.

About 4 o'clock in the afternoon General Doubleday sent me to General Howard for reinforcements and orders. I found the latter in the cemetery near the gate. He looked the picture of despair. On receipt of the message he replied: "Tell General Doubleday that I have no reinforcements to send him. I have only one regiment in reserve." I then asked if he had any orders to give, and called his attention to the enemy then advancing in line of battle overlapping our left by nearly half a mile. He looked in that direction and replied rather sharply: "Those are nothing but rail fences, sir!" I said: "I beg your pardon, General; if you will take my glass you will see something besides rail fences." Turning to a staff-officer, he bade him take the glass and see what it was. The officer looked, and in an instant lowered the glass, saying: "General, those are long lines of the enemy!" General Howard then turned to me and said: "Go to General Buford, give him my compliments, and tell him to go to General Doubleday's support." When asked where General Bu-

ford could be found, he replied: "I don't know! I think he is over this way," pointing toward the east.

After riding in that direction as far as I deemed it wise or prudent, I returned to where General Howard sat, just as General Hancock approached at a swinging gallop. When near General Howard, who was then alone, he saluted, and with great animation, as if there was no time for ceremony, said General Meade had sent him forward to take command of the three corps. General Howard replied that he was the senior. General Hancock said: "I am aware of that, General, but I have written orders in my pocket from General Meade, which I will show you if you wish to see them." General Howard said: "No; I do not doubt your word, General Hancock, but you can give no orders here while I am here." Hancock replied: "Very well, General Howard, I will second any order that you have to give, but General Meade has also directed me to select a field on which to fight this battle in rear of Pipe Creek." Then, casting one glance from Culp's Hill to Round Top, he continued: "But I think this the strongest position by nature upon which to fight a battle that I ever saw, and if it meets your approbation I will select this as the battle-field." General Howard responded: "I think it a very strong position, General Hancock; a very strong position!" "Very well, sir, I select this as the battle-field." General Hancock immediately turned away to rectify our lines.

There was no person present besides myself when the conversation took place between Howard and Hancock. A number of years since I reminded General Hancock of that fact and what I had heard pass between them. He said that what I have repeated here was true, and requested a written statement, which I subsequently furnished him.

When I left General Howard to return to the front, I discovered General Buford's cavalry only a little to the west of the cemetery and delivered the order I had received from General Howard. Buford rose in his stirrups upon his tiptoes and exclaimed: "What does he think I can do against those long lines of the enemy out there?" "I don't know anything about that, General; those are General Howard's orders." "Very well," said he, "I will see what I can do," and, like the true soldier that he was, he moved his command out in plain view of the enemy and formed for the charge. The enemy, seeing the movement, formed squares in echelon, which delayed them and materially aided in the escape of the First Corps, if it did not save a large portion of the remnant from capture. The formation of squares by the enemy that day has been doubted by nearly every one with whom I have conversed upon the subject, and not until the meeting of the survivors of the First Corps at Gettysburg, in May, 1885, was I able to satisfy Colonel Bachelder, who has made a study of that battle, of the correctness of my statement, and only then after it had been corroborated by two of Buford's officers who were in the engagement.



FROM A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN DURING THE WAR OR SOON AFTER.

Wm. T. Hancock

HANCOCK AND HOWARD IN THE FIRST DAY'S FIGHT.

I. FROM GENERAL HANCOCK'S OFFICIAL REPORT.

GENERAL HANCOCK's report bears no date except 1863, but a supplemental report, by way of correction, dated October 24th, shows that the paper was written prior to that time, and during his convalescence from the wound received near the end of the battle. There are passages in the report which show a determination on the part of Meade to fight at Pipe Creek. General Hancock says:

"On the morning of July 1st the command marched to Taneytown, going into bivouac about 11 A. M. I then proceeded in person to General Meade's headquarters, and, on reporting to him, was informed as to his intention with reference to giving battle to the enemy, the orders for preparatory movements being then ready for issue. A few minutes before 1 P. M. I received orders to proceed in person to the front and assume command of the First, Third, and Eleventh corps, in consequence of the death of Major-General Reynolds. Having been fully informed by the major-general commanding as to his intentions, I was instructed by him to give the necessary directions upon my arrival at the front for the movement of troops and trains to the rear toward the line of battle he had selected, should I deem it expedient to do so. If the ground was suitable, and circumstances made it wise, I was directed to establish the line of battle at Gettysburg. . . . At 3 P. M. I arrived at Gettysburg and assumed the command. At this time the First and Eleventh corps were retiring through the town, closely pursued by the enemy. The cavalry of General Buford was occupying a firm position on the plain to the left of Gettysburg, covering the rear of the retreating corps. The Third Corps had not yet arrived from Emmitsburg. Orders were at once given to establish a line of battle on Cemetery Hill, with skirmishers occupying that part of the town immediately in our front. The position just on the southern edge of Gettysburg, overlooking the town and commanding the

Emmitsburg and Taneytown roads and the Baltimore turnpike, was already partially occupied on my arrival by direction of Major-General Howard. Some difficulty was experienced in forming the troops of the Eleventh Corps, but by vigorous efforts a sufficiently formidable line was established to deter the enemy from any serious assault on the position. They pushed forward a line of battle for a short distance east of the Baltimore turnpike, but it was easily checked by the fire of our artillery. In forming the lines, I received material assistance from Major-General Howard, Brigadier-Generals Warren and Buford, and officers of General Howard's command. . . . The trains of all the troops under my command were ordered to the rear, that they might not interfere with any movement of troops that might be directed by the major-general commanding. My aide, Major Mitchell, was then sent to General Meade to inform him of the state of affairs, and to say that I would hold the position until night. Shortly after, I addressed a communication to the major-general commanding, sending it by Captain Parker, of my staff, giving in detail the information in my possession, and informing him that the position at Gettysburg was a very strong one, having for its disadvantage that it might be easily turned, and leaving to him the responsibility whether the battle should be fought at Gettysburg or at a place first selected by him. Between 5 and 6 o'clock, my dispositions having been completed, Major-General Schoom arrived on the field, and, considering that my functions had ceased, I transferred the command to him. The head of the Third Corps appeared in sight shortly afterward, on the Emmitsburg road.

"About dark I started for the headquarters of the army, still at Taneytown, thirteen miles distant, and reported in person to General Meade. I then ascertained that he had already given orders for the corps in the rear to advance at once to Gettysburg, and was about proceeding there in person."

II. FROM GENERAL HOWARD'S OFFICIAL REPORT.

GENERAL HOWARD's detailed report is dated August 31st, 1863, and speaks specifically of the course of events after he took command on the morning of the First Day's battle. He says:

"Just at sunset [June 30th] I received a request from General Reynolds, commanding First Corps, to meet him at his headquarters [at Marsh Run, midway between Emmitsburg and Gettysburg]. He then showed me the orders from your headquarters placing him in command of the First, Eleventh, and Third corps; also the circulars of the commanding general dated June 30th, together with a confidential communication. The purport of these papers was that a general engagement was imminent, the issues involved immense, and all commanders urged to extraordinary exertions. General Reynolds and I consulted together, comparing notes and information until a late hour. I then returned to Emmitsburg. A circular from your headquarters, of June 30th, required corps commanders to hold their commands in readiness to move at a moment's notice. . . . At 8 A. M. [July 1st] orders were received from him [Reynolds] directing the corps to march to Gettysburg. . . . As soon as the corps was set in motion, I pushed on with my staff by the direct road, and when within two miles of Gettysburg received word from General Reynolds, pointing out the place where I was to encamp; but, on approaching the town, heavy artillery firing was heard. For some little time I endeavored, by sending in different directions, to find General Reynolds, in order to report to him in person. In the meantime I went to the top of a high building in Gettysburg facing westward. I saw firing beyond Seminary

Ridge and not far from the seminary. Toward the right masses of cavalry were drawn up in order, to the east of the ridge and to the north-east of the town. A portion of the First Corps, of General Wadsworth's command, was between me and the seminary, taking position near the railroad. Another division of this corps was moving by the flank with considerable rapidity, along the ridge and in a north-easterly direction. I had studied the position a few moments, when a report reached me that General Reynolds was wounded. At first I hoped his wound might be slight, and that he would continue to command; but in a short time I was undeceived. His aide-de-camp, Major [William] Riddle, brought the sad tidings of his death. This was about 11:30 A. M. Prior to this the general had sent me orders to move up at double-quick, for he was severely engaged. On hearing of the death of General Reynolds, I assumed command of the left wing, instructing General Schurz to take command of the Eleventh Corps. After an examination of the general features of the country, I came to the conclusion that the only tenable position for my limited force was the ridge to the south-east of Gettysburg, now so well known as Cemetery Ridge. The highest point at the cemetery commanded every eminence within easy range. The slopes toward the west and south were gradual, and could be completely swept by artillery. To the north, the ridge was broken by a ravine running transversely. I at once established my headquarters near the cemetery and on the highest point north of the Baltimore pike. Here General Schurz joined me before 12 M., when I instructed him to make the following dispositions of the Eleventh Corps. Learning from General Doubleday, commanding the First Corps, that his

right was hard pressed, and receiving continued assurance that his left was safe and pushing the enemy back, I ordered the First and Third divisions of the Eleventh Corps to seize and hold a prominent height [Oak Hill, which they did not reach—the Confederates getting there first.—EDITORS] on the right of the Cashtown road and on the prolongation of Seminary Ridge, each division to have a battery of artillery, the other three batteries, supported by General Steinwehr's division (Second), to be put in position near me on Cemetery Hill.

"About 12:30 [P. M.] General Buford sent me word that the enemy was massing between the York and Harrisburg roads, to the north of Gettysburg, some three or four miles from the town. Quite a large number of prisoners had already been taken by the First Corps. They reported that we were engaging Hill's corps, or a portion of it, and that an aide of General Longstreet had arrived, stating that he would be up with one division in a short time. About this time the head of column of the Eleventh Corps entered and passed through the town, moving forward rapidly toward the position ordered. The news of Ewell's advance from the direction of York was confirmed by reports from General Schurz, General Buford, and Major Charles H. Howard, my aide-de-camp, who had been sent in that direction to reconnoiter. I therefore ordered General Schurz to halt his command, to prevent his right flank being turned, but to push forward a thick line of skirmishers to seize the point first indicated [Oak Hill], as a relief and support to the First Corps. Meanwhile word was sent to General Sickles, commanding Third Corps, and General Slocum, commanding Twelfth, informing them of the situation of affairs, with a request that General Sickles forward my dispatch to General Meade. General Sickles was at that time, about 1 P. M., near Emmitsburg, and General Slocum reported to be near Two Taverns, distant between four and five miles from Gettysburg. At 2 P. M. a report of the state of things as then existing was sent to General Meade directly. About this time I left my chief-of-staff to execute orders, and went to the First Corps. I found General Doubleday about a quarter of a mile beyond the seminary. His Third Division was drawn up to his front and left, facing toward the north-west, making a large angle with the ridge. The artillery of this division was engaging the enemy at this time. His First Division (Wadsworth's) was located a little to the right of the railroad, and his Second Division (Robinson's) on Wadsworth's right. The First Corps, in this position, made a right angle with the Eleventh Corps, the vertex being near the Mummashurg road. The cavalry of General Buford was located mainly upon the flanks. After inspecting the position of the First Corps, and examining the topography of that part of the field, I returned to my former position at the cemetery. About this time (2:45 P. M.) the enemy showed himself in force in front of the Eleventh Corps. His batteries could be distinctly seen on a prominent slope between the Mummashurg and the Harrisburg roads. From this point he opened fire upon the Eleventh Corps, and also more or less enfilading Robinson's division of the First Corps. The batteries attached to the First and Third divisions, Eleventh Corps, immediately replied, and with evident effect. One battery of the enemy, a little more than a mile north from the cemetery, near the Harrisburg road, could be distinctly seen, and as I had a battery of 3-inch rifled guns, under Wiedrich, near my position, I directed him to fire, provided he could reach the enemy. He did so, but his shells for the most part fell short. Soon after complaint came that they reached no farther than our own cavalry; however, I never heard that any of our own men were killed or wounded by this fire. The reason of this irregularity was the poor quality of the ammunition there used. Subsequently these guns did most excellent service.

"I now sent again to General Slocum, stating that my right flank was attacked and asking him if he was moving up, and stating that I was in danger of being turned and driven back. Before this my aide-de-camp, Captain [Edward P.] Pearson, had been sent to General Sickles,

requesting him to move up to Gettysburg as rapidly as possible. Owing to difficulty in finding General Sickles's headquarters, this message was not delivered until 3:30 P. M.

At 3:20 P. M. the enemy renewed his attack upon the First Corps, hotly pressing the First and Second divisions. Earnest requests were made upon me for reinforcements, and General Schurz, who was engaged with a force of the enemy much larger than his own, asked for a brigade to be placed *en échelon* on his right. I had then only two small brigades in reserve, and had already located three regiments from these in the edge of the town and to the north, and I felt sure that I must hold the point where I was as an ultimate resort. Therefore I at first replied that I could not spare any troops, but did afterward permit General Steinwehr to push out Colonel Coster's brigade beyond the town, to cover the retreat. General Buford was requested to support the center, near the right of the First Corps, as well as he could with his cavalry. A third battery was sent to the front, and put in position near the Third Division, Eleventh Corps. At 3:45 P. M. Generals Doubleday and Wadsworth besought me for reinforcements. I directed General Schurz, if he could spare one regiment or more, to send it to reinforce General Wadsworth, and several times sent urgent requests to General Slocum to come to my assistance. To every application for reinforcements, I replied, "Hold out, if possible, a while longer, for I am expecting General Slocum every moment." At this time General Doubleday's left was turned, and troops of the enemy appeared far outflanking him, and the enemy were also extending beyond my right flank. About 4 P. M. I sent word to General Doubleday that, if he could not hold out longer, he must fall back, fighting, to Cemetery Hill and on the left of the Baltimore pike; also a request to General Buford to make a show of force opposite the enemy's right, which he immediately did. I now dispatched Major Howard, my aide-de-camp, to General Slocum, to inform him of the state of affairs, requesting him to send one of his divisions to the left, the other to the right of Gettysburg, and that he would come in person to Cemetery Hill. He met the general on the Baltimore pike, about a mile from Gettysburg, who replied that he had already ordered a division to the right, and that he would send another to cover the left, as requested, but that he did not wish to come up in person to the front and take the responsibility of that fight. In justice to General Slocum, I desire to say that he afterward expressed the opinion that it was against the wish of the commanding general to bring on a general engagement at that point.

"At 4:10 P. M., finding that I could hold out no longer, and that the troops were already giving way, I sent a positive order to the commanders of the First and Eleventh corps to fall back gradually, disputing every inch of ground, and to form near my position, the Eleventh Corps on the right and the First Corps on the left of the Baltimore pike. General Steinwehr's division of the Eleventh Corps and the batteries which he was supporting were so disposed as to check the enemy attempting to come through the town, or to approach upon the right or left of Gettysburg. The movement ordered was executed, though with considerable confusion, on account of the First and Eleventh corps coming together in the town.

"At 4:30 P. M. the columns reached Cemetery Hill, the enemy pressing hard. He made a single attempt to turn our right, ascending the slope north-east of Gettysburg, but his line was instantly broken by Wiedrich's battery, in position on the heights. General Hancock came to me about this time and said General Meade had sent him on hearing the state of affairs; that he had given him his instructions while under the impression that he was my senior. We agreed at once that that was no time for talking, and that General Hancock should further arrange the troops and place the batteries upon the left of the Baltimore pike, while I should take the right of the same. In a very short time we put the troops in position, as I had previously directed, excepting that

General Wadsworth's division was sent to occupy a height to the right and rear of our position. In passing through the town we lost many prisoners, but the enemy, perceiving the strength of our position on the heights, made no further attempts to renew the engagement that evening.

"About 7 P. M. Generals Slocum and Sickles arrived at the cemetery. A formal order was at the same time put into my hands placing General Hancock in command of the left wing. But General Slocum being present, and senior, I turned the command over to him, and resumed the direct command of the Eleventh Corps, whereupon General Hancock repaired to the headquarters of General Meade. The eventful day was over. The First and Eleventh corps, numbering less than eighteen thousand men, nobly aided by Buford's division of cavalry, had engaged and held in check nearly double their numbers from 10 in the morning until 7 in the evening. They gave way, it is true, after hard fighting, yet they secured and held the remarkable position which, under the able generalship of the commander of this army, contributed to the grand results of July 2d and 3d."

In a letter to President Lincoln, dated Near Berlin, July 18th, 1863 ("Official Records," Vol. XXVII., p. 700), General Howard says:

"The successful issue of the battle of Gettysburg was due mainly to the energetic operations of our present

commanding general prior to the engagement, and to the manner in which he handled his troops on the field. The reserves have never before during this war been thrown in at just the right moment. In many cases when points were just being carried by the enemy, a regiment or brigade appeared to stop his progress and hurl him back. Moreover, I have never seen a more hearty coöperation on the part of general officers as since General Meade took command."

In a resolution dated January 28th, 1864, the thanks of Congress were tendered to General Joseph Hooker and his army for the movement covering Washington and Baltimore; "and to Major-General George G. Meade, Major-General Oliver O. Howard, and the officers and soldiers of that army, for the skill and heroic valor which, at Gettysburg, repulsed, defeated, and drove back, broken and dispirited, beyond the Rappahannock, the veteran army of the Rebellion." On May 30th, 1866, the thanks of Congress were given to Major-General W. S. Hancock, "for his gallant, meritorious, and conspicuous share in that great and decisive victory"—meaning Gettysburg. EDITORS.

CITIZENS OF GETTYSBURG IN THE UNION ARMY.

BY H. M. M. RICHARDS, COMPANY A, 26TH PENNSYLVANIA MILITIA.

FOR twenty-three years we have heard it asserted that the people of Gettysburg were lacking in patriotism because they did not spring to arms *en masse*, and assist in repelling the invaders. In THE CENTURY for November, 1886, Charles F. Weakley is mentioned, in addition to old John Burns, as one who volunteered; but these are not all.

Upon the first indication of an invasion of Pennsylvania, the 26th Regiment, P. V. M., was organized and mustered into the United States service at Harrisburg, under the command of Colonel W. W. Jennings of that city. Company A of this regiment, to which I belonged, was composed of students from the Lutheran Theological Seminary and the Pennsylvania College of Gettysburg, and of citizens of the town; one other company came from Hanover, but a few miles distant.

On June 23d we left Harrisburg for Gettysburg, to be used, I believe, as riflemen among the hills near Cashtown. A railroad accident prevented this plan from being carried into effect, and kept us from reaching Gettysburg until the 26th, by which time General Early had reached Cashtown. In accordance with orders received from Major Granville O. Haller, † in command of the post, we were marched out on the Chambersburg pike at 10 A. M., June 26th, for a distance of about three and a half miles, accompanied by Major Robert Bell, who commanded a troop of horse, also raised, I understand, in Gettysburg. Having halted, our colonel, accompanied by Major Bell, rode to the brow of an elevation distant several hundred yards,

and there saw General Early's troops a few miles distant. Early says in his report: "I sent General Gordon with his brigade and White's battalion of cavalry on the pike through Cashtown toward Gettysburg, and moved with the rest of the command to the left through Hilltown to Mummasburg. The object of this movement was for Gordon to amuse and skirmish with the enemy while I should get on his flank and rear so as to capture his whole force." We, a few hundred men at the most, were in the toils; what should be done? We would gladly have marched to join the Army of the Potomac, under Meade, but where was it? Our colonel, left to his own resources, wisely decided to make an effort to return to Harrisburg, and immediately struck off from the pike, the Confederates capturing many of our rear-guard after a sharp skirmish, and sending their cavalry in pursuit of us. These latter overtook us in the afternoon at Witmer's house, about four and a half miles from Gettysburg on the Carlisle road, where after an engagement they were repulsed with some loss. After many vicissitudes, we finally reached Harrisburg, having marched 54 out of 60 consecutive hours, with a loss of some 200 men.

It should be added that Gettysburg, small town as it was, had already furnished its quota to the army. Moreover, on the first day of the battle hundreds of the unfortunate men of Reynolds's gallant corps were secreted, sheltered, fed, and aided in every way by the men and women of the town.

READING, PA., November 2d, 1886.

† Acting aide-de-camp to General Couch, commanding the Department of the Susquehanna.—EDITORS.



HALL'S BATTERY ON THE FIRST DAY RESISTING THE CONFEDERATE ADVANCE ON THE CHAMBERSBURG ROAD.

THE SECOND DAY AT GETTYSBURG.†

BY HENRY J. HUNT, BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL, U. S. A., CHIEF OF ARTILLERY A. P.

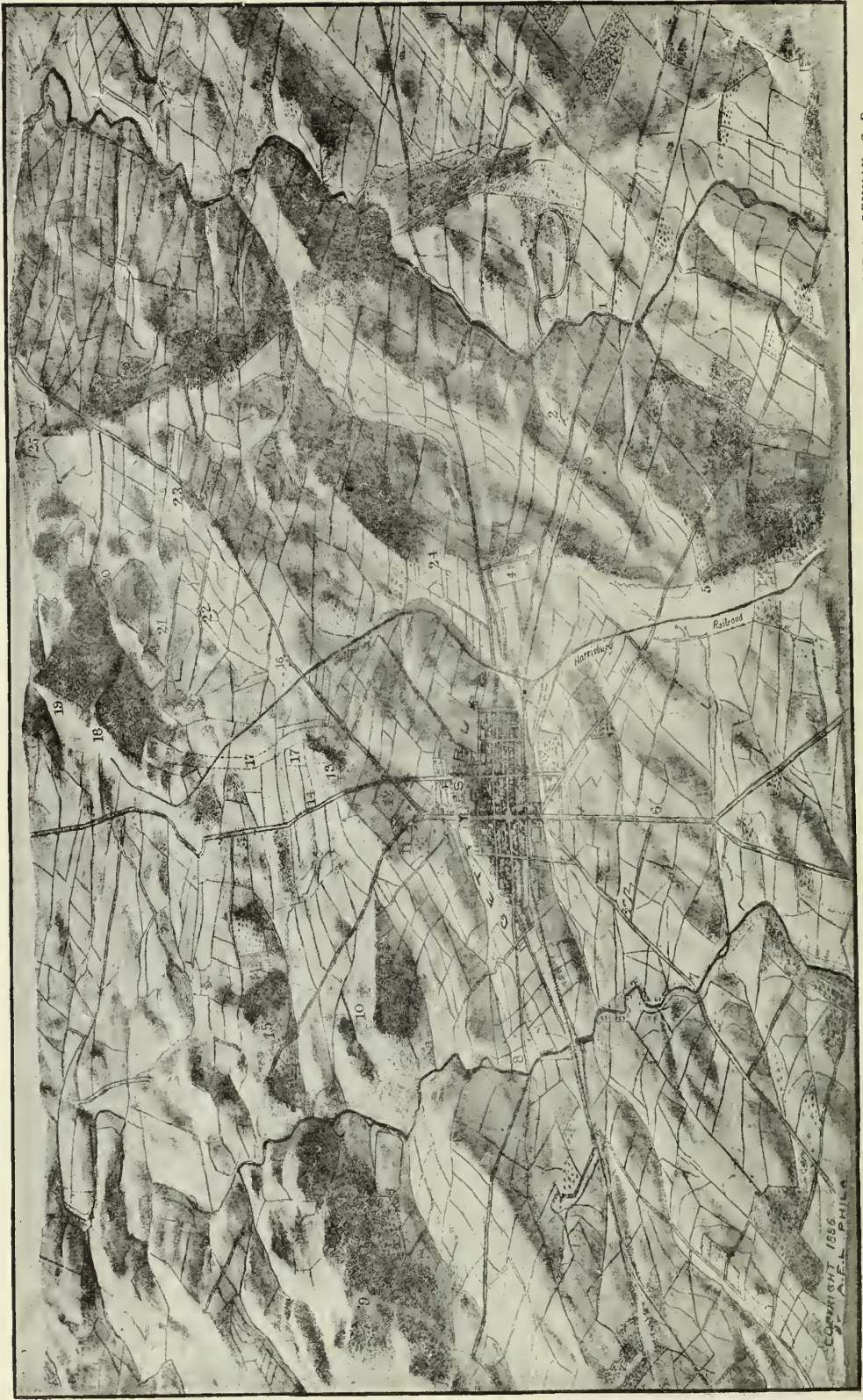
ON June 30th, at Taneytown, General Meade received information that the enemy was advancing on Gettysburg, and corps commanders were at once instructed to hold their commands in readiness to march against him. The next day, July 1st, Meade wrote to Reynolds that telegraphic intelligence from Couch, and the movements reported by Buford, indicated a concentration of the enemy's army either at Chambersburg or at some point on a line drawn from that place through Heidlersburg to York. Under these circumstances, Meade informed Reynolds that he had not yet decided whether it was his best policy to move to attack before he knew more definitely Lee's point of concentration. He seems, however, soon to have determined not to advance until the movements or position of the enemy gave strong assurance of success, and if the enemy took the offensive, to withdraw his own army from its actual positions and form line of battle behind Pipe Creek, between Middleburg and Manchester. The considerations probably moving him to this are not difficult to divine. Examination of the maps [see page 266] will show that such a line would cover Baltimore and Washington in all directions from which Lee could advance, and that Westminster, his base, would be immediately behind him, with short railroad communication to Baltimore. It would, moreover, save much hard marching, and restore to the ranks the thousands of stragglers who did not reach Gettysburg in time for the battle.

From Westminster—which is in Parr's Ridge, the eastern boundary of the valley of the Monocacy—good roads led in all directions, and gave the place the same strategic value for Meade that Gettysburg had for Lee. The new line could not be turned by Lee without imminent danger to his own army, nor could he afford to advance upon Baltimore or Washington, leaving the Army of the Potomac intact behind and so near him;—that would be to invite the fate of Burgoyne. Meade, then, could safely select a good “offensive-defensive line” behind Pipe Creek and establish himself there, with perfect liberty of action in all directions. Without magazines or assured

† Continued from page 284.

communications, Lee would have to scatter his army more or less in order to subsist it, and so expose it to Meade; or else keep it united, and so starve it, a course which Meade could compel by simple demonstrations. There would then be but two courses for Lee,—either to attack Meade in his chosen position or to retreat without a battle. The latter, neither the temper of his army nor that of his Government would probably permit. In case of a defeat Meade's line of retreat would be comparatively short, and easily covered, whilst Lee's would be for two marches through an open country before he could gain the mountain passes. As Meade believed Lee's army to be at least equal to his own, all the elements of the problem were in favor of the Pipe Creek line. But Meade's orders for July 1st, drawing his corps toward the threatened flank, carried Reynolds to Gettysburg, and Buford's report hastened this movement. Reynolds, who probably never received the Pipe Creek circular, was eager for the conflict, and his collision with Heth assuming the dimensions of a battle, caused an immediate concentration of both armies at Gettysburg. Prior to this, the assembling of Meade's army behind Pipe Creek would have been easy, and all fears of injuring thereby the *morale* of his troops were idle; the Army of the Potomac was of "sterner stuff" than that implies. The battle of July 1st changed the situation. Overpowered by numbers, the First and Eleventh corps had, after hard fighting and inflicting as well as incurring heavy losses, been forced back to their reserve, on Cemetery Hill, which they still held. To have withdrawn them now would have been a retreat, and might have discouraged the Federal, as it certainly would have elated the Confederate troops; especially as injurious reports unjust to both the corps named had been circulated. It would have been to acknowledge a defeat when there was no defeat. Meade therefore resolved to fight at Gettysburg. An ominous dispatch from General Halleck to Meade, that afternoon, suggesting that whilst his tactical arrangements were good, his strategy was at fault, that he was too far east, that Lee might attempt to turn his left, and that Frederick was preferable as a base to Westminster, may have confirmed Meade in this decision.

In pursuance of his instructions, I had that morning (July 1st) reconnoitered the country behind Pipe Creek for a battle-ground. On my return I found General Hancock at General Meade's tent. He informed me that Reynolds was killed, that a battle was going on at Gettysburg, and that he was under orders to proceed to that place. His instructions were to examine it and the intermediate country for a suitable field, and if his report was favorable the troops would be ordered forward. Before the receipt that evening of Hancock's written report from Cemetery Hill, which was not very encouraging, General Meade received from others information as to the state of affairs at the front, set his troops in motion toward Gettysburg, afterward urged them to forced marches, and under his orders I gave the necessary instructions to the Artillery Reserve and Park for a battle there. The move was, under the circumstances, a bold one, and Meade, as we shall see, took great risks. We left Taneytown toward 11 p. m., and reached Gettysburg after midnight. Soon after, General Meade, accompanied by General Howard and myself, inspected



RELIEF MAP OF THE BATTLE-FIELD OF GETTYSBURG, LOOKING SOUTH, FROM A PHOTOGRAPH OF A RELIEF MAP BY AMBROSE E. LEHMAN, C. E.

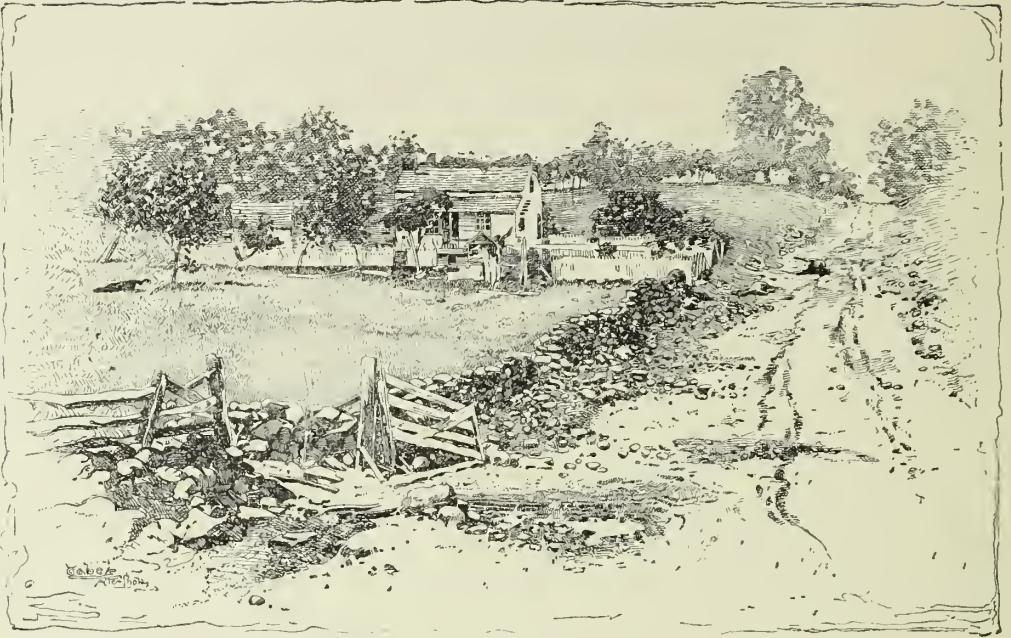
1. Chambersburg pike bridge over Willoughby Creek — beginning of the battle of the first day. 2. McPherson's farm and woods. 3. Railway cuts. 4. Seminary. 5. Oak Hill. 6. Carlisle Road. 7. Harrisburg Road bridge over Rock Creek. 8. Hanover Road. 9. Wolf Hill. 10. Culp's Hill. 11. East Cemetery Hill. 12. Cemetery Hill. 13. Round Top. 14. Meade's headquarters on the Taney-Trosile's farm. 15. Slocum's headquarters on Power's Hill. 16. Codori's. 17. Cemetery Ridge. 18. Little Round Top. 19. Round Top. 20. Devil's Den. 21. Wheat-field. 22. Trostle's farm. 23. Peach Orchard. 24. Seminary Ridge. 19 to 25. About extreme right of Longstreet's line.

our lines so far as then occupied, after which he directed me to examine them again in the morning, and to see that the artillery was properly posted. He had thus recognized my "command" of the artillery; indeed, he did not know it had been suspended. I resumed it, therefore, and continued it to the end of the battle.

At the close of July 1st Johnson's and Anderson's divisions of the Confederate army were up. Ewell's corps now covered our front from Benner's Hill to the Seminary, his line passing through the town—Johnson on the left, Early in the center, Rodes on the right. Hill's corps occupied Seminary Ridge, and during the next morning extended its line from the Seminary south nearly to the Peach Orchard on the Emmitsburg road; Trimble—*vice* Pender, wounded—on the left; Anderson on the right; Pettigrew—*vice* Heth, wounded—in reserve. Of Longstreet's corps, McLaws's division and Hood's—except Law's brigade not yet up—camped that night on Marsh Creek, four miles from Gettysburg. His Reserve Artillery did not reach Gettysburg until 9 A. M. of the 2d. Pickett's division had been left at Chambersburg as rear-guard, and joined the corps on the night of the 2d.

It had not been General Lee's intention to deliver a general battle whilst so far from his base, unless attacked, but he now found himself by the mere force of circumstances committed to one. If it must take place, the sooner the better. His army was now nearly all on the ground, and delay, whilst it could not improve his own position, would certainly better that of his antagonist. Longstreet, indeed, urged General Lee instead of attacking to turn Meade's left, and by interposing between him and Washington and threatening his communications, to force him to attack the Confederate army in position; but General Lee probably saw that Meade would be under no such necessity; would have no great difficulty in obtaining supplies, and—disregarding the clamor from Washington—could play a waiting game, which it would be impossible for Lee to maintain in the open country. He could not advance on Baltimore or Washington with Meade in his rear, nor could his army subsist itself in a hostile region which would soon swarm with additional enemies. His communications could be cut off, for his recommendation to assemble even a small army at Culpeper to cover them and aid him had not been complied with.

A battle was a necessity to Lee, and a defeat would be more disastrous to Meade, and less so to himself, at Gettysburg than at any point east of it. With the defiles of the South Mountain range close in his rear, which could be easily held by a small force, a safe retreat through the Cumberland Valley was assured, so that his army, once through these passes, would be practically on the banks of the Potomac, at a point already prepared for crossing. Any position east of Gettysburg would deprive him of these advantages. It is more probable that General Lee was influenced by cool calculation of this nature than by hot blood, or that the opening success of a chance battle had thrown him off his balance. Whatever his reasons, he decided to accept the gage of battle offered by Meade, and to attack as soon as practicable. Ewell had made arrangements to take possession of Culp's Hill in the early morn-



GENERAL MEADE'S HEADQUARTERS ON THE TANEYTOWN ROAD. FROM A WAR-TIME PHOTOGRAPH.

General Meade arrived at Cemetery Hill at one o'clock in the morning of July 2d, and after daylight established his headquarters in a small farm-house on the Taneytown road, little more than an eighth of a mile east of Hancock's line of battle, which was the Union center. In the afternoon of July 2d, headquarters be-

came the target of a heavy artillery fire which caused a scattering of officers and staffs and the headquarters signal corps. During the terrific cannonade which preceded Pickett's charge on July 3d, Meade's headquarters received a still greater storm of shot and shell, with the same result.—EDITORS.

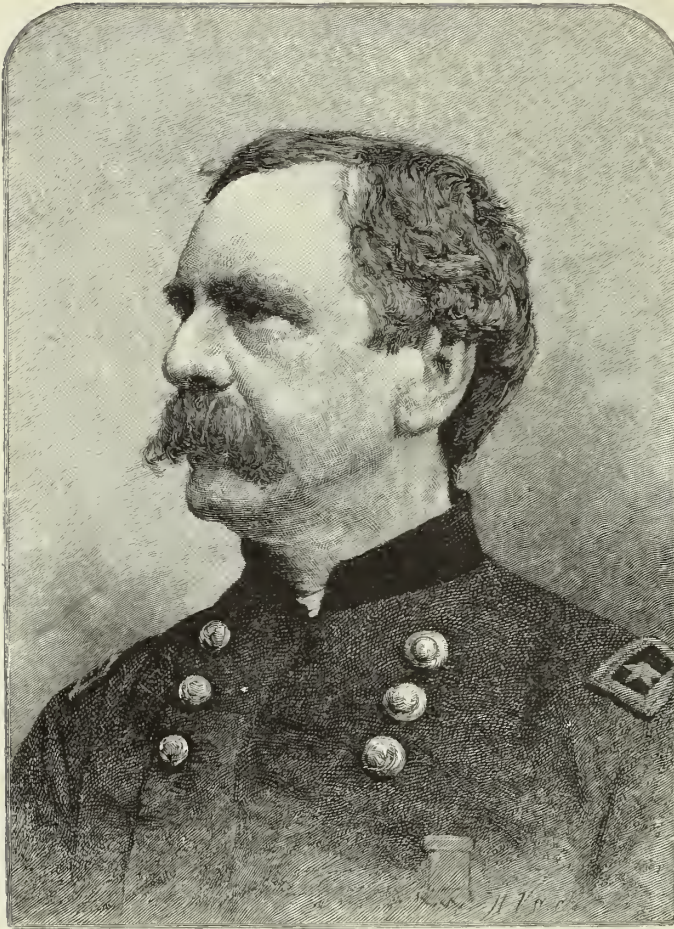
ing, and his troops were under arms for the purpose by the time General Meade had finished the moonlight inspection of his lines, when it was ascertained by a reconnoitering party sent out by Johnson, that the hill was occupied, and its defenders on the alert; and further, from a captured dispatch from General Sykes to General Slocum, that the Fifth Corps was on the Hanover road only four miles off, and would march at 4 A. M. for Culp's Hill. Johnson thereupon deferred his attack and awaited Ewell's instructions.

General Lee had, however, during the night determined to attack the Federal left with Longstreet's corps, and now instructed Ewell, as soon as he heard Longstreet's guns, to make a diversion in his favor, to be converted, if opportunity offered, into a real attack.

Early on the morning of July 2d, when nearly all the Confederate army had reached Gettysburg or its immediate vicinity, a large portion of the Army of the Potomac was still on the road. The Second Corps and Sykes, with two divisions of the Fifth, arrived about 7 A. M., Crawford's division not joining until noon; Lockwood's brigade—two regiments from Baltimore—at 8; De Trobriand's and Burling's brigades of the Third Corps, from Emmitsburg, at 9, and the Artillery Reserve and its large ammunition trains from Taneytown at 10:30 A. M. Sedgwick's Sixth Corps, the largest in the army, after a long night march from Manchester, thirty-four miles distant, reached Rock Creek at 4 P. M. The rapidity with which the army was assembled was creditable to it and to its commander. The heat was oppressive, the long

marches, especially the night marches, were trying and had caused much straggling.

All this morning Meade was busily engaged personally or by his staff in rectifying his lines, assigning positions to the commands as they came up, watching the enemy, and studying the field, parts of which we have described in general terms. We now refer the reader to the map [p. 299] to aid our further description of some necessary even if tedious details. Near the western base of Cemetery Hill is Ziegler's Grove. From this grove the distance nearly due south to the base of Little Round Top is a mile and a half. A well-defined ridge known as Cemetery Ridge follows this line from Ziegler's for 900 yards to another small grove, or clump of trees, where it turns sharply to the east for 200 yards, then turns south again, and continues in a direct line toward Round Top, for 700 yards, to George Weikert's. So far the ridge is smooth and open, in full view of Seminary Ridge opposite, and distant from 1400 to 1600 yards. At Weikert's, this ridge is lost in a large body of rocks, hills, and woods, lying athwart the direct line to Round Top, and forcing a bend to the east in the Taneytown road. This rough space also stretches for a quarter of a mile or more *west* of this direct line, toward Plum Run. Toward the south it sinks into low marshy ground which reaches to the base of Little Round Top, half a mile or more from George Weikert's. The west side of this broken ground was wooded through its whole extent from north to south. Between this wood and Plum Run is an open cleared space 300 yards wide—a continuation of the open country in front of Cemetery Ridge; Plum Run flows south-easterly toward Little Round Top, then makes a bend to the south-west, where it receives a small stream or "branch" from Seminary Ridge. In the angle between these streams is Devil's Den, a bold, rocky height, steep on its eastern face, and prolonged as a ridge to the west. It is 500 yards due west of Little Round Top, and 100 feet lower. The northern extremity is composed of huge rocks and bowlders, forming innumerable crevices and holes, from the largest of which the hill derives its name. Plum Run valley is here marshy but strewn with similar bowlders, and the slopes of the Round Tops are covered with them. These afforded lurking-places for a multitude of Confederate sharp-shooters whom, from the difficulties of the ground, it was impossible to dislodge, and who were opposed by similar methods on our part; so that at the close of the battle these hiding-places, and especially the "Den" itself, were filled with dead and wounded men. This kind of warfare was specially destructive to Hazlett's battery on Round Top, as the cannoneers had to expose themselves in firing, and in one case three were shot in quick succession, before the fourth succeeded in discharging the piece. A cross-road connecting the Taneytown and Emmitsburg roads runs along the northern base of Devil's Den. From its Plum Run crossing to the Peach Orchard is 1100 yards. For the first 400 yards of this distance, there is a wood on the north and a wheat-field on the south of the road, beyond which the road continues for 700 yards to the Emmitsburg road along Devil's Den ridge, which slopes on the north to Plum Run, on the south to Plum Branch. From Ziegler's Grove the Emmitsburg road runs diago-



MAJOR-GENERAL DANIEL E. SICKLES. FROM A WAR-TIME PHOTOGRAPH.

nally across the interval between Cemetery and Seminary ridges, crossing the latter two miles from Ziegler's Grove. From Peach Orchard to Ziegler's is nearly a mile and a half. For half a mile the road runs along a ridge at right angles to that of Devil's Den, which slopes back to Plum Run. The angle at the Peach Orchard is thus formed by the intersection of two bold ridges, one from Devil's Den, the other along the Emmitsburg road. It is distant about 600 yards from the wood which skirts the whole length of Seminary Ridge and covers the movement of troops between it and Wiltoughby Run, half a mile beyond. South of

the Round Top and Devil's Den ridge the country is open, and the principal obstacles to free movement are the fences — generally of stone — which surround the numerous fields.

As our troops came up they were assigned to places on the line: the Twelfth Corps, General A. S. Williams, — *vice* Slocum, commanding the right wing, — to Culp's Hill, on Wadsworth's right; Second Corps to Cemetery Ridge — Hays's and Gibbon's divisions, from Ziegler's to the clump of trees, Caldwell's to the short ridge to its left and rear. This ridge had been occupied by the Third Corps, which was now directed to prolong Caldwell's line to Round Top, relieving Geary's division, which had been stationed during the night on the extreme left, with two regiments at the base of Little Round Top. The Fifth Corps was placed in reserve near the Rock Creek crossing of the Baltimore pike; the Artillery Reserve and its large trains were parked in a central position on a cross-road from the Baltimore pike to the Taneytown road; Buford's cavalry, except Merritt's brigade (then at Emmitsburg), was near Round Top, from which point it was ordered that morning to Westminster, thus uncovering our left flank; Kilpatrick's and Gregg's divisions

were well out on the right flank, from which, after a brush with Stuart on the evening of the 2d, Kilpatrick was sent next morning to replace Buford, Merritt being also ordered up to our left.

The morning was a busy and in some respects an anxious one; it was believed that the whole Confederate army was assembled, that it was equal if not superior to our own in numbers, and that the battle would commence before our troops were up. There was a gap in Slocum's line awaiting a division of infantry, and as some demonstrations of Ewell about daylight indicated an immediate attack at that point, I had to draw batteries from other parts of the line—for the Artillery Reserve was just then starting from Taneytown—to cover it until it could be properly filled. Still there was no hostile movement of the enemy, and General Meade directed Slocum to hold himself in readiness to attack Ewell with the Fifth and Twelfth, so soon as the Sixth Corps should arrive. After an examination Slocum reported the ground as unfavorable, in which Warren concurred and advised against an attack there. The project was then abandoned, and Meade postponed all offensive operations until the enemy's intentions should be more clearly developed. In the meantime he took precautionary measures. It was clearly now to his advantage to fight the battle where he was, and he had some apprehension that Lee would attempt to turn his flank and threaten his communications,—just what Longstreet had been advising. In this case it might be necessary to fall back to the Pipe Creek line, if possible, or else to follow Lee's movement into the open country. In either case, or in that of a forced withdrawal, prudence dictated that arrangements should be made in advance, and General Meade gave instructions for examining the roads and communications, and to draw up an order of movement, which General Butterfield, the chief-of-staff, seems to have considered an order absolute for the withdrawal of the army without a battle.

These instructions must have been given early in the morning, for General Butterfield states that it was on his arrival from Taneytown, which place he left at daylight. An order was drawn up accordingly, given to the adjutant-general, and perhaps prepared for issue in case of necessity to corps commanders; but it was not recorded nor issued, nor even a copy of it preserved. General Meade declared that he never contemplated the issue of such an order unless contingencies made it necessary; and his acts and dispatches during the day were in accordance with his statement. There is one circumstance pertaining to my own duties which to my mind is conclusive, and I relate it because it may have contributed to the idea that General Meade intended to withdraw from Gettysburg. He came to me that morning before the Artillery Reserve had arrived, and, therefore, about the time that the order was in course of preparation, and informed me that one of the army corps had left its whole artillery ammunition train behind it, and that others were also deficient, notwithstanding his orders on that subject. He was very much disturbed, and feared that, taking into account the large expenditure of the preceding day by the First and Eleventh corps, there would not be sufficient to carry us through the battle. This was not the first nor the last

PEACH ORCHARD
(BACKGROUND).

WHEAT-FIELD
(MIDDLE-GROUND).

THOSTLE'S
(MIDDLE-GROUND).

ROGERS'S
(BACKGROUND).

CODORI'S
(BACKGROUND).

CEMETERY HILL
(BACKGROUND).

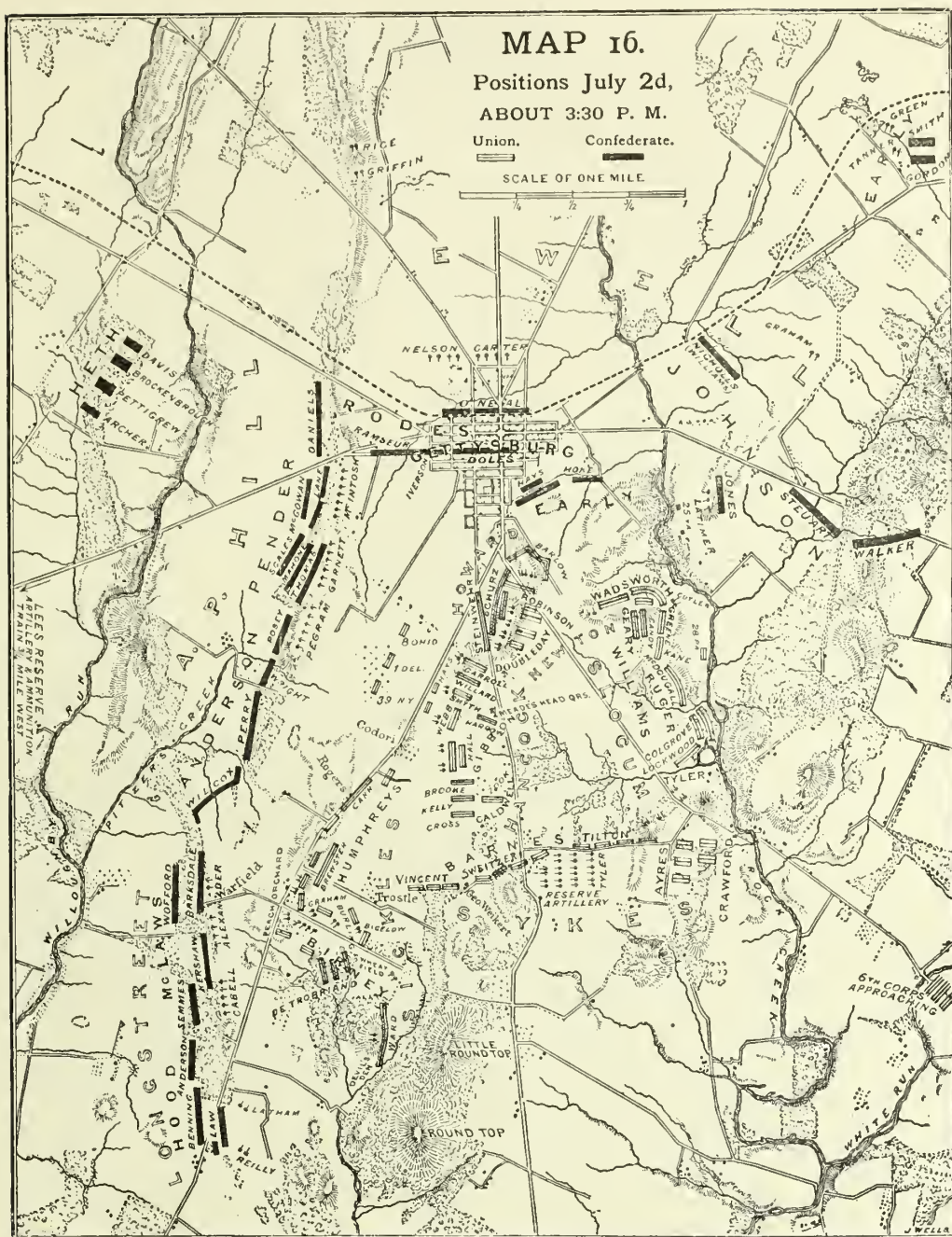


Looking across the valley of death,
from Little Round-Top.

VIEW FROM THE POSITION OF HAZLETT'S BATTERY ON LITTLE ROUND TOP. FROM PHOTOGRAPHS.

The monument marks the position of the 91st Pennsylvania of Weed's brigade [see p. 315]. The Emmitsburg road passes the Peach Orchard, Rogers's, and Codori's; the latter's buildings broke the center of Pickett's lines as they charged upon the ridge between Cemetery Hill and Little Round Top.—EDITORS.

DEVIL'S DEN.

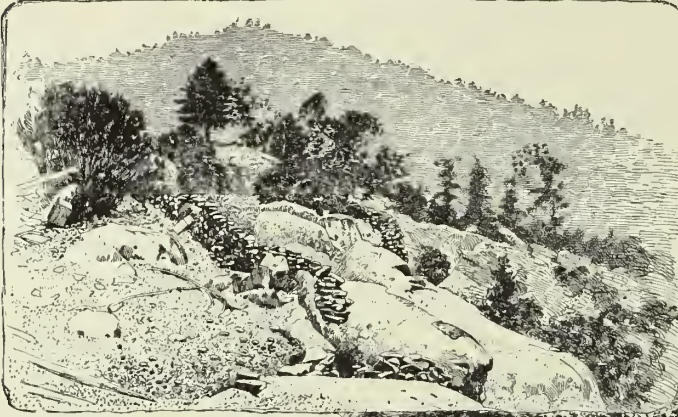


time that I was called upon to meet deficiencies under such circumstances, and I was, therefore, prepared for this, having directed General Tyler, commanding the Artillery Reserve, whatever else he might leave behind, to bring up every round of ammunition in his trains, and I knew he would not fail me. Moreover, I had previously, on my own responsibility, and unknown to General Hooker, formed a special ammunition column attached to the Artillery Reserve, carrying twenty rounds per gun, over and above the authorized

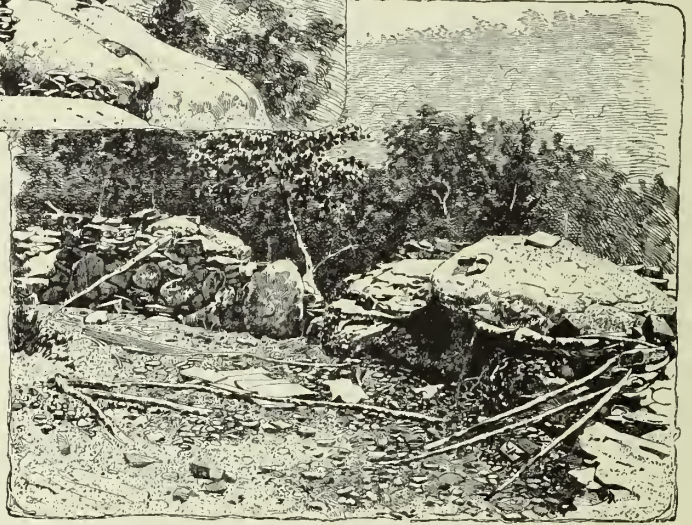
amount, for every gun in the army, in order to meet such emergencies. I was, therefore, able to assure General Meade that there would be enough ammunition for the battle, but none for idle cannonades, the besetting sin of some of our commanders. He was much relieved, and expressed his satisfaction. Now, had he had at this time any intention of withdrawing the army, the first thing to get rid of would have been this Artillery Reserve and its large trains, which were then blocking the roads in our rear; and he would surely have told me of it.

Still, with the exception of occasional cannonading, and some skirmishing near the Peach Orchard, the quiet remained unbroken, although Lee had

determined upon an early attack on our left. He says in his detailed report that our line extended "upon the high ground along the Emmitsburg road, with a steep ridge



[Cemetery] in rear, which was also occupied"; and in a previous "outline" report he says: "In front of General Longstreet the enemy held a position [the salient angle at the Peach Orchard] from which, if he could be driven, it was thought our artillery could be used to advantage in



UNION BREASTWORKS ON LITTLE ROUND TOP—BIG ROUND TOP IN THE DISTANCE. FROM WAR-TIME PHOTOGRAPHS.

assailing the more elevated ground beyond, and thus enable us to gain the crest of the ridge." It would appear from this that General Lee mistook the few troops on the Peach Orchard ridge in the morning for our main line, and that by taking it and sweeping up the Emmitsburg road under cover of his batteries, he expected to "roll up" our lines to Cemetery Hill. That would be an "oblique order of battle," in which the attacking line, formed obliquely to its opponent, marches directly forward, constantly breaking in the *end* of his enemy's line and gaining his rear. General Longstreet was ordered to form the divisions of Hood and McLaws on Anderson's right, so as to envelop our left and drive it in. These divisions were only three miles off at day-

light, and moved early, but there was great delay in forming them for battle, owing principally to the absence of Law's brigade, for which it would have been well to substitute Anderson's fresh division, which could have been replaced by Pettigrew's, then in reserve. There seems to have been no good reason why the attack should not have been made by 8 or 9 A. M. at the latest (but see p. 351), when the Federal Third Corps was not yet all up, nor Crawford's division, nor the Artillery Reserve, nor the Sixth Corps, and our lines were still very incomplete. This is one of the cheap criticisms after all the facts on both sides are known; but it is apt for its purpose, as it shows how great a risk Meade took in abandoning his Pipe Creek line for Gettysburg on the chances of Lee's army not yet being assembled; and also, that there was no lack of boldness and decision on Meade's part. Indeed, his course, from the hour that he took command, had been marked by these qualities.

A suggestive incident is worth recording here. In the course of my inspection of the lines that morning, while passing along Culp's Hill, I found the men hard at work intrenching, and in such fine spirits as at once to attract attention. One of them finally dropped his work, and, approaching me, inquired if the reports just received were true. On asking what he referred to, he replied that twice word had been passed along the line that General McClellan had been assigned to the command of the army, and the second time it was added that he was on the way to the field and might soon be expected. He continued, "The boys are all jubilant over it, for they know that if *he* takes command everything will go right." I have been told recently by the commander of a Fifth Corps battery that during the forced march of the preceding night the same report ran through that corps, excited great enthusiasm amongst the men, and renewed their vigor. It was probably from this corps—just arrived—that the report had spread along the line. †

On my return to headquarters from this inspection General Meade told me that General Sickles, then with him, wished me to examine a new line, as he thought that assigned to him was not a good one, especially that he could not use his artillery there. I had been as far as Round Top that morning, and had noticed the unfavorable character of the ground, and, therefore, I accompanied Sickles direct to the Peach Orchard, where he pointed out the ridges, already described, as his proposed line. They commanded all the ground behind, as well as in front of them, and together constituted a favorable position for *the enemy* to hold. This was one good reason for our taking possession of it. It would, it is true, in our hands present a salient angle, which generally exposes both its sides to enfilade fires; but here the ridges were so high that each would serve as a "traverse" for the other, and reduce that evil to a minimum. On the other hand it would so greatly lengthen

† Lieutenant O. S. Barrett, in a pamphlet sketch of the "Old Fourth Michigan Infantry" [Detroit, 1888], relates a similar occurrence in the Second Corps. He says:

"We arrived at Hanover, Pennsylvania, on the afternoon of July 1st. . . . An aide-de-camp

came riding along, saying, 'Boys, keep up good courage, McClellan is in command of the army again.' Instantly the space above was filled with the hats and caps of the gratified soldiers. . . . I knew this was untrue myself, but it served its purpose, as intended."—EDITORS.

our line—which in any case must rest on Round Top, and connect with the left of the Second Corps—as to require a larger force than the Third Corps alone to hold it, and it would be difficult to occupy and strengthen the angle if the enemy already held the wood in its front. At my instance General Sickles ordered a reconnoissance to ascertain if the wood was occupied.

About this time a cannonade was opened on Cemetery Hill, which indicated an attack there, and as I had examined the Emmitsburg Ridge, I said I



COLONEL EDWARD E. CROSS, COMMANDING THE FIRST BRIGADE OF CALDWELL'S DIVISION, KILLED NEAR DEVIL'S DEN, JULY 2. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

would not await the result of the reconnoissance but return to headquarters by way of Round Top, and examine that part of the proposed line. As I was leaving, General Sickles asked me if he should move forward his corps. I answered, "Not on my authority; I will report to General Meade for his instructions." I had not reached the wheat-field when a sharp rattle of musketry showed that the enemy held the wood in front of the Peach Orchard angle.

As I rode back a view from that direction showed how much farther Peach Orchard was to the front of the direct line than it appeared from the orchard itself. In fact there was a

third line between them, which appeared, as seen from the orchard, to be continuous with Cemetery Ridge, but was nearly six hundred yards in front of it. This is the open ground east of Plum Run already described, and which may be called the Plum Run line. Its left where it crosses the run abuts rather on Devil's Den than Round Top; it was commanded by the much higher Peach Orchard crests, and was therefore not an eligible line to occupy, although it became of importance during the battle.

As to the other two lines, the choice between them would depend on circumstances. The direct short line through the woods, and including the Round Tops, could be occupied, intrenched, and made impregnable to a front attack. But, like that of Culp's Hill, it would be a purely defensive one, from which, owing to the nature of the ground and the enemy's commanding position on the ridges at the angle, an advance in force would be impracticable. The salient line proposed by General Sickles, although much longer, afforded excellent positions for our artillery; its occupation would cramp the movements of the enemy, bring us nearer his lines, and afford us facilities for taking the offensive. It was in my judgment tactically the better line of the two, provided it were strongly occupied, for it was the only one on the field from which we could have passed from the defensive to the offensive with a prospect of decisive results. But General Meade had not, until the arrival of the Sixth Corps, a sufficient number of troops at his disposal to risk such an

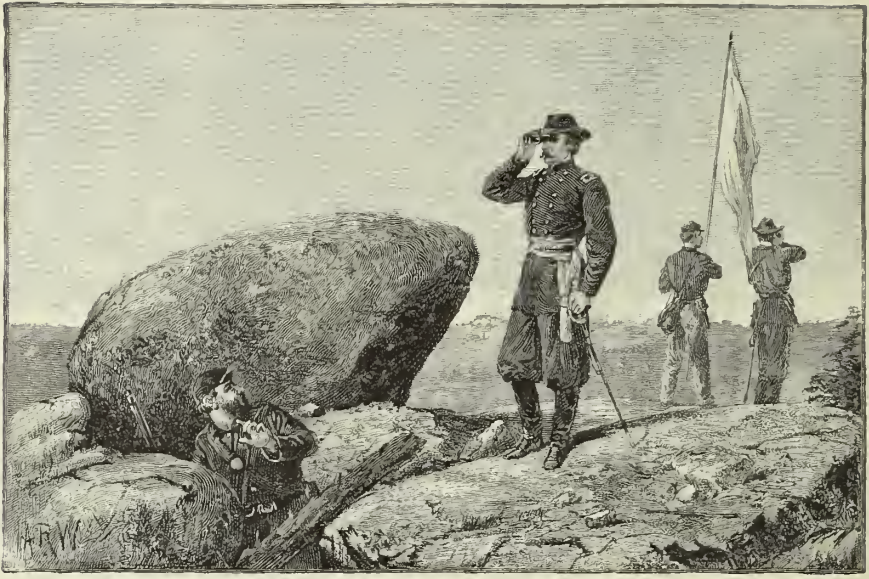
extension of his lines; it would have required both the Third and the Fifth corps, and left him without any reserve. Had he known that Lee's attack would be postponed until 4 p. m., he might have occupied this line in the morning; but he did not know this, expected an attack at any moment, and, in view of the vast interests involved, adopted a defensive policy, and ordered the occupation of the *safe* line. In taking risks, it would not be for his army alone, but also for Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington. Gettysburg was not a good strategical position for us, and the circumstances under which our army was assembled limited us tactically to a strictly defensive battle. But even a strictly defensive battle gained here would be, in its results, almost as valuable as an offensive one with a brilliant victory, since it would necessarily be decisive as to both the campaign and the invasion, and its moral effect abroad and at home, North and South, would be of vast importance in a political as well as a military sense. The additional risks of an offensive battle were out of all proportion to the prospective gains. The decision then to fight a defensive rather than an offensive battle, to look rather to solid than to brilliant results, was wise.

After finishing my examination I returned to headquarters and briefly reported to General Meade that the proposed line was a good one in itself, that it offered favorable positions for artillery, but that its relations to other lines were such that I could not advise it, and suggested that he examine it himself before ordering its occupation. He nodded assent, and I proceeded to Cemetery Hill.

The cannonade there still continued; it had been commenced by the enemy, and was accompanied by some movements of troops toward our right. As soon as I saw that it would lead to nothing serious, I returned direct to the Peach Orchard, knowing that its occupation would require large reënforcements of artillery. I was here met by Captain Randolph, the corps chief of artillery, who informed me that he had been ordered to place his batteries on the new line. Seeing Generals Meade and Sickles, not far off, in conversation, and supposing that General Meade had consented to the occupation, I sent at once to the reserve for more artillery, and authorized other general officers to draw on the same source. Here, perhaps, I may be allowed to say *en passant* that this large reserve, organized by the wise forethought of General McClellan, sometimes threatened with destruction, and once actually broken up, was often,



WEED'S POSITION ON LITTLE ROUND TOP, LOOKING IN THE DIRECTION OF THE PEACH ORCHARD. FROM A WAR-TIME SKETCH.



GENERAL G. K. WARREN AT THE SIGNAL STATION ON LITTLE ROUND TOP.
FROM A SKETCH MADE AT THE TIME.

as at Malvern Hill, and now at Gettysburg, an invaluable resource in the time of greatest need. When in 1864, in the Rapidan campaign, it was "got rid of," it reconstituted itself, without orders, and in a few weeks, through the necessities of the army, showing that "principles vindicate themselves."

When I arrived Birney's division was already posted on the crest, from Devil's Den to the Peach Orchard, and along the Emmitsburg road, Ward's brigade on the left, Graham's at the angle, De Trobriand's connecting them by a thin line. Humphreys's division was on Graham's right, near the Emmitsburg road, Carr's brigade in the front line, about the Smith house, Brewster's in second line. Burling's, with the exception of Sewell's 5th New Jersey Regiment, then in skirmish order at the front, was sent to reënforce Birney. Seeley's battery, at first posted on the right, was soon after sent to the left of the Smith house, and replaced on the right by Turnbull's from the Artillery Reserve. Randolph had ordered Smith's battery, 4th New York, to the rocky hill at the Devil's Den; Winslow's to the wheat-field. He had placed Clark on the crest looking south, and his own ("E," 1st Rhode Island) near the angle, facing west. The whole corps was, however, too weak to cover the ground, and it was too late for Meade to withdraw it. Sykes's Fifth Corps had already been ordered up and was momentarily expected. As soon as fire opened, which was just as he arrived on the ground, General Meade also sent for Caldwell's division from Cemetery Ridge, and a division of the Twelfth Corps from Culp's, and soon after for troops from the Sixth Corps. McGilvery's artillery brigade soon arrived from the reserve, and Bigelow's, Phillips's, Hart's, Ames's, and Thompson's batteries had been ordered into position on the crests, when the enemy opened from a long line of guns, stretching down to the crossing of the Emmitsburg pike. Smith's position at Devil's Den gave him a favorable oblique fire on a

part of this line, and as he did not reply I proceeded to the Den. Finding the acclivity steep and rocky, I dismounted and tied my horse to a tree before crossing the valley. My rank, brigadier-general, the command being that of a lieutenant-general, gave me a very small and insufficient staff, and even this had been recently cut down. The inspector of artillery, Lieutenant-Colonel Warner, adjutant-general, Captain Craig, my only aide, Lieutenant Bissell, my one orderly, and even the flag-bearer necessary to indicate my presence to those seeking me, were busy conveying orders or messages, and I was alone; a not infrequent and an awkward thing for a general who had to keep up communications with every part of a battle-field and with the general-in-chief. On climbing to the summit, I found that Smith had just got his guns, one by one, over the rocks and chasms, into an excellent position. After pointing out to me the advancing lines of the enemy, he opened, and very effectively. Many guns were immediately turned on him, relieving so far the rest of the line. Telling him that he would probably lose his battery, I left to seek infantry



BRIGADIER-GENERAL STRONG VINCENT, MORTALLY WOUNDED, JULY 2, IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE ROUND TOPS. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.



BRIGADIER-GENERAL STEPHEN H. WEED, COMMANDING THE THIRD BRIGADE OF AYRES'S DIVISION, KILLED JULY 2. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

* General Weed was picked off by sharp-shooters at Devil's Den soon after getting his brigade in position on Little Round Top.—EDITORS.

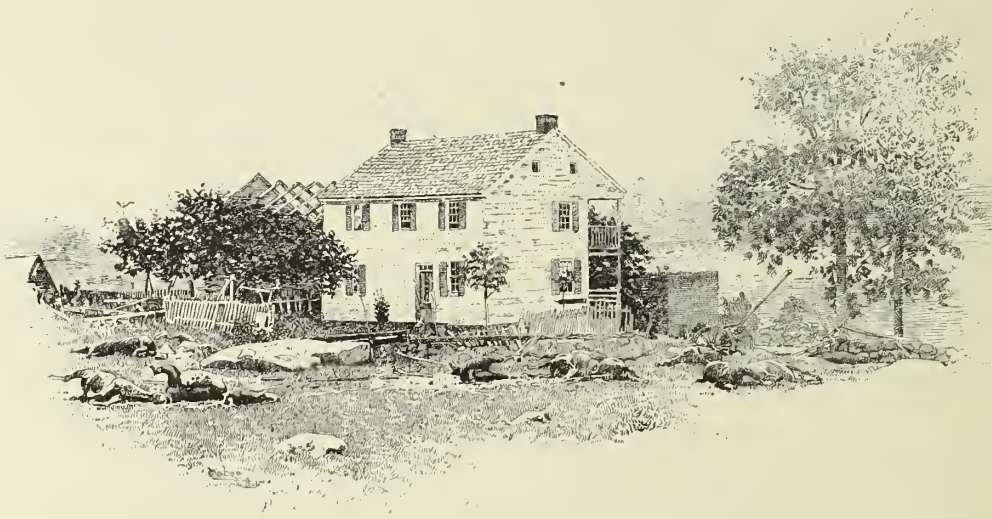
supports, very doubtful if I would find my horse, for the storm of shell bursting over the place was enough to drive any animal wild. On reaching the foot of the cliff, I found myself in a plight at once ludicrous, painful, and dangerous. A herd of horned cattle had been driven into the valley between Devil's Den and Round Top, from which they could not escape. A shell had exploded in the body of one of them, tearing it to pieces; others were torn and wounded. All were *stampeded*, and were bellowing and rushing in their terror, first to one side and then to the other, to escape the shells that were bursting over them and among them. Cross I must, and in doing so I had my most trying experience of that battle-field. Luckily the poor beasts were as much frightened as I was, but their rage was subdued by



TROSTLE'S BARN, THE SCENE OF THE FIGHTING BY BIGELOW'S NINTH MASSACHUSETTS BATTERY.
FROM A WAR-TIME PHOTOGRAPH.

terror, and they were good enough to let me pass through scot-free, but "badly demoralized." However, my horse was safe, I mounted, and in the busy excitement that followed almost forgot my scare.

It was not until about 4 P. M. that Longstreet got his two divisions into position in two lines, McLaws's on the right of Anderson's division of Hill's corps, and opposite the Peach Orchard; Hood's on the extreme Confederate right and crossing the Emmitsburg road. Hood had been ordered, keeping his left on that road, to break in the end of our line, supposed to be at the orchard; but perceiving that our left was "refused" (bent back toward Devil's Den), and noticing the importance of Round Top, he suggested to Longstreet that the



TROSTLE'S HOUSE, SCENE OF THE FIGHTING OF BIGELOW'S BATTERY. FROM A WAR-TIME PHOTOGRAPH.

latter be turned and attacked [see p. 322]. The reply was that General Lee's orders were to attack along the Emmitsburg road. Again Hood sent his message and received the same reply, notwithstanding which he directed Law's brigade upon Round Top, in which movement a portion of Robertson's brigade joined; the rest of the division was thrown upon Devil's Den and the ridge between it and the Peach Orchard. The first assaults were repulsed, but after hard fighting, McLaws's division being also advanced, toward 6 o'clock the angle was broken in, after a resolute defense and with great loss on both sides. In the meantime three of Anderson's brigades were advancing on Humphreys, and the latter received orders from Birney, now in command of the corps (Siekles having been severely wounded soon after 6 o'clock near the Trostle house), to throw back his left, form an oblique line in his rear, and connect with the right of Birney's division, then retiring. The junction was not effected, and Humphreys, greatly outnumbered, slowly and skillfully fell back to Cemetery Ridge, Gibbon sending two regiments and Brown's Rhode Island battery to his support. But the enemy was strong and covered the whole Second Corps front, now greatly weakened by detachments. Wilcox's, Perry's, and Wright's Confederate brigades pressed up to the ridge, outflanking Humphreys's right and left, and Wright broke through our line and seized the guns in his front, but was soon driven out, and not being supported they all fell back, about dusk, under a heavy artillery fire.



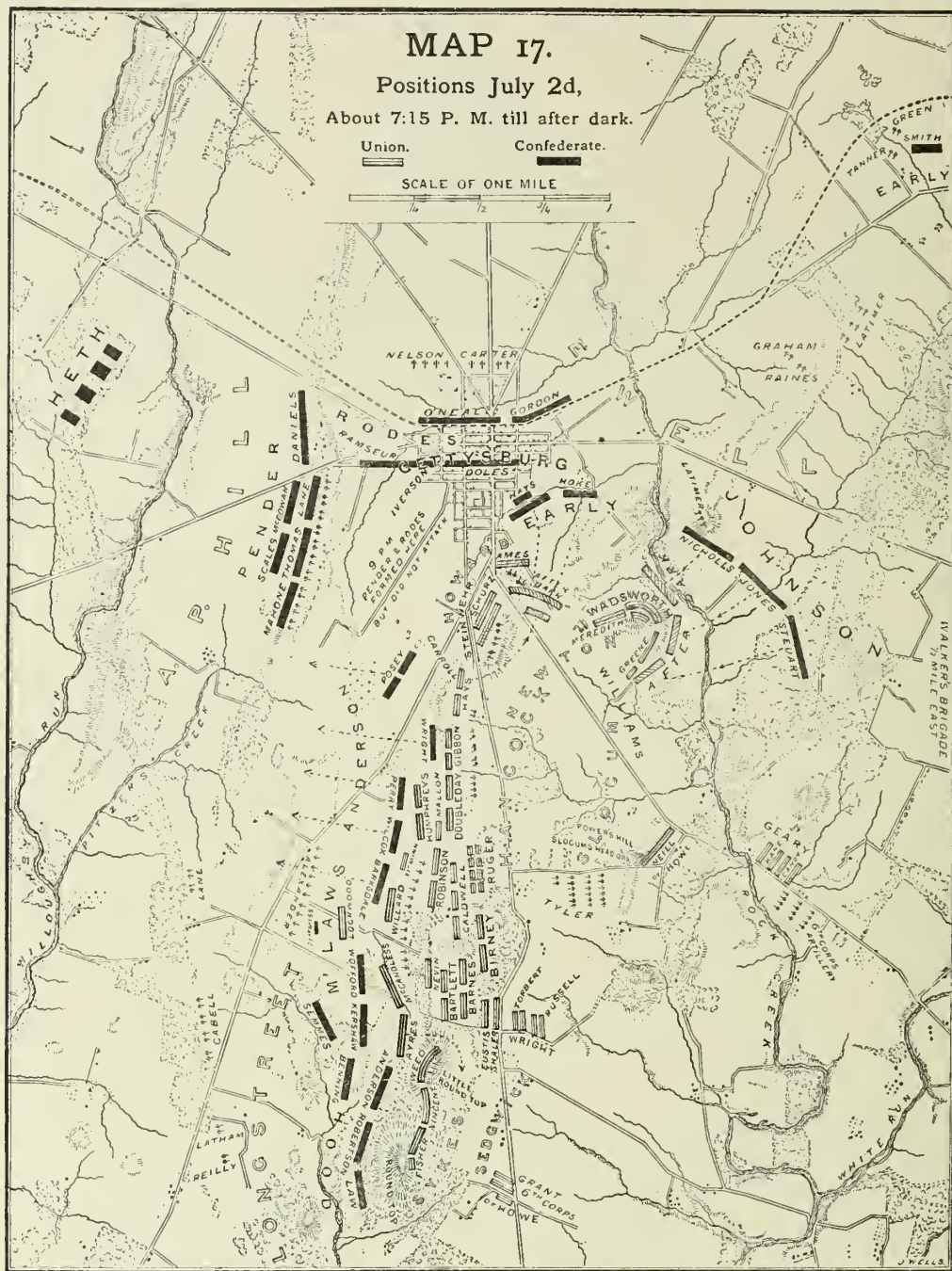
MONUMENT OF BIGELOW'S NINTH MASSACHUSETTS BATTERY. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN 1886.

As soon as Longstreet's attack commenced, General Warren was sent by General Meade to see to the condition of the extreme left. The duty could not have been intrusted to better hands. Passing along the lines he found Little Round Top, the key of the position, unoccupied except by a signal station. The enemy at the time lay concealed, awaiting the signal for assault, when a shot fired in their direction caused a sudden movement on their part which, by the gleam of reflected sunlight from their bayonets, revealed their long lines outflanking the position. Fully comprehending the imminent danger, Warren sent to General Meade for a division.¹ The enemy was already

¹ Before the Committee on the Conduct of the War General Warren testified that he went to Little Round Top "by General Meade's direction." In a letter dated July 13th, 1872, General Warren says:

"Just before the action began in earnest, on July 2d, I was with General Meade, near General Sickles, whose troops seemed very badly disposed on that part of the field. At my suggestion, General Meade sent me to the left to examine the condition of affairs, and I continued on till I reached Little Round Top. There were no troops on it, and it was used as a signal station. I saw that this was the key of the whole position, and that our troops in the woods in front of it could not see the ground in front of them, so that the enemy would come upon them before they would be aware of it. The

long line of woods on the west side of the Emmitsburg road (which road was along a ridge) furnished an excellent place for the enemy to form out of sight, so I requested the captain of a rifle battery just in front of Little Round Top to fire a shot into these woods. He did so, and as the shot went whistling through the air the sound of it reached the enemy's troops and caused every one to look in the direction of it. This motion revealed to me the glistening of gun-barrels and bayonets of the enemy's line of battle, already formed and far outflanking the position of any of our troops; so that the line of his advance from his right to Little Round Top was unopposed. I have been particular in telling this, as the discovery was intensely thrilling to my feelings, and almost appalling. I immediately sent a hastily written dispatch to General Meade to send a division at



advancing when, noticing the approach of the Fifth Corps, Warren rode to meet it, caused Weed's and Vincent's brigades and Hazlett's battery to be

least to me, and General Meade directed the Fifth Army Corps to take position there. The battle was already beginning to rage at the Peach Orchard, and before a single man reached Round Top the whole line of the enemy moved on us in splendid array, shouting in the most confident tones. While I was still all alone with the signal officer, the musket-balls began to fly around

us, and he was about to fold up his flags and withdraw, but remained, at my request, and kept waving them in defiance. Seeing troops going out on the Peach Orchard road, I rode down the hill, and fortunately met my old brigade. General Weed, commanding it, had already passed the point, and I took the responsibility to detach Colonel O'Rourke, the head of whose regiment I

detached from the latter and hurried them to the summit [see p. 298]. The passage of the six guns through the roadless woods and amongst the rocks was marvelous. Under ordinary circumstances it would have been consid-



COLONEL GEORGE L. WILLARD, COMMANDING THE
THIRD BRIGADE OF HAYS'S DIVISION, KILLED
ON JULY 2. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

ered an impossible feat, but the eagerness of the men to get into action with their comrades of the infantry, and the skillful driving, brought them without delay to the very summit, where they went immediately into battle. They were barely in time, for the enemy were also climbing the hill. A close and bloody hand-to-hand struggle ensued, which left both Round Tops in our possession. Weed and Hazlett were killed, and Vincent was mortally wounded — all young men of great promise. Weed had served with much distinction as an artillerist in the Peninsular, Second Bull Run, and Antietam campaigns, had become chief of artillery of his army corps, and at Chancellorsville showed

such special aptitude and fitness for large artillery commands that he was immediately promoted from captain to brigadier-general and transferred to the infantry. Hazlett was killed whilst bending over his former chief, to receive his last message. Lieutenant Rittenhouse efficiently commanded the battery during the remainder of the battle.

The enemy, however, clung to the woods and rocks at the base of Round Top, carried Devil's Den and its woods, and captured three of Smith's guns, who, however, effectively deprived the enemy of their use by carrying off all the implements.

The breaking in of the Peach Orchard angle exposed the flanks of the batteries on its crests, which retired firing, in order to cover the retreat of the infantry. Many guns of different batteries had to be abandoned because of the destruction of their



BRIGADIER-GENERAL SAMUEL K. ZOOK, COMMANDING
THE THIRD BRIGADE OF CALDWELL'S DIVISION,
KILLED IN THE "WHEAT-FIELD" JULY 2.
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

struck, who, on hearing my few words of explanation about the position, moved at once to the hill-top. About this time First Lieutenant Charles E. Hazlett of the Fifth Artillery, with his battery of rifled cannon, arrived. He comprehended the situation instantly and planted a gun on the summit of the hill. He spoke to the effect that though he could do little execution on the enemy with his guns, he could aid in giving confidence to the infantry, and that his battery was of no consequence

whatever compared with holding the position. He staid there till he was killed. I was wounded with a musket-ball while talking with Lieutenant Hazlett on the hill, but not seriously; and, seeing the position saved while the whole line to the right and front of us was yielding and melting away under the enemy's fire and advance, I left the hill to rejoin General Meade near the center of the field, where a new crisis was at hand."

EDITORS.



VIEW OF CULP'S HILL FROM THE POSITION OF THE BATTERIES NEAR THE CEMETERY GATE. FROM PHOTOGRAPHS.

1. Position of Stevens's 5th Maine Battery which enfiladed Early's division in the charge upon East Cemetery Hill. 2. Left of the line of field-works on Culp's Hill. 3. Position of the 33d Massachusetts behind the fence of a lane where the Confederate charge was repulsed. — EDITORS.

horses and men; many were hauled off by hand; all the batteries lost heavily. Bigelow's 9th Massachusetts made a stand close by the Trostle house in the corner of the field through which he had retired fighting with prolonges fixed. Although already much cut up, he was directed by McGilvery to hold that point at all hazards until a line of artillery could be formed in front of the wood beyond Plum Run; that is, on what we have called the "Plum Run line." This line was formed by collecting the serviceable batteries, and fragments of batteries, that were brought off, with which, and Dow's Maine battery fresh from the reserve, the pursuit was checked. Finally some twenty-five guns formed a solid mass, which unsupported by infantry held this part of the line, aided General Humphreys's movements, and covered by its fire the abandoned guns until they could be brought off, as all were, except perhaps one. When, after accomplishing its purpose, all that was left of Bigelow's battery was withdrawn, it was closely pressed by Colonel Humphreys's 21st Mississippi, the only Confederate regiment which succeeded in crossing the run. His men had entered the battery and fought hand-to-hand with the cannoneers; one was killed whilst trying to spike a gun, and another knocked down with a handspike whilst endeavoring to drag off a prisoner. The battery went into action with 104 officers and men. Of the four battery officers one was killed,

another mortally, and a third, Captain Bigelow, severely wounded. Of 7 sergeants, 2 were killed and 4 wounded; or a total of 28 men, including 2 missing; and 65 out of 88 horses were killed or wounded. As the battery had sacrificed itself for the safety of the line, its work is specially noticed as typical of the service that artillery is not infrequently called upon to render, and did render in other instances at Gettysburg besides this one,

When Sickles was wounded General Meade directed Hancock to take command of the Third as well as his own corps, which he again turned over to Gibbon. About 7:15 p. m. the field was in a critical condition. Birney's division was now broken up; Humphreys's was slowly falling back, under cover of McGilvery's guns; Anderson's line was advancing. On its right, Barksdale's brigade, except the 21st Mississippi, was held in check only by McGilvery's artillery, to whose support Hancock now brought up Willard's brigade of the Second Corps. Placing the 39th New York in reserve, Willard with his other three regiments charged Barksdale's brigade and drove it back nearly to the Emmitsburg road, when he was himself repulsed by a heavy artillery and infantry fire, and fell back to his former position near the sources of Plum Run. In this affair Willard was killed and Barksdale mortally wounded. Meanwhile the 21st Mississippi crossed the run from the neighborhood of the Trostle house, and drove out the men of Watson's battery ("I," 5th United States), on the extreme left of McGilvery's line, but was in turn driven off by the 39th New York, led by Lieutenant Peeples of the battery, musket in hand, who thus recovered his guns, Watson being severely wounded.



EARLY'S CHARGE ON THE EVENING OF JULY 2 UPON EAST CEMETERY HILL.

Birney's division once broken, it was difficult to stem the tide of defeat. Hood's and McLaws's divisions—excepting Barksdale's brigade—compassed the Devil's Den and its woods, and as the Federal reinforcements from other corps came piecemeal, they were beaten in detail until by successive accretions they greatly outnumbered their opponents, who had all the advantages of position, when the latter in turn retired, but were not pursued. This fighting was confined almost wholly to the woods and wheat-field between the Peach Orchard and Little Round Top, and the great number of brigade and regimental commanders, as well as of inferior officers and soldiers, killed and wounded on both sides, bears testimony to its close and desperate character. General Meade was on the ground active in bringing up and putting in reinforcements, and in doing so had his horse shot under him. At the close of the day the Confederates held the base of the Round Tops, Devil's Den, its woods, and the Emmitsburg road, with skirmishers thrown out as



CONFEDERATE SKIRMISHERS AT THE FOOT OF CULP'S HILL.

far as the Trostle house; the Federals had the two Round Tops, the Plum Run line, and Cemetery Ridge. During the night the Plum Run line, except the wood on its left front (occupied by McCandless's brigade, Crawford's division, his other brigade being on Big Round Top), was abandoned; the Third Corps was massed to the left and rear of Caldwell's division, which had reoccupied its short ridge, with McGilvery's artillery on its crest. The Fifth Corps remained on and about Round Top, and a division [Ruger's] which had been detached from the Twelfth Corps returned to Culp's Hill.

When Longstreet's guns were heard, Ewell opened a cannonade, which after an hour's firing was overpowered by the Federal artillery on Cemetery Hill. Johnson's division then advanced, and found only one brigade—Greene's—of the Twelfth Corps in position, the others having been sent to the aid of Sickles at the Peach Orchard. Greene fought with skill and determination for two or three hours, and, reënforced by seven or eight hundred men of the First and Eleventh corps, succeeded in holding his own intrenchments, the enemy taking possession of the abandoned works of Geary and Ruger. This brought Johnson's troops near the Baltimore pike, but the darkness prevented their seeing or profiting by the advantage then within their reach. When Ruger's division returned from Round Top, and Geary's from Rock Creek, they found Johnson in possession of their intrenchments, and immediately prepared to drive him out at daylight.

It had been ordered that when Johnson engaged Culp's Hill, Early and Rodes should assault Cemetery Hill. Early's attack was made with great spirit, by Hoke's and Avery's brigades, Gordon's being in reserve; the hill was ascended through the wide ravine between Cemetery and Culp's hills, a line of infantry on the slopes was broken, and Wiedrich's Eleventh Corps and Ricketts's reserve batteries near the brow of the hill were overrun; but the

excellent position of Stevens's 12-pounders at the head of the ravine, which enabled him to sweep it, the arrival of Carroll's brigade sent masked by Hancock,—a happy inspiration, as this line had been weakened to send supports both to Greene and Sickles,—and the failure of Rodes to coöperate with Early, caused the attack to miscarry. The cannoneers of the two batteries, so summarily ousted, rallied and recovered their guns by a vigorous attack—with pistols by those who had them, by others with handspikes, rammers, stones, and even fence-rails—the “Dutchmen” showing that they were in no way inferior to their “Yankee” comrades, who had been taunting them ever since Chancellorsville. After an hour's desperate fighting the enemy was driven out with heavy loss, Avery being among the killed. At the close of this second day a consultation of corps commanders was held at Meade's headquarters. I was not present, although summoned, but was informed that the vote was unanimous to hold our lines and to await an attack for at least one day before taking the offensive, and Meade so decided. [Continuation on p. 369.]

THE COUNCIL OF WAR ON THE SECOND DAY.†

BY JOHN GIBBON, MAJOR-GENERAL, U. S. V.

SOON after all firing had ceased a staff-officer from army headquarters met General Hancock and myself and summoned us both to General Meade's headquarters, where a council was to be held. We at once proceeded there, and soon after our arrival all the corps commanders were assembled in the little front room of the Liester House—Newton, who had been assigned to the command of the First Corps over Doubleday, his senior; Hancock, Second; Birney, Third; Sykes, Fifth; Sedgwick, who had arrived during the day with the Sixth, after a long march from Manchester; Howard, Eleventh; and Slocum, Twelfth, besides General Meade, General Butterfield, chief of staff; Warren, chief of engineers; A. S. Williams, Twelfth Corps, and myself, Second. It will be seen that two corps were doubly represented, the Second by Hancock and myself, and the Twelfth by Slocum and Williams. These twelve were all assembled in a little room not more than ten or twelve feet square, with a bed in one corner, a small table on one side, and a chair or two. Of course all could not sit down; some did, some lounged on the bed, and some stood up, while Warren, tired out and suffering from a wound in the neck, where a piece of shell had struck him, lay down in the corner of the room and went sound asleep, and I don't think heard any of the proceedings.

The discussion was at first very informal and in the shape of conversation, during which each one made comments on the fight and told what he knew of the condition of affairs. In the course of this discussion Newton expressed the opinion that “this was no place to fight a battle in.” General Newton was an officer of engineers (since chief-engineer of the army), and was rated by me, and I suppose most others, very highly as a soldier. The assertion, therefore, coming from such a source, rather

startled me, and I eagerly asked what his objections to the position were. The objections he stated, as I recollect them, related to some minor details of the line, of which I knew nothing except so far as my own front was concerned, and with those I was satisfied; but the prevailing impression seemed to be that the place for the battle had been in a measure selected for us. Here we are; now what is the best thing to do? It soon became evident that everybody was in favor of remaining where we were and giving battle there. General Meade himself said very little, except now and then to make some comment, but I cannot recall that he expressed any decided opinion upon any point, preferring apparently to listen to the conversation. After the discussion had lasted some time, Butterfield suggested that it would, perhaps, be well to formulate the question to be asked, and General Meade assenting he took a piece of paper, on which he had been making some memoranda, and wrote down a question; when he had done he read it off and formally proposed it to the council.

I had never been a member of a council of war before (nor have I been since) and did not feel very confident I was properly a member of this one; but I had engaged in the discussion, and found myself (Warren being asleep) the junior member in it. By the custom of war the junior member votes first, as on courts-martial; and when Butterfield read off his question, the substance of which was, “Should the army remain in its present position or take up some other?” he addressed himself first to me for an answer. To say “Stay and fight” was to ignore the objections made by General Newton, and I therefore answered somewhat in this way: “Remain here, and make such correction in our position as may be deemed necessary, but take no step which even looks like retreat.” The question was put to

† Taken by permission from the “Philadelphia Weekly Press” of July 6th, 1887, and condensed.—EDITORS.

each member and his answer taken down, and when it came to Newton, who was the first in rank, he voted in pretty much the same way as I did, and we had some playful sparring as to whether he agreed with me or I with him; the rest voted to remain.

The next question written by Butterfield was, "Should the army attack or wait the attack of the enemy?" I voted not to attack, and all the others voted substantially the same way; and on the third question, "How long shall we wait?" I voted, "Until Lee moved." The answers to this last question showed the only material variation in the opinion of the members.

When the voting was over General Meade said quietly, but decidedly, "Such then is the decision"; and certainly he said nothing which produced a doubt in my mind as to his being perfectly in accord with the members of the council.

In 1881 (eighteen years after the battle) I was shown in Philadelphia, by General Meade's son [Colonel George Meade], a paper found amongst General Meade's effects after his death. It was folded, and on the outside of one end was written, in his well-known handwriting, in ink, "Minutes of Council, July 2d, '63." On opening it, the following was found written in pencil in a handwriting [General Daniel Butterfield's] unknown to me:

Minutes of Council, July 2d, 1863.

Page 1, Questions asked:

1. Under existing circumstances is it advisable for this army to remain in its present position, or to retire to another nearer its base of supplies?

2. If being determined to remain in present position, shall the army attack or wait the attack of the enemy?

3. If we wait attack, how long?

Page 2, Replies.

Gibbou: 1. Correct position of the army, but would not retreat. 2. In no condition to attack, in his opinion. 3. Until he moves.

Williams: 1. Stay. 2. Wait attack. 3. One day.

Birney: Same as General Williams.

Sykes: " " "

Newton: 1. Correct position of the army, but would not retreat. 2. By all means not attack. 3. If we wait it will give them a chance to cut our line.

Page 3.

Howard: 1. Remain. 2. Wait attack until 4 P. M. tomorrow. 3. If don't attack, attack them.

† The words in *italics*, noted as illegible in the "Official Records," have been deciphered on a careful examination of the original document deposited by Colonel George Meade with the Penn. Hist. Society.—EDITORS.

Hancock: 1. Rectify position without moving so as to give up field. 2. Not attack unless our communications are cut. 3. Can't wait long; can't be idle.

Sedgwick: 1. Remain. [2.] and wait attack. [3.] At least one day.

Slocum: Stay and fight it out.

[On the back, or first page of the sheet]:

Slocum stay and fight it out. Newton thinks it a bad position; Hancock puzzled about practicability of retiring; thinks by holding on *inviting* ‡ to mass forces and attack. Howard favor of not retiring. Birney don't know. Third Corps used up and not in good condition to fight. Sedgwick *doubtful whether we ought to attack.* ‡ Effective strength about 9000, 12,500, 9000, 6000, 8500, 6000, 7000. Total, 58,000.

[Endorsement:]

Minutes of Council, held Thursday, P. M., July 2d, 1863. D. B., M. G., C. of S. [Daniel Butterfield, Major-General, Chief of Staff].

The memoranda at the bottom of the paper were doubtless made while the discussion was going on, and the numbers at the foot refer probably to the effective strength of each corps. ↓

Several times during the sitting of the council reports were brought to General Meade, and now and then we could hear heavy firing going on over on the right of our line. I took occasion before leaving to say to General Meade that his staff-officer had regularly summoned me as a corps commander to the council, although I had some doubts about being present. He answered, pleasantly, "That is all right. I wanted you here."

Before I left the house Meade made a remark to me which surprised me a good deal, especially when I look back upon the occurrence of the next day. By a reference to the votes in council it will be seen that the majority of the members were in favor of acting on the defensive and awaiting the action of Lee. In referring to the matter, just as the council broke up, Meade said to me, "If Lee attacks to-morrow, it will be in *your front*." I asked him why he thought so, and he replied, "Because he has made attacks on both our flanks and failed, and if he concludes to try it again it will be on our center." I expressed the hope that he would, and told General Meade, with confidence, that if he did we would defeat him.

↓ A careful study of the original suggests that these notes "at the bottom" (on the back) were made *before* the questions were formulated. See p. 313.

EDITORS.

THE 20TH MAINE AT LITTLE ROUND TOP. †

BY H. S. MELCHER, 20TH MAINE REGIMENT.

THE Confederate force designated to take possession of Little Round Top appears to have been Robertson's brigade, consisting of the 1st, 4th, and 5th Texas and the 3d Arkansas; and Law's brigade, consisting of the 4th, 44th, 48th, 47th, and 15th Alabama, both of Hood's division. The former was to assault in front, while Law's brigade was to attack in the rear of the hill [see p. 318]; but Robertson, finding he could not cover the entire front with his brigade, detached the

44th, 48th, and 4th Alabama from Law's brigade about the time they arrived at the foot of Round Top in their advance and connected them with Robertson's line, then well in front of Little Round Top. This left the 47th and 15th Alabama to carry out the flanking movement alone, which they did, passing up the southern side of Round Top, and halting some ten minutes on the crest for rest. This halt proved fatal to the success of their undertaking, as it enabled our brigade (Vincent's)

† Condensed from the "Lincoln County News," Waldoboro, Maine, March 13th, 1885.—EDITORS.

to reach Little Round Top in time to resist their advance. \

Resuming their march, these two regiments passed down the north-easterly side of Round Top and advanced across the wooded depression between the hills to charge up the rear of Little Round Top and sweep off Vincent's brigade, then fiercely engaged with Robertson's Texans and the three regiments of Law's brigade that had been assigned to his command, who were trying to get possession from the front. But just here these two Alabama regiments met the 20th Maine, which was the left regiment of Vincent's brigade, and also the left of the whole Army of the Potomac, and, to conform to the crest of the hill, was bent back at about right angles with the line of the rest of the brigade. This was fortunate, for in their advance the 47th Alabama, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Bulger, struck our regiment squarely in front and opened a murderous fire on our unprotected line, as we had just got into position, and had no time to throw up breastworks. At the same time the 15th Alabama, commanded by Colonel William C. Oates, numbering 644 men and 42 officers, moved around to attack us in flank and rear. Our colonel, Chamberlain, met this movement by putting the right wing of the regiment into single rank to resist the 47th, and bent back the five left companies of the regiment at a right angle.

Our regiment numbered 358 men, but as Company B, numbering 50 men, had been sent out to "protect our flank," we had 308 men in line to resist the furious assault of these two strong regi-

\ Vincent's brigade appears to have been sent by General Sykes to occupy the position to the left, or southward, of Little Round Top, between it and Round Top, about the same time that Colonel O'Rourke with the

ments, outnumbering us more than 3 to 1. The conflict was fierce, but necessarily brief, as it was a question of only a short time when every man must fall before the superior fire of our enemy.

When 130 of our brave officers and men had been shot down where they stood, and only 178 remained,—hardly more than a strong skirmish line,—and each man had fired the 60 rounds of cartridges he carried into the fight, and the survivors were using from the cartridge-boxes of their fallen comrades, the time had come when it must be decided whether we should fall back and give up this key to the whole field of Gettysburg, or charge and try and throw off this foe. Colonel Chamberlain gave the order to "fix bayonets," and almost before he could say "charge!" the regiment leaped down the hill and closed in with the foe, whom we found behind every rock and tree. Surprised and overwhelmed, most of them threw down their arms and surrendered.

Some fought till they were slain; the others ran "like a herd of wild cattle," as Colonel Oates himself expressed it. In their flight they were met by Company B, Captain Morrill, which we supposed had been captured, but now attacked so vigorously that over one hundred of the fugitives were compelled to surrender.

Lieutenant-Colonel Bulger, commanding the 47th, was wounded, and fell into our hands, with over three hundred prisoners and all the wounded.

The 20th Maine returned with its prisoners to the original position, and staid there until ordered forward in the early evening to Round Top.

140th New York and Hazlett's battery, the advance of Weed's brigade, at the call of Warren was hastening up the northern slope of Little Round Top to seize the crest.—EDITORS.

THE 146TH NEW YORK AT LITTLE ROUND TOP.

BY JAMES G. GRINDLAY, BREVET BRIGADIER-GENERAL, U. S. V.



UNIFORM OF THE 146TH NEW YORK REGIMENT.

IN "The Century" for December, 1886 [see p. 298 of this volume], in the illustration, "View from the position of Hazlett's battery on Little Round Top," it is stated, "the monument marks the position of the 91st Pennsylvania of Weed's brigade." I beg to say that the location of the monument is exactly where the headquarters of the 146th New York Volunteers were established and maintained during the battle of Gettysburg. Weed's brigade com-

prised the 140th and 146th New York and the 91st and 155th Pennsylvania Volunteers, and they formed the line of battle on Little Round Top in the order as named from left to right.

The Big Rock stands upon the summit of Little Round Top, and was the headquarters of the 146th New York, Colonel Kenner Garrard, and also brigade headquarters, when Colonel Garrard succeeded General Weed in command when the latter

was killed. The 146th New York occupied the ground immediately in front of the Big Rock, and the center and colors of our regiment were opposite the rock—the 91st being on our right, as before stated; and the extreme left of the 91st Pennsylvania was at least one hundred yards to the right of the rock. I am confirmed in this statement by correspondence with brother officers, among others Major C. K. Dutton, of New York City, who writes me: "Your statement of the position of 146th is correct. One thing I do know, viz., that my company (H) was to the right of the rock, and several companies of the regiment on the right of my company before the 91st Pennsylvania came in line. Jenkins, Armstrong, and myself had our position a hundred feet to the right of the rock." The writer commanded the color company, and his memory is refreshed from the fact that at the reunion of the regiment at Rome, N. Y., August 6th last, the subject was fully discussed and steps taken to erect a monument to mark the position, also by a recent examination of the maps and photographs of the field of battle at the residence of General Sickles by a committee of our regiment.

UTICA, N. Y., Dec. 26th, 1886.

THE BREASTWORKS AT CULP'S HILL.

I. BY JESSE H. JONES, CAPTAIN, 60TH N. Y. V.

THE Second Division of the Twelfth Corps camped on the night of the first day under the shadow of Little Round Top. About 6 o'clock the next morning it was marched over from that point, which was then the extreme left of our line, and posted on Culp's Hill, its left forming a right angle with the right of General Wadsworth's division of the First Corps. Our brigade, commanded by Brigadier-General George S. Greene and comprising five New York regiments, the 60th, 78th, 102d, 137th, and 149th, was on the left of the division, and our regiment, the 60th, was on the left of the brigade. This regiment was largely composed of men accustomed to woodcraft, and they fell to work to construct log breastworks with unaccustomed heartiness. All instinctively felt that a life-and-death struggle was impending, and that every help should be used. Culp's Hill was covered with woods; so all the materials needful were at our disposal. Right and left the men felled the trees, and blocked them up into a close log fence. Piles of cordwood which lay near by were quickly appropriated. The sticks, set slanting on end against the outer face of the logs, made excellent battening. All along the rest of the line of the corps a similar defense was constructed. Fortunate regiments, which had spades and picks, strengthened their work with earth. By 10 o'clock it was finished.

At 6 o'clock in the evening General Meade, finding himself hard pressed on the left, and deeming an attack on the right wing improbable at so late an hour, called for the Twelfth Corps. Our brigade was detailed to remain and hold the lines of the corps. Word was brought from the officer in charge of our pickets that the enemy was advancing in heavy force in line of battle, and, with all possible celerity, such dispositions as the case admitted were made. The brigade was strung out into a thin line of separate men as far along the breastworks as it would reach. The intention was to place the men an arm's-length apart, but, by the time the left of the brigade had fairly undoubted files, the enemy was too near to allow of further arrangements being made.

In a short time the woods were all flecked with the flashes from the muskets of our skirmishers. Down in the hollow there, at the foot of the slope, you could catch a glimpse now and then, by the blaze of the powder, of our brave boys as they sprang from tree to tree, and sent back defiance to

the advancing foe. With desperation they clung to each covering. For half an hour they obstructed the enemy's approach.

The men restrained their nervous fingers; the hostile guns flamed out against us not fifteen yards in front. Our men from the front were tumbling over the breastwork, and for a breathless moment those behind the breastwork waited. Then out into the night like chain-lightning leaped the zigzag line of fire. Now was the value of breastworks apparent, for, protected by these, few of our men were hit, and feeling a sense of security, we worked with corresponding energy. Without breastworks our line would have been swept away in an instant by the hailstorm of bullets and the flood of men. The enemy worked still farther around to our right, entered the breastwork beyond our line, and crumpled up and drove back, a short distance, our extreme right regiment. They advanced a little way, but were checked by the fire of a couple of small regiments borrowed for the emergency from General Wadsworth, and placed in echelon.

General Meade hardly mentioned this affair at the breastworks in his original report of the battle, and those who were there think justice has never been done in the case,[☆] and that what was there achieved has never been adequately apprehended and stated by any writer.

The left of our brigade was only about eighty rods from the Baltimore turnpike, while the right was somewhat nearer. There were no supports. All the force that there was to stay the onset was that one thin line. Had the breastworks not been built, and had there been only the thin line of our unprotected brigade, that line must have been swept away like leaves before the wind, by the oncoming of so heavy a mass of troops, and the pike would have been reached by the enemy. Once on the pike, the Confederate commander would have been full in the rear of one-third of our army, firmly planted on the middle of the chord of the arc upon which that portion was posted. What the effect must have been it is not needful to describe. The least disaster would have sufficed to force us from the field.

During the night our commanders brought back the remainder of the corps, and, stumbling upon the enemy's pickets, found out what had taken place, something of which until that moment they had been entirely unaware.

defense, and being soon reinforced by portions of the First and Eleventh corps, contiguous to him, succeeded in repulsing all the efforts of the enemy to dislodge him."

Also, on the same day, in reply to a letter from General Slocum on the subject, General Meade wrote in part:

"I am willing to admit that, if my attention had been called to the services of Greene's Brigade in the pointed manner it now is, I would have given it credit for this special service."

EDITORS.

[☆] On the 25th of February, 1864, General Meade made the following substitution in his official report:

"The detachment of so large a portion of the Twelfth Corps, with its temporary commander, Brigadier-General A. S. Williams, left the defense of the line previously held to the remaining brigade of the Second Division, commanded by Brigadier-General Greene, who held the left of the Twelfth Corps, now become the extreme right of the army. The enemy, perceiving the withdrawal of our troops, advanced and attacked General Greene with great vigor, who, making a gallant

II. BY GEORGE S. GREENE, BREVET-MAJOR-GENERAL, U. S. V.

THE breastworks on Culp's Hill referred to in the foregoing article were constructed under my immediate direction. Orders were given to throw up breastworks as soon as the troops came on the line. The approximate shape of the line at first held by the entire corps and afterward by my single brigade was this:



When Meade ordered the whole of the Twelfth Corps from Culp's Hill to reënforce his left, Slocum ordered my brigade to remain and "occupy the breastworks thrown up by the corps." The rest of the corps moved off just before dusk (about 7 P. M.) I immediately extended my men to the right to comply with the order as far as possible. Ireland's regiment (the 137th N. Y.), which was on my right, occupied the intrenchments vacated by Kane's brigade, his left at *b*, and a regiment from Howard's corps was placed on Ireland's right. This regiment, without being specially attacked, was marched to the rear by its colonel, when an attack upon it was imminently probable, much to the disgust of his men, as reported. As soon as I received orders to occupy the intrenchments, I applied to Wadsworth and received two regiments, which were placed in rear of my right, behind the points *b* and *d*, but sufficiently in the rear to support any part of the line.

The movement of the 137th Regiment had hardly been made when the regiment on picket was driven in by a vigorous attack by Johnson's division of Ewell's corps, which was continued with great perseverance. The enemy finally extended their left to cover Ireland's right, which had been left in the air by the desertion of the Pennsylvania regiment from Howard's corps. Ireland was forced back and rallied his regiment behind the traverse, *b d*, which had been built to protect my right, and which now served its purpose. As soon as Ireland's movement was seen — or, rather, heard, for it was dark — I brought up the reserve, which checked any further advance of the enemy on the right. Very soon after this movement, Kane, with his brigade, arrived and took post on the right of my reserve, and the enemy ceased their attacks, after about three hours' continuous fighting.

As the troops marched out, General Kane followed the First Brigade of the Second Division toward the left. When the column arrived at the Baltimore pike the First Division followed the staff-officer sent to conduct it toward the left. The Second Division marched down the pike to the rear. Kane, hearing the firing on my posi-

tion, inquired as to their destination, and, not being satisfied, took the responsibility of returning to the fight, and immediately countermarched; as he came near the position which had been occupied by the First Division, the enemy's pickets fired on him, and this being heard by me, I sent an officer to conduct Kane in by the safer route of the turnpike. He arrived about 10 o'clock P. M., just after the enemy had been repulsed on my right. His presence tended to render the enemy cautious, and they rested on their arms till morning. The First Brigade (Candy's) of the Second Division arrived at Culp's Hill about 1 A. M., long after the fighting had ceased. General Williams, who commanded the Twelfth Corps, and General Slocum, who commanded the right wing, having been advised of the enemy's position, the artillery was placed in position before daylight, and after a heavy bombardment, the infantry, by a gallant and successful charge, drove the enemy from the position they had occupied in the night in the lines of the First Division.

The attack on my front, on the morning of the 3d of July, was renewed by Johnson's division simultaneously with our attack on the enemy in our lines on our right, and was conducted with the utmost vigor. The greater part of their heavy losses were sustained within a few yards of our breastworks. His adjutant, Major Watkins Leigh persisted in riding up to the very front of our lines, pushing his men to an assault on my works, where both horse and rider were killed, pierced simultaneously with several bullets. About fifty of the men got too near to our lines to retreat, and threw down their arms, ran up close to our works, threw up their handkerchiefs or white rags, and were allowed to come unarmed into our lines. Shaler's and Candy's brigades were sent to our support and took part in the defense of our lines on the morning of July 3d. By 10 A. M. the fighting ceased, and at 1 P. M. the enemy had disappeared from our front, and our men went to Rock Creek for water.

Of the disastrous consequences to the Union army, had Lee succeeded in penetrating our lines and placing himself square across the Baltimore pike in rear of the center and right wing of the entire army, there can be no question. Fortunately it was averted by the steady and determined courage of the five New York regiments above named. The assailants were Johnson's division of Ewell's (Second) Corps, consisting of twenty-two regiments, organized into four brigades — Stenart's, Nicholls's, Jones's, and Walker's — the last being the famous "Stonewall Brigade," first commanded by Stonewall Jackson.

To the discernment of General Slocum, who saw the danger to which the army would be exposed by the movement ordered, and who took the responsibility of modifying the orders which he had received, is due the honor of having saved the army from a great and perhaps fatal disaster.



AT CLOSE QUARTERS ON THE FIRST DAY AT GETTYSBURG.

THE STRUGGLE FOR "ROUND TOP."

BY E. M. LAW, MAJOR-GENERAL, C. S. A.

MORE has been written concerning the battle of Gettysburg than any other "passage of arms" between the Federal and Confederate troops during the civil war. The engagement of the 1st of July, brought on by accident, on the part of the Confederates at least, in which two corps of the Federal army under General Reynolds were defeated and driven through Gettysburg by portions of Hill's and Ewell's corps, has been often and fully described by the officers on both sides. Ewell's attack on the Federal right in the vicinity of Culp's Hill on the 2d of July, and Longstreet's advance upon the Federal left on the same day, so far as relates to one division of the latter's command (McLaws's), have been detailed with equal minuteness by those engaged. The magnificent charge of Pickett's division on the Federal center on the third day has been the theme of a host of writers who deemed it an honor to have stood in the lines of blue by which that charge was repelled, and those who, on the other hand, thought it no less an honor to have shared the fortunes of the torn and shattered columns of gray which only failed to accomplish impossibilities.

But concerning the operations of Lee's extreme right wing, extending to the foot of Round Top, little or nothing has been written on the Confed-

erate side. This part of the line was held by Hood's division of Longstreet's corps, and was really the key to the whole position of Gettysburg. Here some of the most stubborn fighting of that desperate battle was done, and here a determined effort of the Federal cavalry to reach the right rear of the Confederate army on the 3d of July was frustrated — an attempt which, if successful, must have resulted disastrously to that army.

The meagerness of the details of the operations referred to may be accounted for by the fact that General Longstreet personally superintended the left of his line, consisting of McLaws's division of his own corps, supported by R. H. Anderson's division of Hill's corps, and hence knew comparatively little from personal observation of the movements of Hood's division; and, also, that General Hood was wounded early in the engagement on the 2d of July, and, relinquishing the command of the division, could not report its subsequent operations. As senior brigadier, I succeeded to the command of Hood's division, and directed its movements during the engagements of the 2d and 3d of July. But owing to the active and constant movements of our army for some weeks after the battle, I was only able to obtain the reports of brigade commanders a very short time previous to being ordered to the army of General Bragg at Chickamauga. This prevented me from making a report at the time, and it was afterward neglected.

The facts stated in this paper are therefore many of them published for the first time. It remains for the impartial reader to decide whether they do not constitute an important part of the history of the most memorable battle of the war; for Gettysburg was the turning-point in the great struggle. Together with the fall of Vicksburg, which occurred simultaneously with the retreat of Lee's army toward the Potomac, it inspired the armies and people of the North with fresh courage and stimulated anew the hopes of ultimate success which were visibly flagging under an almost uninterrupted series of reverses to the Federal arms in Virginia, extending over a period of nearly two years. On the other hand, it was at Gettysburg that the right arm of the South was broken, and it must always stand out in Confederate annals as in the history of a brave and kindred people stands

"Flodden's fatal field,
Where shivered was fair Scotland's spear,
And broken was her shield."

When the fight began at Gettysburg on the 1st of July, three brigades of Hood's division were at Greenwood on the Chambersburg road and on the west side of South Mountain. My own brigade, with Bachman's battery, was at New Guilford, some miles south of Greenwood, watching our right flank. At 3 o'clock on the morning of the 2d, under orders from General Longstreet, I moved as rapidly as possible toward Gettysburg, and arrived there shortly before noon, having marched the intervening distance of twenty-four miles in that time. On my arrival I found the other brigades of Hood's division resting about a mile from the town, on the Chambersburg road. In a short time after my brigade came up, the division was moved to our right (south), traversing the angle between the Chambersburg and Emmitsburg

roads, following McLaws, who was in advance. Pickett's division had not yet come up. We moved very slowly, with frequent halts and deflections from the direct course—the latter being necessary to conceal our movements from the Federal signal station on Little Round Top.

At length, after many vexatious delays, Hood's division was pushed forward until it uncovered McLaws, and soon reached the Emmitsburg road in front of Round Top. Here our line of battle was formed at an acute angle



BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL HENRY J. HUNT, CHIEF OF
ARTILLERY OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

with the road, the right being in advance of it, between the road and the mountain, and the left extending across and in rear of the road. The formation was in two lines, Law's Alabama and Robertson's Texas brigades in front, supported, at a distance of about 200 yards, by the Georgia brigades of Benning and G. T. Anderson. McLaws's division extended the line to our left, with a similar formation. The Artillery Battalion, composed of Reilly's, Latham's, Garden's, and Bachman's batteries, twenty guns in all, were disposed at advantageous points upon the ridge occupied by the line of infantry. There were no signs of Federal cavalry or troops of any kind on our right. As a precautionary

measure, however, a regiment was detached from Anderson's brigade and stationed at Kern's house, half a mile down the road toward Emmitsburg.

It was now past 4 o'clock in the afternoon and our troops were in position for the attack. The flank movement by which they came into position is referred to in the following dispatch from the Federal signal station on Little Round Top: "To General Meade—4 o'clock P. M. The only infantry of the enemy visible is on the extreme [Federal] left; it has been moving toward Emmitsburg." It will thus be seen that the movement, in spite of our precautions, was not unobserved.

The Confederate line of battle occupied a ridge, partly wooded, with a valley intervening between it and the heights held by the Federal troops in front. The position occupied by the Federal left wing in front of us was now fully disclosed to view, and it was certainly one of the most formidable it had ever been the fortune of any troops to confront. Round Top rose like a huge sentinel guarding the Federal left flank, while the spurs and ridges trending off to the north of it afforded unrivaled positions for the use of artillery. The puffs of smoke rising at intervals along the line of hills, as the Federal batteries fired upon such portions of our line as became exposed to view, clearly showed that these advantages had not been neglected. The thick woods which in great part covered the sides of Round Top and the adjacent

hills concealed from view the rugged nature of the ground, which increased fourfold the difficulties of the attack.

How far up the slope of Round Top the Federal left extended we could not tell, as the woods effectually concealed from view everything in that quarter.

In order to gain information upon this important point, I sent out a detail of six picked men as scouts, with instructions to move as rapidly as possible to the summit of Round Top, making a *détour* to their right, and "feeling" down from that point, to locate the left of the Federal line. The entire absence of Federal cavalry on our right, as well as other indications leading to the same conclusion, convinced me that the Federals, relying upon the protection of the mountain, considered their flank secure; that it was therefore their most vulnerable point. Impressed with this view, I further instructed the scouts when they reached the summit to observe carefully the state of affairs on the other side, and to send a "runner" back to me with such intelligence as they might be able to gain. They moved off at a trot. A few moments after they had started, I saw in the valley, some distance to our right, several dark figures moving across the fields from the rear of Round Top in the direction of the Emmitsburg road. These on being captured proved to be Federal soldiers, who seemed surprised at our sudden appearance in that quarter, and who, on being questioned, stated that they had surgeons' certificates and were "going to the rear." They indicated "the rear" by pointing toward Emmitsburg, and in reply to the question where they came from, they said from the "medical train behind the mountain"—referring to Round Top. They also stated that the medical and ordnance trains "around the mountain" were insecurely guarded, no attack being expected at that point; and that the other side of the mountain could be easily reached by a good farm road, along which they had just traveled, the distance being a little more than a mile. On my way to convey this information to General Hood, I met a messenger from my scouts, who had reached the crest of Round Top. He reported that there was no Federal force on the summit, and confirmed in every particular the statements of the prisoners I had just captured. If there had previously been any question in regard to the policy of a front attack, there now remained not a shadow of doubt that our true *point d'appui* was Round Top, from which the Confederate right wing could be extended toward the Taneytown and Baltimore roads, on the Federal left and rear.

I found General Hood on the ridge where his line had been formed, communicated to him the information I had obtained, and pointed out the ease with which a movement by the right flank might be made. He coincided fully in my views, but said that his orders were positive to attack in front, as soon as the left of the corps should get into position. I therefore entered a formal protest against a direct attack, on the grounds: 1. That the great natural strength of the enemy's position in our front rendered the result of a direct assault extremely uncertain. 2. That, even if successful, the victory would be purchased at too great a sacrifice of life, and our troops would be in no condition to improve it. 3. That a front attack was unnecessary,—the occupation of Round Top during the night by moving upon it from the south,

and the extension of our right wing from that point across the enemy's left and rear, being not only practicable, but easy. 4. That such a movement would compel a change of front on the part of the enemy, the abandonment of his strong position on the heights, and force him to attack us in position.

General Hood called up Captain Hamilton, of his staff, and requested me to repeat the protest to him, and the grounds on which it was made. He then directed Captain Hamilton to find General Longstreet as quickly as possible and deliver the protest, and to say to him that he (Hood) indorsed it fully. Hamilton rode off at once, but in about ten minutes returned, accompanied by a staff-officer of General Longstreet, who said to General Hood, in my hearing, "General Longstreet orders that you begin the attack at once." Hood turned to me and merely said, "You hear the order?" I at once moved my brigade to the assault. I do not know whether the protest ever reached General Lee. From the brief interval that elapsed between the time it was sent to General Longstreet and the receipt of the order to begin the attack, I am inclined to think it did not. General Longstreet has since said that he repeatedly advised against a front attack and suggested a movement by our right flank. He may have thought, after the rejection of this advice by General Lee, that it was useless to press the matter further.

Just here the battle of Gettysburg was lost to the Confederate arms. It is useless to speculate upon the turn affairs might have taken if the Confederate cavalry had been in communication with the rest of the army, and if General Stuart had kept General Lee informed, as he should have done, of the movements of the Federal army. In considering the causes of the Confederate failure on that particular field, we must take the situation just as we find it. And the situation was as follows: The advance of the two armies encountered each other on the 1st of July. An engagement ensued in which the Confederates were victorious. The Federal troops retired through Gettysburg and took position along the height east of the town—a position which, if properly defended, was practicably impregnable to a direct attack.

The whole matter then resolves itself into this: General Lee failed at Gettysburg on the 2d and 3d of July because he made his attack precisely where his enemy wanted him to make it and was most fully prepared to receive it. Even had he succeeded in driving the Federal army from its strong position by a general and simultaneous assault along the whole front (which was the only possible chance of success in that direction), he would have found his army in very much the same condition in which Pyrrhus found his, when, after driving the Romans from the field of Asculum, he exclaimed, "Another such victory, and I am undone!"

The failure of General Ewell to seize Cemetery Hill and adjacent positions, on the evening of July 1st, has been frequently assigned as one of the causes of our loss of the battle. It is very doubtful whether General Ewell could have occupied those heights had he made the attempt, for General Pleasanton has asserted very positively that, on the night of the 1st of July, "we [the Federals] had more troops in position than Lee." And General Lee qualified his instructions to General Ewell to seize the heights by the words

"if practicable." Under the circumstances, the fact that General Ewell did not seize them is very strong presumptive evidence that it was not practicable.

The two armies being face to face on the 2d of July, and setting aside all question of a retreat by either, General Lee's alternative of a direct attack was a movement by his right flank to the Federal left and rear. The first promised nothing but desperate fighting, heavy loss, and probable failure. The second certainly promised nothing worse, with the probabilities all in favor of a "fair field and a free fight," and that was all his army asked. Referring to this suggested movement upon the Federal left flank, General Pleasanton, who commanded the Federal cavalry at that time, has expressed the opinion that it was impracticable, and has stated further that he "had two divisions of cavalry, one in rear of the Federal position and one on Lee's right flank," to prevent it. If the cavalry had been there, as he states, they



THE STRUGGLE FOR DEVIL'S DEN (LOOKING TOWARD THE CONFEDERATE LINES). FROM A WAR-TIME SKETCH.

would not have amounted to even a single "ounce of prevention," as far as the movements of our infantry were concerned. But if there *was* a division, or even a single picket-post of cavalry, either Federal or Confederate, on our right flank, at any time on the 2d of July, it was kept most persistently out of sight, as my scouts, who were sent out in all directions, failed to find it.

Our order of attack—issued as soon as the two divisions of Longstreet's corps came into position on the line already described—was, that the movement should begin on the right, my brigade on that flank leading, the other commands taking it up successively toward the left. It was near 5 o'clock P. M. when we advanced to the attack. The artillery on both sides had been warmly engaged for about fifteen minutes, and continued to fire heavily until we became engaged with the Federal infantry, when the Confederate batteries ceased firing to avoid injury to our own troops, who were then, for the most part, concealed by the woods about the base of Round Top and the spurs to the north of it. General Hood was severely wounded in the arm by a shot from the Federal artillery as we moved into action.

Advancing rapidly across the valley which separated the opposing lines,—all the time under a heavy fire from the batteries,—our front line struck the enemy's skirmishers posted along the farther edge of the valley. Brushing

these quickly away, we soon came upon their first line of battle, running along the lower slopes of the hills known as Devil's Den, to our left of Round Top, and separated from the latter by Plum Run valley. The fighting soon became close and severe. Exposed to the artillery fire from the heights in front and on our left, as well as to the musketry of the infantry, it required all the courage and steadiness of the veterans who composed the Army of Northern Virginia — whose spirit was never higher than then — to face the storm. Not one moment was lost. With rapidly thinning ranks the gray line swept on, until the blue line in front wavered, broke, and seemed to dissolve in the woods and rocks on the mountain-side. The advance continued steadily, the center of the division moving directly upon the guns on the hill adjoining Devil's Den on the north, from which we had been suffering so severely. In order to secure my right flank, I extended it well up on the side of Round Top, and my brigade, in closing to the right, left a considerable interval between its left and the right of the Texas brigade of Robertson. Into this interval I threw Benning's Georgia brigade, which had up to that time occupied the second line. At the same time seeing a heavy Federal force on Robertson's left, and no Confederate troops having come up to extend our line in that direction, Anderson's Georgia brigade, till then also in the second line, was thrown out on that flank.

Thus disposed, the division continued to move forward, encountering, as it ascended the heights around the battery on the spur and to the right and left of it, a most determined resistance from the Federal troops, who seemed to be continually reënforced. The ground was rough and difficult, broken by rocks and bowlders, which rendered an orderly advance impossible. Sometimes the Federals would hold one side of the huge bowlders on the slope until the Confederates occupied the other. In some cases my men, with reckless daring, mounted to the top of the large rocks in order to get a better view and to deliver their fire with greater effect. One of these, Sergeant Barbee of the Texas brigade, having reached a rock a little in advance of the line, stood erect on the top of it, loading and firing as coolly as if unconscious of danger, while the air around him was fairly swarming with bullets. He soon fell helpless from several wounds; but he held his rock, lying upon the top of it until the litter-bearers carried him off.

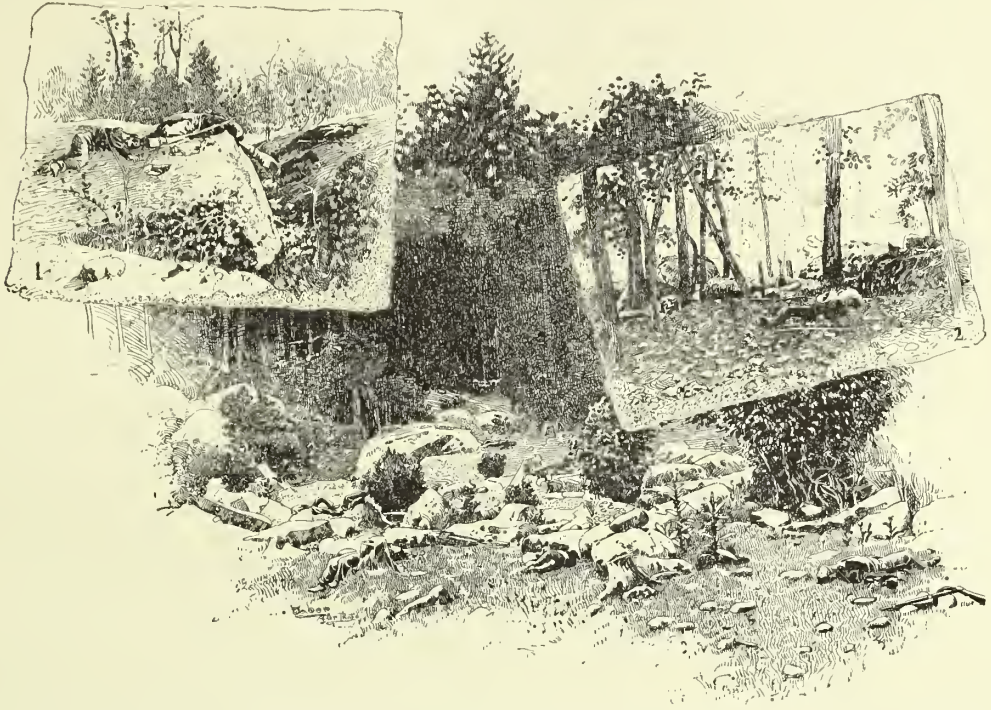
In less than an hour from the time we advanced to the attack, the hill by Devil's Den opposite our center was taken, with three pieces of the artillery that had occupied it. The remaining piece was run down the opposite slope by the gunners, and escaped capture.

In the meantime my brigade, on the right, had swept over the northern slope of Round Top, cleared it of the enemy, and then, making a partial change of front to the left, advanced upon Little Round Top, which lay in rear of the spur on which the battery had been taken. This change of direction soon exposed it to a flank attack on the right by fresh troops (Vincent's brigade), rendering it necessary to retire it to the general line.

While our center and right wing were engaged as I have described, Anderson's brigade, on the left, was subjected to great annoyance and loss by

movements of the enemy upon its left flank, being frequently compelled to change the front of the regiments on that flank to repel attacks from that direction.

Up to this time I had seen nothing of McLaws's division, which was to have extended our left and to have moved to the attack at the same time. I therefore halted my line, which had become broken and disorganized by the roughness of the ground over which it had been fighting, and placing it in as advantageous a position as possible for receiving any attack that the Federals



THE "SLAUGHTER PEN" AT THE BASE AND ON THE LEFT SLOPE OF LITTLE ROUND TOP. FROM PHOTOGRAPHS.

might be disposed to make, I hurried back to the ridge from which we had originally advanced. I found McLaws still in position there, his troops suffering considerably from a severe fire of artillery from the opposite hills. I was informed by General Kershaw, who held the right of this division, that although he understood the general instructions that the forward movement was to be taken up from the right, he had not yet received the order to move, from his division commander. I pointed out the position of Hood's division, and urged the necessity of immediate support on its left. General Kershaw requested me to designate the point on which his right flank should be directed, and promptly moved to the attack, the movement being taken up by the whole division.

When Hood's division first attacked, General Meade, alarmed for the safety of his left wing, and doubtless fully alive to the importance of holding so vital a point as Round Top and its adjacent spurs, commenced sending reinforcements to the threatened points. We encountered some of these in our

first advance, and others were arriving as McLaws came up on our left. In its advance this division extended from the "Peach Orchard" near the Emmitsburg road, on its left, to the "Wheat-field" north of the hill on which we had captured the Federal battery, where its right wing connected with my left. As McLaws advanced, we again moved forward on his right, and the fighting continued in "see-saw" style—first one side and then the other gaining ground or losing it, with small advantage to either, until dark.

At the close of the engagement Hood's division held the hill where the battery had been taken and the ridge to its left—our right extending across Devil's Den and well up on the north-western slope of Round Top. During the night this line was strengthened by the construction of a breastwork of the loose stones that abounded all along the positions occupied by the troops, and the light of the next morning disclosed the fact that the Federal troops in front of us had improved their time in the same way. In fact, all through the night we could hear them at work as the rocks were dropped in place on the works, and no doubt they heard us just as distinctly, while we were engaged in the same life-preserving operation.

Though the losses had been severe on both sides, comparatively few prisoners had been taken. But early in the night, in the confusion resulting from the fight over such rugged ground, and the darkness of the wooded mountain-side, men of both armies, in search of their commands, occasionally wandered into the opposing picket-lines and were captured. Many of the Federal wounded were left in our lines on the ground from which their troops had been forced back, and some of ours remained in their hands in the most advanced positions which we had reached and had been compelled to abandon. Among these latter was Colonel Powell of the 5th Texas regiment, who was shot through the body and afterward died. Powell was a stout, portly man, with a full beard, resembling, in many respects, General Longstreet, and the first impression of his captors was that they had taken that officer. Indeed, it was asserted positively by some of the prisoners we picked up during the night that Longstreet was badly wounded and a prisoner in their hands, and they obstinately refused to credit our statements to the contrary.

Early in the morning of the 3d two of my batteries, Latham's and Garden's, were sent to Colonel (afterward General) E. P. Alexander, who commanded our artillery in the center, to assist in the cannonade of the Federal position south of Cemetery Hill, preparatory to the assault of General Pickett's division at that point; and about 9 o'clock A. M. General Longstreet came over to my position on the right, and instructed me to be ready to renew the attack on our front. Under the circumstances that then existed, such an attack would have been simply madness. I have already described the difficult nature of the ground in our front. These difficulties were greatly increased by extemporized breastworks of rock all along the Federal line, which afforded good protection for their infantry, and were fully manned by a force much superior to our own. On the other hand, we had been weakened in the desperate attack of the preceding evening by losses amounting to

one-fourth of the whole force carried into action. More than two thousand officers and men of our division had been killed and wounded, among them Generals G. T. Anderson and J. B. Robertson, and about one-half of the field-officers of the various regiments. McLaws's division, on our left, had suffered nearly as severely, General Barksdale of that division being killed and General Semmes mortally wounded.

The cannonade in the center soon began, and presented one of the most magnificent battle-scenes witnessed during the war. Looking up the valley toward Gettysburg, the hills on either side were capped with crowns of flame and smoke, as 300 guns, about equally divided between the two ridges, vomited their iron hail upon each other. Dense clouds of smoke settled over the valley, through which the shells went hissing and screaming on their errand of death. Numbers of these from opposite directions exploded midway over the valley, apparently with venomous impatience, as they met each other in mid-air, lighting up the clouds with their snake-like flashes.

While this grand artillery duel was progressing, and before our infantry had moved to the attack, a new danger threatened us on the right. This was the appearance of Kilpatrick's division of cavalry, which moved up on that flank and commenced massing in the body of timber which extended from the base of Round Top westward toward Kern's house, on the Emmitsburg road. Reilly's and Bachman's batteries were ordered to change front to the right so as to bear upon this position, and at once opened fire upon the cavalry, which retired beyond the wood and out of sight. In order to protect my flank more fully, I withdrew the 1st Texas regiment of Robertson's brigade from the main line, and placed it in position midway between Round Top and the Emmitsburg road, with skirmishers extending from its left and connecting at right angles with the extreme right of the main line on the slope of the mountain. I also detached the 7th and 8th Georgia regiments of Anderson's brigade, and sent them to the support of the 9th, which had been stationed at Kern's house. About the time these dispositions were completed, Colonel Black, of the 1st South Carolina Cavalry, reported to me with about 100 men who had been gathered up from the medical trains, most of them partly disabled and only a part mounted, and with three guns of Hart's battery of horse artillery. Hart's guns were stationed on the Emmitsburg road, and the cavalry extended the right flank beyond that road. This new flanking line was formed at right angles to the main line, and crossed the Emmitsburg road near Kern's house.

One brigade of the Federal cavalry (Merritt's) moved across the road and deployed a strong line of dismounted skirmishers in front of Colonel Black's command, which was too weak to offer any effectual resistance. Hart's guns, however, were well handled, and did good service as long as the enemy remained in reach of them. To meet this flanking movement, I had to extend the 7th and 8th Georgia regiments to the right, and heavy skirmishing continued as the lines developed, with occasional efforts of the Federals to break through, until about half-past three o'clock P. M., when my two regiments were stretched out to a bare line of skirmishers.

It is not an easy task to operate against cavalry with infantry alone, on an extended line, and in an open country where the former, capable of moving much more rapidly, can choose its own points of attack and can elude the blows of its necessarily more tardy adversary. But Merritt's brigade was now dismounted and deployed as skirmishers, and I lost no time in taking



DEAD CONFEDERATE SHARP-SHOOTER IN THE DEVIL'S DEN.
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

advantage of this temporary equality as to the means of locomotion. Detaching the two remaining regiments of Anderson's brigade (11th and 59th Georgia) from the main line, I moved them rapidly to our extreme right, now about a mile from Kern's house, attacked Merritt's reserve, and then, changing front to the left, struck his skirmish-line "on its end" and "doubled it up" as far as the Emmitsburg road. This re-

duced my front to manageable dimensions and left some force at my disposal to meet any concentrated attack that the cavalry might make.

I had just returned to the position occupied by our artillery, which was in the angle formed by the main and flanking lines, when Farnsworth's cavalry brigade charged the line held by the 1st Texas regiment. It was impossible to use our artillery to any advantage owing to the "close quarters" of the attacking cavalry with our own men—the leading squadrons forcing their horses up to the very muzzles of the rifles of our infantry. That portion of the cavalry which covered the front of the 1st Texas regiment was handsomely repulsed; but the 1st Vermont regiment, forming the Federal right wing, overlapped the 1st Texas on its left, and, striking the skirmish-line only, rode through it into the open valley in rear of our main line on the spurs of Round Top. When I first became satisfied, through information from the Texas skirmishers, that Farnsworth's brigade was massing in their front, the 9th Georgia regiment was ordered from Kern's house to the support of the batteries, the former position being now safe, as the other four regiments of Anderson's brigade were concentrated near that point. Hearing the firing and knowing its cause, the 9th Georgia came up at a run, just as the 1st Vermont Cavalry rode through our skirmish-line, led by General Farnsworth in person. Instead of moving directly upon our batteries, the cavalry directed its course up the valley toward Gettysburg, passing between the position of our artillery and our main line. Watching the direction they had taken, I

sent Lieutenant Wade, of my staff, rapidly across the valley in advance of them, with orders to detach the first regiment he should come to on the main line and send it down on a run to "head them off" in that direction. He was also ordered to follow the line to the extreme right and direct Colonel Oates (15th Alabama) to strengthen his flanking skirmish-line and to close up the gap on the left of the 1st Texas where the cavalry had broken in.

Farnsworth and his cavalry in the meantime were riding in gallant style, with drawn sabers and unopposed, up the valley. As they approached Snyder's house, and as I stood intently watching them, I saw a ragged Confederate battle-flag fluttering among the trees at the foot of the opposite ridge, and the men with it soon after appeared, running out into the open ground on the farther side of the valley. It was the 4th Alabama regiment, Law's brigade, which had been taken from the main line and sent down by Lieutenant Wade. The men opened fire as they ran. The course of the cavalry was abruptly checked and saddles were rapidly emptied. Recoiling from this fire, they turned to their left and rear, and directed their course up the hill toward the position occupied by our batteries. Bachman's battery promptly changed front to its left, so as to face the approaching cavalry, and, together with its infantry supports, opened a withering fire at close range. Turning again to their left, Farnsworth and the few of his men who remained in their saddles directed their course toward the point where they had originally broken in, having described by this time almost a complete circle. But the gap where they had entered was now closed, and receiving another fire from that point, they again turned to the left and took refuge in the woods near the base of Round Top. When the last turn to the left was made, about half a dozen of their number separated from the main body and escaped by "running the gauntlet" to the right of the 1st Texas regiment. Farnsworth, with his little handful of gallant followers, rode upon the skirmish-line of the 15th Alabama regiment, and, pistol in hand, called upon Lieutenant Adrian, who commanded the line, to surrender. The skirmishers in return fired upon him, killing his horse and wounding Farnsworth in several places. [See p. 393.]

General Longstreet, aware of the danger that threatened our right from the attack of Kilpatrick's division, came over to my position late in the afternoon and expressed his satisfaction at the result and the promptness and good conduct of the troops engaged. We had all day held our front line, gained the evening before, and with troops drawn from that line had repulsed General Kilpatrick on our right flank. It seemed to us on the Confederate



BRIGADIER-GENERAL WILLIAM N. PENDLETON,
C. S. A., LEE'S CHIEF OF ARTILLERY.
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

right that there was at least one little spot of "silver lining" in the cloud that hung so darkly over the field of Gettysburg after the disastrous charge of Pickett.

Late in the afternoon of July 3d I was ordered to withdraw the division from the lines it had held since the evening of the 2d to the ridge near the Emmitsburg road, from which it had advanced to the attack on that day. McLaws's division, which had held the line to our left during the



MAJOR-GENERAL J. B. KERSHAW, C. S. A.
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

day, retired first, and I ordered my brigade commanders to take up the movement from left to right. The courier who delivered the order to General Benning holding the left of the division, in designating the position to which he was to retire, pointed to the line McLaws had just abandoned. Benning, supposing that McLaws had been moved for the purpose of reënforcing our line on some other part of the field, dispatched Colonel DuBose with the 15th Georgia regiment in that direction. McCandless's Federal brigade had, in the meantime, advanced to the ground previously held by McLaws, and attacked the 15th Georgia when it attempted to take up that position. Colonel DuBose made a gallant but fruitless attempt to hold

his ground, expecting support from the other regiments of his brigade. Being attacked in front and on both flanks by McCandless's brigade, reënforced by Nevin's, he was driven back with considerable loss. He retired from one position to another, fighting as he retreated, and finally succeeded in extricating his regiment and rejoining his brigade. The loss of the 15th Georgia in this affair was very heavy, including 101 prisoners, besides the killed and wounded. In the meantime General Benning, having received a second order to retire, withdrew the remainder of his brigade without loss. The other brigades were quietly withdrawn, the Federals making no advance. We remained in our new position across the Emmitsburg road until near daylight on the 5th, when we took up our march with the rest of the army toward Fairfield Gap and the Potomac.



DEVIL'S DEN, FACING LITTLE ROUND TOP.

KERSHAW'S BRIGADE AT GETTYSBURG.

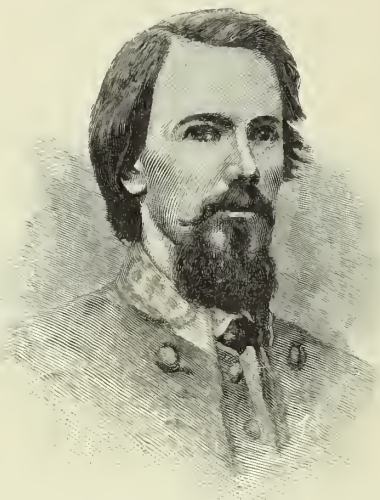
BY J. B. KERSHAW, MAJOR-GENERAL, C. S. A.

MY brigade, composed of South Carolinians,¹ constituted, with Semmes's, Wofford's, and Barksdale's brigades, the division of Major-General Lafayette McLaws, and that, with the divisions of Pickett and Hood, formed the First Corps of the Army of Northern Virginia, known as Longstreet's.

About sunset on the 1st of July we reached the top of the range of hills overlooking Gettysburg, from which could be seen and heard the smoke and din of battle, then raging in the distance. We encamped about midnight two miles from Gettysburg, on the left of the Chambersburg pike. On the 2d we were up and ready to move at 4 A. M., in obedience to orders, but, owing, as we understood at the time, to the occupancy of the road by trains of the Second Corps, Ewell's, did not march until about sunrise. With only a slight detention from trains in the way, we reached the high grounds near Gettysburg, and moved to the right of the Third Corps, Kershaw's brigade being at the head of the column, which was halted at the end of the lane leading to the Black Horse Tavern, situated some five hundred yards to our right. We lay there awaiting orders until noon, or an hour after. This position commanded a view of the Emmitsburg road about Kern's house, and during the morning a large body of troops, with flankers out in our direction, passed over that point and joined the Federal army. At length, General McLaws ordered me to move by a flank to the rear, get under the cover of the hill, and move along the bank of Marsh Creek toward the enemy, taking care to keep out of their view. In executing this order, we passed the Black Horse Tavern and followed the road leading from that point toward the Emmitsburg pike, until the head of column reached a point where the road passed over the top of a hill, from which our movement would have been plainly visible from the Federal signal station on Little Round Top. Here we were halted by General McLaws in person, while he and General Longstreet rode forward to reconnoiter. Very soon those gentlemen returned, both manifesting considerable irritation, as I thought. General McLaws ordered me

¹ The 2d, 3d, 7th, 8th and 15th South Carolina regiments, and the 3d South Carolina Battalion.—EDITORS.

to countermarch, and in doing so we passed Hood's division, which had been following us. We moved back to the place where we had rested during the morning, and thence by a country road to Willoughby Run, then dry, and down that to the school-house beyond Pitzer's. There we turned to the left through the lane, moving directly toward Little Round Top. General Longstreet here commanded me to advance with my brigade and attack the enemy at the Peach Orchard, which lay a little to the left of my line of march, some six hundred yards from us. I was directed to turn the flank of that position, extend my line along the road we were then in beyond the Emmitsburg pike, with my left resting on that road. At the same time a



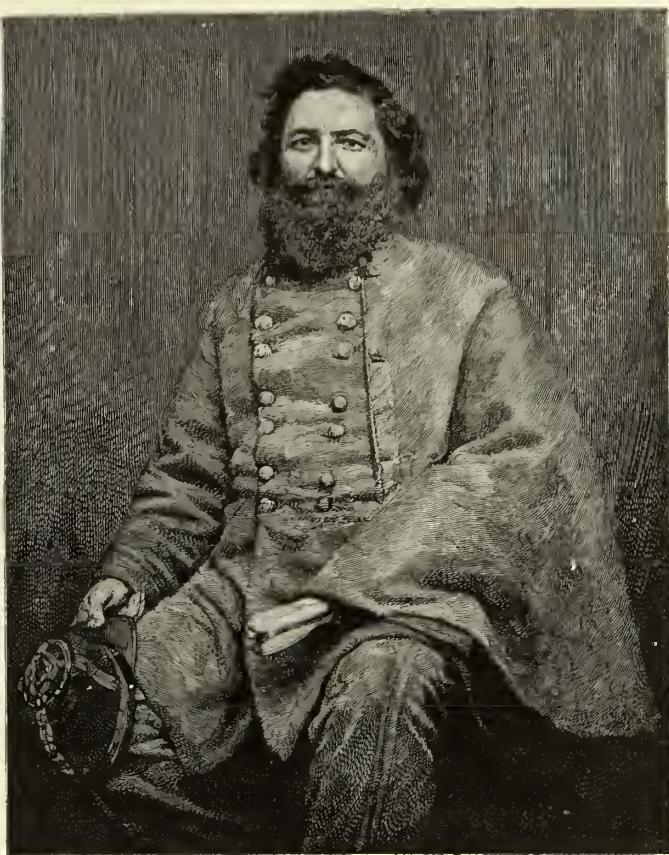
MAJOR-GENERAL E. M. LAW, C. S. A.
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

battery of artillery was moved alongside of the column, parallel to my line of march. At 3 P. M. the head of my column emerged from the woods, and came into the open field in front of the stone wall which extends along by Flaherty's farm, and to the east past Snyder's. Here we were in full view of the Federal position. Their main line appeared to extend from Little Round Top, where their signal flags were flying, until it was lost to sight far away to the left. An advanced line occupied the Peach Orchard, heavily supported by artillery, and extended from that point toward our left along the Emmitsburg road. The intervening ground was occupied by open fields, interspersed

and divided by stone walls. The position just here seemed almost impregnable. I immediately formed line of battle along the stone wall just mentioned, my left resting about Flaherty's house, and my right near Snyder's. This was done under cover of my skirmishers, who engaged those of the enemy near the Emmitsburg road. In the meantime I examined the position of the Federals with some care. I found them in superior force, strongly posted in the Peach Orchard, which bristled with artillery, with a main line of battle in their rear, apparently intrenched, and extending to, if not upon, Little Round Top, far beyond the point at which their left had been supposed to rest. To carry out my instructions would have been, if successful in driving the enemy from the Peach Orchard, to present my own right flank and rear to a large portion of the enemy's main line of battle. I therefore placed my command in position under the cover of the stone wall, and communicated the condition of matters to Major-General McLaws. The division was then formed on this line, Semmes's brigade two hundred yards in rear and supporting Kershaw's; Barksdale's on the left of Kershaw's, with Wofford's in Barksdale's rear supporting him. Cabell's battalion of artillery was placed along the wall to Kershaw's right, and the 15th South Carolina

regiment, Colonel de Saussure, was thrown to their right to support them on that flank.

In the meantime General Hood's division was moving in our rear to the right, to gain the enemy's left flank, and I was directed to commence the attack as soon as General Hood became engaged, swinging around toward the Peach Orchard, and at the same time establishing connection with Hood on my right, and coöperating with him. It was understood that he was to sweep down the Federal lines in a direction perpendicular to our line of battle. I was informed that Barksdale would move



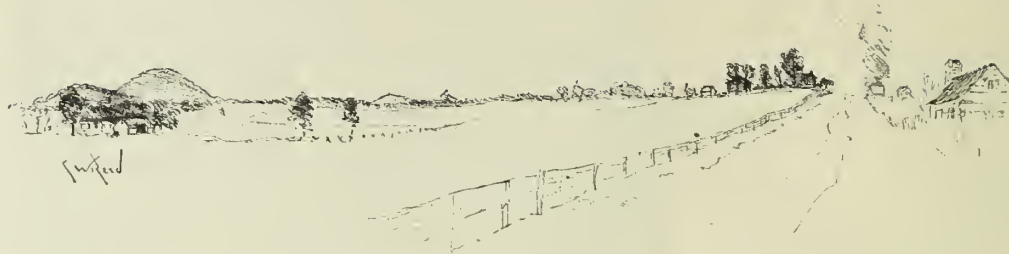
MAJOR-GENERAL LAFAYETTE McLAWS, C. S. A. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

with me and conform to my movement; that Semmes would follow me, and Wofford follow Barksdale. These instructions I received in sundry messages from General Longstreet and General McLaws, and in part by personal communication with them. In my center-front was a stone farm-house [supposed to be Rose's], with a barn also of stone. These buildings were about five hundred yards from our position, and on a line with the crest of the Peach Orchard hill.

The Federal infantry was posted along the front of the orchard, and also on the face looking toward Rose's. Six of their batteries were in position, three at the orchard near the crest of the hill, and the others about two hundred yards in rear, extending in the direction of Little Round Top. Behind Rose's was a morass, and, on the right of that, a stone wall running parallel with our line, some two hundred yards from Rose's. Beyond the morass was a stony hill, covered with heavy timber and thick undergrowth, interspersed with bowlders and large fragments of rock, extending some distance toward the Federal main line, and in the direction of Round Top, and to our left and in rear of the orchard and the batteries posted there. Beyond the stone wall last mentioned, and to the right of the stony hill, was a dense forest extending far to the right. From the morass a small stream ran into this wood and along the base of the mountain. Between the stony hill and

ROUND TOPS.

PEACH ORCHARD.



SICKLES'S POSITION AT THE PEACH ORCHARD, VIEWED FROM THE EMMITSBURG ROAD, LOOKING SOUTH.

This and the other outline sketches were made in 1885 by C. W. Reed, of Bigelow's 9th Mass. Battery.

the forest was an interval of about one hundred yards, only sparsely covered with a scrubby undergrowth, through which a narrow road led in the direction of the mountain. Looking down this road from Rose's a large wheat-field was seen. In rear of the wheat-field, and between that and the mountain, there was a heavy force of Federals, posted in line behind a stone wall. Under my instructions I determined to move upon the stony hill, so as to strike it with my center, and thus attack the orchard on its left rear. About 4 o'clock I received the order to move, at a signal from Cabell's artillery. They were to fire for some minutes, then pause, and then fire three guns in rapid succession. At this I was to move without further orders. I communicated these instructions to the commanders of each of the regiments in my command, directing them to convey them to the company officers. They were told, at the signal, to order the men to leap the wall without further orders, and to align the troops in front of it. Accordingly, at the signal, the men leaped over the wall and were promptly aligned; the word was given, and the brigade moved off at the word, with great steadiness and precision, followed by Semmes with equal promptness. General Longstreet accompanied me in this advance on foot, as far as the Emmitsburg road. All the field and staff officers were dismounted on account of the many obstacles in the way. When we were about the Emmitsburg road, I heard Barksdale's drums beat the assembly, and knew *then* that I should have no immediate support on my left, about to be squarely presented to the heavy force of infantry and artillery at and

ROSE'S HOUSE.



THE "WHEAT-FIELD," LOOKING TOWARD KERSHAW'S POSITION IN FRONT OF ROSE'S HOUSE.

PEACH ORCHARD.



THE PEACH ORCHARD, VIEWED FROM LONGSTREET'S EXTREME RIGHT ON THE EMMITSBURG ROAD.

in rear of the Peach Orchard. The 2d and 8th South Carolina regiments and James's (Third) battalion constituted the left wing of the brigade, and were then moving majestically across the fields to the left of the lane leading to Rose's, with the steadiness of troops on parade. They were ordered to change direction to the left, and attack the batteries in rear of the Peach Orchard, and accordingly moved rapidly on that point. In order to aid this attack, the direction of the 3d and 7th regiments was changed to the left, so as to occupy the stony hill and wood. After passing the buildings at Rose's, the charge of the left wing was no longer visible from my position; but the movement was reported to have been magnificently conducted until the cannoneers had left their guns and the caissons were moving off, when the order was given to "*move by the right flank*," by some unauthorized person, and was immediately obeyed by the men. The Federals returned to their guns and opened on these doomed regiments a raking fire of grape and canister, at short distance, which proved most disastrous, and for a time destroyed their usefulness. Hundreds of the bravest and best men of Carolina fell, victims of this fatal blunder. While this tragedy was being enacted, the 3d and 7th regiments were conducted rapidly to the stony hill. In consequence of the obstructions in the way, the 7th Regiment had lapped the 3d a few paces, and when they reached the cover of the stony hill I halted the line at the edge of the wood for a moment, and ordered the 7th to move by the right flank to uncover the 3d Regiment, which was promptly done. It was, no

CONFEDERATES MOVING
ABOUT DEVIL'S DEN.

PEACH ORCHARD.

POSITION OF CLARK'S, PHILLIPS'S
AND BIGELOW'S BATTERIES.SICKLES'S ANGLE AT THE PEACH ORCHARD, AS SEEN FROM THE ROAD LEADING FROM THE
WHEAT-FIELD TO THE PEACH ORCHARD.

doubt, this movement, observed by some one from the left, that led to the terrible mistake which cost so dearly.

The moment the line was rectified the 7th and 3d regiments advanced into the wood and occupied the stony hill, the left of the 3d Regiment swinging around and attacking the batteries to the left of that position, which, for the reasons already stated, had resumed their fire. Very soon a heavy column moved in two lines of battle across the wheat-field to attack my position in such manner as to take the 7th Regiment in flank on the right. The right wing of this regiment was then thrown back to meet this attack, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Bland. I then hurried in person to General Semmes, then 150 yards in my right rear, to bring him up to meet the attack on my right, and also to bring forward my right regiment, the 15th, commanded by Colonel W. D. de Saussure, which, separated from the brigade by the artillery at the time of the advance, was cut off by Semmes's brigade. In the act of leading his regiment, this gallant and accomplished commander of the 15th had just fallen when I reached it. He fell some paces in front of the line, with sword drawn, leading the advance.

General Semmes promptly responded to my call, and put his brigade in motion toward the right, preparatory to moving to the front. While his troops were moving he fell, mortally wounded. Returning to the 7th Regiment, I reached it just as the advancing column of Federals had arrived at a point some two hundred yards off, whence they poured into us a volley from their whole line, and advanced to the charge. They were handsomely received and entertained by this veteran regiment, which long kept them at bay in its front. One regiment of Semmes's brigade came at a double-quick as far as the ravine in our rear, and checked the advance of the Federals in their front. There was still an interval of a hundred yards, or thereabout, between this regiment and the right of the 7th, and into this the enemy was forcing his way, causing my right to swing back more and more; still fighting, at a distance not exceeding thirty paces, until the two wings of the regiment were nearly doubled on each other.‡

About this time, the fire of the battery on my left having ceased, I sent for the 2d South Carolina regiment to come to the right. Before I could hear anything of them the enemy had swung around and lapped my whole line at close quarters, and the fighting was general and desperate all along the line, and so continued for some time. These men were brave veterans who had fought from Bull Run to Gettysburg, and knew the strength of their position, and so held it as long as it was tenable. The 7th Regiment finally gave way, and I directed Colonel Aiken to re-form it at the stone wall about Rose's. I passed to the 3d Regiment, then hotly engaged on the crest of the hill, and gradually swung back its right as the enemy made progress around that flank. Semmes's advanced regiment had given way. One of his regiments had mingled with the 3d, and amid rocks and trees, within a few feet of each other, these brave men, Confederates and Federals, maintained a desperate

‡ The Union force engaged in this movement consisted of De Trobriand's brigade (Birney's division) of the Third Corps.—EDITORS.

conflict. The enemy could make no progress in front, but slowly extended around my right. Separated from view of my left, of which I could hear nothing, all my staff being with that wing, the position of the 15th Regiment being wholly unknown, the 7th having retreated, and nothing being heard of the other troops of the division, I feared the brave men around me would be surrounded by the large force of the enemy constantly increasing in numbers and all the while gradually enveloping us. In order to avoid such a catastrophe, I ordered a retreat to the buildings at Rose's. On emerging from the wood as I followed the retreat, I saw Wofford riding at the head of his fine brigade, then coming in, his left being in the Peach Orchard, which was then clear of the enemy. His movement was such as to strike the stony hill on the left, and thus turn the flank of the troops that had driven us from that position. On his approach the enemy retreated across the wheat-field, where, with the regiments of my left wing, Wofford attacked with great effect, driving the Federals upon and near to Little Round Top. I now ascertained that Barksdale had advanced upon the Peach Orchard after I had become engaged; that he had cleared that position with the assistance of my 8th South Carolina regiment, driving all before him, and, having advanced far beyond that point, until enveloped by superior forces, had fallen mortally wounded, and been left in the Federals' hands. He had passed too far to my left to afford me any relief except in silencing the batteries that had so cruelly punished my left. When Barksdale passed to the left, the regiments of my left wing moved up into the wood on the left of the stony hill, and maintained that position against heavy odds, until the advance of Wofford's brigade.

When the enemy fell back from the stony hill on General Wofford's advance, the 15th South Carolina and a portion of Semmes's brigade followed them and joined Wofford in his attack upon the retreating column. I rallied the remainder of my brigade and Semmes's at Rose's, with the assistance of Colonel Sorrel of Longstreet's staff, and advanced with them to the support of Wofford, taking position at the stone wall overlooking the forest to the right of Rose's house, some two hundred yards in front. Finding that Wofford's men were coming out, I retained them at that point to check any attempt of the enemy to follow. It was now near nightfall, and the operations of the day were over. That night we occupied the ground over which we had fought, with my left at the Peach Orchard, on the hill, and gathered the dead and wounded—a long list of brave and efficient officers and men. Captain Cunningham's company of the 2d Regiment was reported to have gone into action with forty men, of whom but four remained unhurt to bury their fallen comrades. My losses exceeded 600 men killed and wounded,—about one-half the force engaged.

A glance at the map [see pp. 299, 308] showing the positions occupied by the troops on the 2d of July, will reveal the remarkable fact that the stony hill and wood occupied by this brigade and part of Semmes's was assailed or defended by the Federal brigades of De Trobriand, Sweitzer, Tilton, and Zook, of the divisions of Birney, Barnes, and Caldwell, and of the Second, Third, and Fifth corps. Nowhere have I found any more forcible evidence

of the nature and magnitude of this struggle by McLaws's and Hood's divisions than is contained in General Meade's report. He says:

"About 3 P. M. I rode out to the extreme left. . . . Having found Major-General Sickles, I was explaining to him that he was too far in the advance, and discussing with him the propriety of withdrawing, when the enemy opened upon him with several batteries, in his front and flank, and immediately brought forward columns of infantry and made a vigorous assault. The Third Corps sustained the shock most heroically. Troops from the Second Corps were immediately sent by Major-General Hancock to cover the right flank of the Third Corps, and soon after the assault commenced the Fifth Corps most fortunately arrived and took position on the left of the Third, Major-General Sykes, commanding, immediately sending a force to occupy Round Top Ridge, where a most furious contest was maintained, the enemy making desperate but unsuccessful efforts to secure it. Notwithstanding the stubborn resistance of the Third Corps under Major-General Birney (Major-General Sickles having been wounded early in the action), superiority in numbers of corps of the enemy enabling him to outflank its advance position, General Birney was compelled to fall back and re-form behind the line originally designed to be held.

"In the meantime, perceiving the great exertions of the enemy, the Sixth Corps, Major-General Sedgwick, and part of the First Corps to the command of which I had assigned Major-General Newton, particularly Lockwood's Maryland Brigade, with detachments from the Second Corps, were all brought up at different periods, and succeeded, together with a gallant resistance of the Fifth Corps, in checking and finally repulsing the assault of the enemy, who retired in confusion and disorder about sunset, and ceased any further efforts on our extreme left."↓

These mighty shocks of contending armies were sustained, on our part, by two divisions of infantry numbering, with the artillery, not more than 10,000, or at the highest estimate 13,000 men.

Kershaw's brigade remained unemployed during the 3d of July, in the position it held the evening before, along the stony hill and wood. It will be evident to the reader that the causes of the failure of the operations here described to achieve greater results, may be reduced to one, to wit: the want of simultaneous movement and coöperation between the troops employed. A careful examination of all that has been written of that eventful series of battles will show that this was the cause of all the failures. Every attack was magnificent and successful, but failed in the end for the want of coöperation between corps, divisions, brigades, and, in some instances, regiments of the same brigade. The want of coöperation, or, as the Comte de Paris terms it, the want of "coördination," caused the loss of Gettysburg to the Confederates. It will be seen, too, that there was no loss of time on the part of McLaws's division, from the day it left Culpeper to that of its arrival at Gettysburg. If any ensued after that, it was due to circumstances wholly unknown to the writer. Certainly, the loss of time, if any, would not have lost the fight, if there had been perfect coöperation of all the troops. But, except to vindicate the truth, it is vain to inquire into the causes of our failure.

↓ In a supplementary report, General Meade amended this paragraph so as to include the First Division of the Twelfth Corps. Lockwood's brigade belonged to the Twelfth Corps, unattached.—EDITORS.



THE LAST CONFEDERATE GUN AT GETTYSBURG—ON LONGSTREET'S RIGHT, OPPOSITE ROUND TOP.

LEE'S RIGHT WING AT GETTYSBURG.

BY JAMES LONGSTREET, LIEUTENANT-GENERAL, C. S. A.

GETTYSBURG lies partly between Seminary Ridge on the west and Cemetery Ridge on the south-east, a distance of about fourteen hundred yards dividing the crests of the two ridges. As General Lee rode to the summit of Seminary Ridge and looked down upon the town he saw the Federals in full retreat and concentrating on the rock-ribbed hill that served as a burying-ground for the city. He sent orders to Ewell to follow up the success if he found it practicable and to occupy the hill on which the enemy was concentrating. As the order was not positive, but left discretion with General Ewell, the latter thought it better to give his troops a little rest and wait for more definite instructions. I was following Hill's Corps as fast as possible, and as soon as I got possession of the road went rapidly forward to join General Lee. I found him on the summit of Seminary Ridge watching the enemy concentrate on the opposite hill. He pointed out their position to me. I took my glasses and made as careful a survey as I could from that point. After five or ten minutes I turned to General Lee and said:

"If we could have chosen a point to meet our plans of operation, I do not think we could have found a better one than that upon which they are now concentrating. All we have to do is to throw our army around by their left, and we shall interpose between the Federal army and Washington. We can get a strong position and wait, and if they fail to attack us we shall have everything in condition to move back to-morrow night in the direction of Washington, selecting beforehand a good position into which we can place our troops to receive battle next day. Finding our object is Washington or that army, the Federals will be sure to attack us. When they attack, we shall beat them, as we proposed to do before we left Fredericksburg, and the probabilities are that the fruits of our success will be great."

"No," said General Lee; "the enemy is there, and I am going to attack him there."

I suggested that such a move as I proposed would give us control of the roads leading to Washington and Baltimore, and reminded General Lee of



LUTHERAN CHURCH ON CHAMBERSBURG STREET,
GETTYSBURG, USED AS A HOSPITAL.
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

our original plans. If we had fallen behind Meade and had insisted on staying between him and Washington, he would have been compelled to attack and would have been badly beaten. General Lee answered, "No; they are there in position, and I am going to whip them or they are going to whip me." I saw he was in no frame of mind to listen to further argument at that time, so I did not push the matter, but determined to renew the subject the next morning. It was then about 5 o'clock in the afternoon.

On the morning of the 2d I joined General Lee and again proposed the move to Meade's left and rear. He was still unwilling to consider the proposition, but soon left me and rode off to see General Ewell and to examine the ground on our left with a view to making the attack at that point. After making the examination and

talking to General Ewell, he determined to make the attack by the right, and, returning to where I was, announced his intention of so doing. His engineer officers had been along the line far enough to find a road by which the troops could move and be concealed from the Federal signal stations.

About 11 o'clock on the morning of the 2d he ordered the march, and put it under the conduct of his engineer officers, so as to be assured that the troops would move by the best route and encounter the least delay in reaching the position designated by him for the attack on the Federal left, at the same time concealing the movements then under orders from view of the Federals.

McLaws's division was in advance, with Hood following. After marching some distance there was a delay in front, and I rode forward to ascertain the cause, when it was reported to me that part of the road just in advance of us was in plain view of the Federal signal station on Round Top. To avoid that point the direction of the troops was changed. Again I found there was some delay, and ordering Hood's division, then in the rear, to move on and double with the division in front, so as to save as much time as possible, I went forward again to see the cause of the delay. It seemed there was doubt again about the men being concealed, when I stated that I could see the signal station, and there was no reason why they could not see us. It seemed to me useless, therefore, to delay the troops any longer with the idea of concealing the movement, and the two divisions advanced. As the line was deployed I rode along from left to right, examining the Federal position and putting my troops in the best position we could find. General Lee at the

same time gave orders for the attack to be made by my right — following up the direction of the Emmitsburg road toward the Cemetery Ridge, holding Hood's left as well as could be toward the Emmitsburg road, McLaws to follow the movements of Hood, attacking at the Peach Orchard the Federal Third Corps, with a part of R. H. Anderson's division following the movements of McLaws to guard his left flank. As soon as the troops were in position, and we could find the points against which we should march and give the guiding points, the advance was ordered — at half-past 3 o'clock in the afternoon. The attack was made in splendid style by both divisions, and the Federal line was broken by the first impact. They retired, many of them, in the direction of Round Top behind bowlders and fences, which gave them shelter, and where they received reënforcements.

This was an unequal battle. General Lee's orders had been that when my advance was made, the Second Corps (Ewell), on his left, should move and make a simultaneous attack; that the Third Corps (Hill) should watch closely and engage so as to prevent heavy massing in front of me. Ewell made no move

at all until about 8 o'clock at night, after the heat of the battle was over, his line having been broken by a call for one of his brigades to go elsewhere. Hill made no move whatever, save of the brigades of his right division that were covering our left.

When the battle of the 2d was over, General Lee pronounced it a success, as we were in possession of ground from which we had driven the Federals and had taken several field-pieces. The conflict had been fierce and bloody, and my troops had driven back heavy columns and had encountered a force three or four times their number,¹ but we had accomplished little toward victorious results. Our success of the first day had led us into



BRIGADIER-GENERAL PAUL SEMMES, C. S. A.,
MORTALLY WOUNDED, JULY 2.
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.



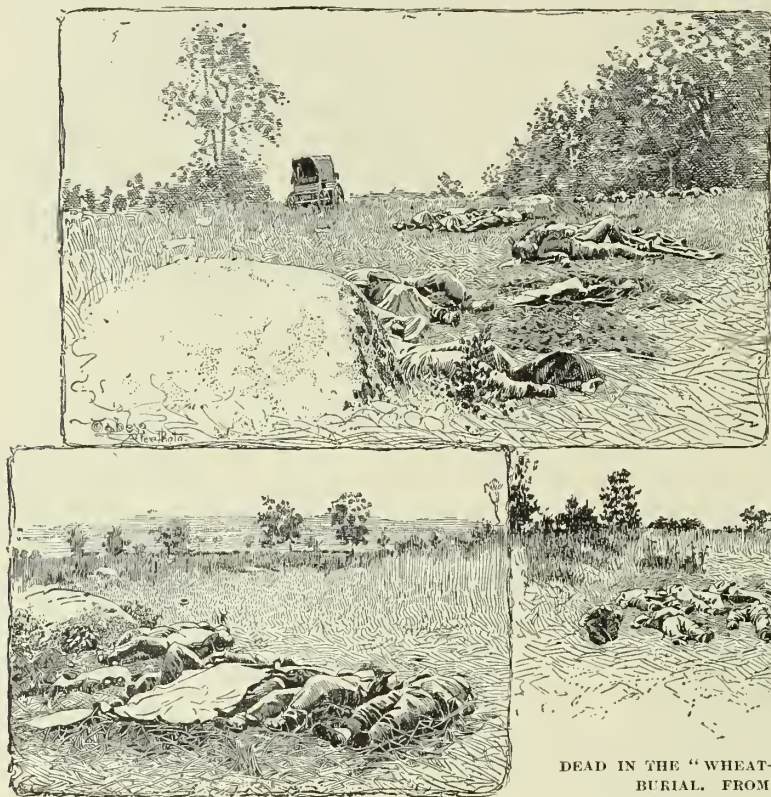
BRIGADIER-GENERAL WILLIAM BARKSDALE, C. S. A.,
WOUNDED JULY 2, DIED JULY 3.
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

¹General Meade's report shows that all of the Third and parts of the Second, Fifth, Sixth, and Twelfth corps were engaged in the second day's fight.—EDITORS.

battle on the 2d, and the battle on the 2d was to lead us into the terrible and hopeless slaughter on the 3d.

On the night of the 2d I sent to our extreme right to make a little reconnoissance in that direction, thinking General Lee might yet conclude to move around the Federal left. The morning of the 3d broke clear and indicated a day on which operations would not be interrupted by the elements. The Confederate forces still occupied Seminary Ridge, while the Federals occupied the range stretching from Round Top to Cemetery Hill and around Culp's Hill. The position of the Federals was quite strong, and the battle of

the 2d had concentrated them so that I considered an attack from the front more hazardous than the battle on the 2d had been. The Federals were concentrated, while our troops were stretched out in a long, broken—



DEAD IN THE "WHEAT-FIELD" GATHERED FOR BURIAL. FROM PHOTOGRAPHS.

and thus a weak—line. However, General Lee hoped to break through the Federal line and drive them off. I was disappointed when he came to me on the morning of the 3d and directed that I should renew the attack against Cemetery Hill, probably the strongest point of the Federal line. For that purpose he had already ordered up Pickett's division, which had been left at Chambersburg to guard our supply trains. In the meantime the Federals had placed batteries on Round Top, in position to make a raking fire against troops attacking the Federal front. Meade knew that if the battle was renewed it would be virtually over the same ground as my battle of the 2d. I stated to General Lee that I had been examining the ground over to the right, and was much inclined to think the best thing was to move to the Federal left.

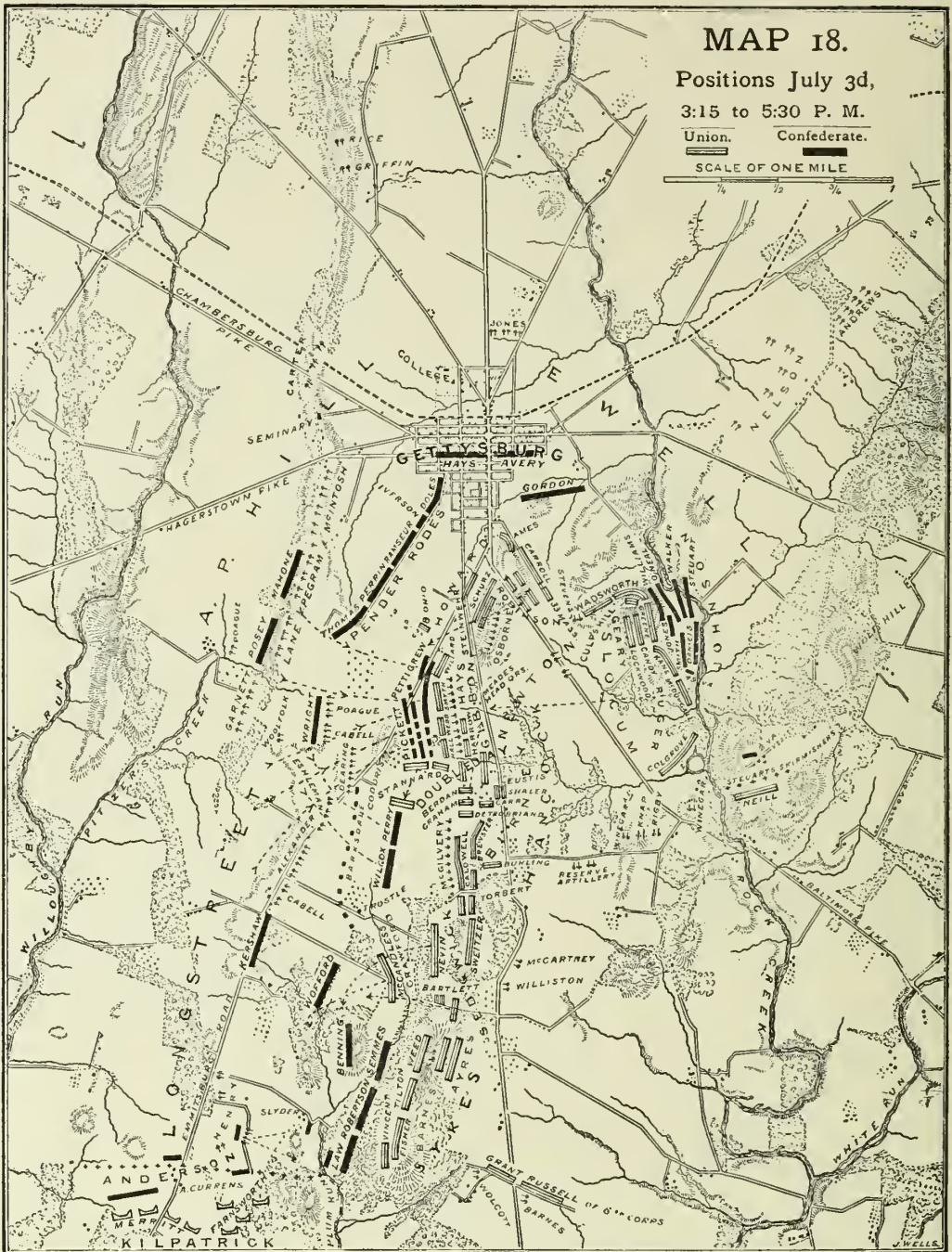
"No," he said; "I am going to take them where they are on Cemetery Hill. I want you to take Pickett's division and make the attack. I will reënforce

you by two divisions [Heth's under Pettigrew and Pender's under Trimble] of the Third Corps."

"That will give me fifteen thousand men," I replied. "I have been a soldier, I may say, from the ranks up to the position I now hold. I have been in pretty much all kinds of skirmishes, from those of two or three soldiers up to those of an army corps, and I think I can safely say there never was a body of fifteen thousand men who could make that attack successfully."

The general seemed a little impatient at my remarks, so I said nothing more. As he showed no indication of changing his plan, I went to work at once to arrange my troops for the attack. Pickett was put in position and received directions for the line of his advance as indicated by General Lee. The divisions of the Third Corps were arranged along his left with orders to take up the line of march, as Pickett passed before them, in short echelon. We were to open with our batteries, and Pickett was to move out as soon as we silenced the Federal batteries. The artillery combat was to begin with the rapid discharge of two field-pieces as our signal. As soon as the orders were communicated along the line, I sent Colonel E. P. Alexander (who was commanding a battalion of artillery and who had been an engineer officer) to select carefully a point from which he could observe the effect of our batteries. When he could discover the enemy's batteries silenced or crippled, he should give notice to General Pickett, who was ordered, upon receipt of that notice, to move forward to the attack. When I took Pickett to the crest of Seminary Ridge and explained where his troops should be sheltered, and pointed out the direction General Lee wished him to take and the point of the Federal line where the assault was to be made, he seemed to appreciate the severity of the contest upon which he was about to enter, but was quite hopeful of success. Upon receipt of notice, he was to march over the crest of the hill down the gentle slope and up the rise opposite the Federal stronghold. The distance was about fourteen hundred yards, and for most of the way the Federal batteries would have a raking fire from Round Top, while the sharp-shooters, artillery, and infantry would subject the assaulting column to a terrible and destructive fire. With my knowledge of the situation, I could see the desperate and hopeless nature of the charge and the cruel slaughter it would cause. My heart was heavy when I left Pickett. I rode once or twice along the ground between Pickett and the Federals, examining the positions and studying the matter over in all its phases so far as we could anticipate.

About 1 o'clock everything was in readiness. The signal guns broke the prevailing stillness, and immediately 150 Confederate cannon burst into a deafening roar, which was answered by a thunder almost as great from the Federal side. The great artillery combat proceeded. The destruction was, of course, not great; but the thunder on Seminary Ridge, and the echo from the Federal side, showed that both commanders were ready. The armies seemed like mighty wild beasts growling at each other and preparing for a death struggle. For an hour or two the fire was continued, and met such steady response on the part of the Federals, that it seemed less effective than



we had anticipated. I sent word to Alexander that unless he could do something more, I would not feel warranted in ordering the troops forward. After a little, some of the Federal batteries ceased firing, possibly to save ammunition, and Alexander thought the most suitable time for the advance had come. He sent word to Pickett, and Pickett rode to my headquarters. As he came up he asked if the time for his advance had come. I was convinced

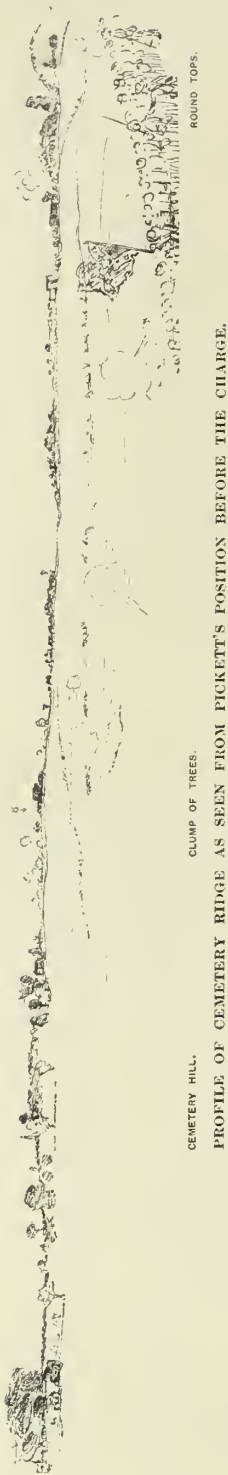
that he would be leading his troops to needless slaughter, and did not speak. He repeated the question, and without opening my lips I bowed in answer. In a determined voice Pickett said: "Sir, I shall lead my division forward." He then remounted his horse and rode back to his command. I mounted my horse and rode to a point where I could observe the troops as they marched forward. Colonel Alexander had set aside a battery of seven guns to advance with Pickett, but General Pendleton, from whom they were borrowed, recalled them just before the charge was ordered. Colonel Alexander told me of the seven guns which had been removed, and that his ammunition was so low he could not properly support the charge. I ordered him to stop Pickett until the ammunition could be replenished, and he answered, "There is no ammunition with which to replenish." In the hurry he got together such guns as he could to move with Pickett.

It has been said that I should have exercised discretion and should not have sent Pickett on his charge. It has been urged that I had exercised discretion on previous occasions. It is true that at times when I saw a certainty of success in another direction, I did not follow the orders of my general, but that was when he was not near and could not see the situation as it existed. When your chief is away, you have a right to exercise discretion; but if he sees everything that you see, you have no right to disregard his positive and repeated orders. I never exercised discretion after discussing with General Lee the points of his orders, *and* when, after discussion, he had ordered the execution of his policy. I had offered my objections to Pickett's battle and had been overruled, and I was in the immediate presence of the commanding general when the order was given for Pickett to advance. [See p. 355.]

That day at Gettysburg was one of the saddest of my life. I foresaw what my men would meet and would gladly have given up my position rather than share in the responsibilities of that day. It was thus I felt when Pickett at the head of 4900 brave men marched over the crest of Seminary Ridge and began his descent of the slope. As he passed me he rode gracefully, with his jaunty cap raked well over on his right ear and his long auburn locks, nicely dressed, hanging almost to his shoulders. He seemed rather a holiday soldier than a general at the head of a column which was about to make one of the grandest, most desperate assaults recorded in the annals of wars. Armistead and Garnett, two of his brigadiers, were veterans of nearly a quarter of a century's service. Their minds seemed absorbed in the men behind, and in the bloody work before them. Kemper, the other brigadier, was younger but had experienced many severe battles. He was leading my old brigade that I had drilled on Manassas plains before the first battle on that noted field. The troops advanced in well-closed ranks and with elastic step, their faces lighted



MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM D. PENDER,
WOUNDED JULY 2, DIED JULY 18.
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.



with hope. Before them lay the ground over which they were to pass to the point of attack. Intervening were several fences, a field of corn, a little swale running through it and then a rise from that point to the Federal stronghold. As soon as Pickett passed the crest of the hill, the Federals had a clear view and opened their batteries, and as he descended the eastern slope of the ridge his troops received a fearful fire from the batteries in front and from Round Top. The troops marched steadily, taking the fire with great coolness. As soon as they passed my batteries I ordered my artillery to turn their fire against the batteries on our right then raking my lines. They did so, but did not force the Federals to change the direction of their fire and relieve our infantry. As the troops were about to cross the swale I noticed a considerable force of Federal infantry moving down as though to flank the left of our line. I sent an officer to caution the division commanders to guard against that move, at the same time sending another staff-officer with similar orders so as to feel assured the order would be delivered. Both officers came back bringing their saddles, their horses having been shot under them. After crossing the swale, the troops kept the same steady step, but met a dreadful fire at the hands of the Federal sharpshooters; and as soon as the field was open the Federal infantry poured down a terrific fire which was kept up during the entire assault. The slaughter was terrible, the enfilade fire of the batteries on Round Top being very destructive. At times one shell would knock down five or six men. I dismounted to relieve my horse and was sitting on a rail fence watching very closely the movements of the troops. Colonel Fremantle, who had taken a position behind the Third Corps where he would be out of reach of fire and at the same time have a clear view of the field, became so interested that he left his position and came with speed to join me. Just as he came up behind me, Pickett had reached a point near the Federal lines. A pause was made to close ranks and mass for the final plunge. The troops on Pickett's left, although advancing, were evidently a little shaky. Colonel Fremantle, only observing the troops of Pickett's command, said to me, "General, I would not have missed this for anything in the world." He believed it to be a complete

success. I was watching the troops supporting Pickett and saw plainly they could not hold together ten minutes longer. I called his attention to the wavering condition of the two divisions of the Third Corps, and said they

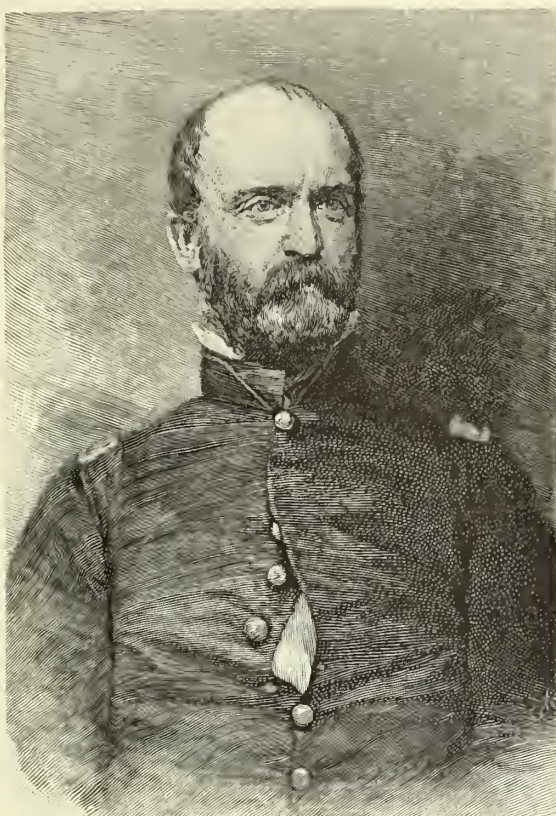
would not hold, that Pickett would strike and be crushed and the attack would be a failure. As Pickett's division concentrated in making the final assault, Kemper fell severely wounded. As the division threw itself against the Federal line Garnett fell and expired. The Confederate flag was planted in the Federal line, and immediately Armistead fell mortally wounded at the feet of the Federal soldiers. The wavering divisions then seemed appalled, broke their ranks, and retired. Immediately the Federals swarmed around Pickett, attacking on all sides, enveloped and broke up his command, having killed and wounded more than two thousand men in about thirty minutes. They then drove the fragments back upon our lines. As they came back I fully expected to see Meade ride to the front and lead

his forces to a tremendous counter-charge. Sending my staff-officers to assist in collecting the fragments of my command, I rode to my line of batteries, knowing they were all I had in front of the impending attack, resolved to drive it back or sacrifice my last gun and man. The Federals were advancing a line of skirmishers which I thought was the advance of their charge. As soon as the line of skirmishers came within reach of our guns, the batteries opened again and their fire seemed to check at once the threatened advance. After keeping it up a few minutes the line of skirmishers disappeared, and my mind was relieved of the apprehension that Meade was going to follow us.

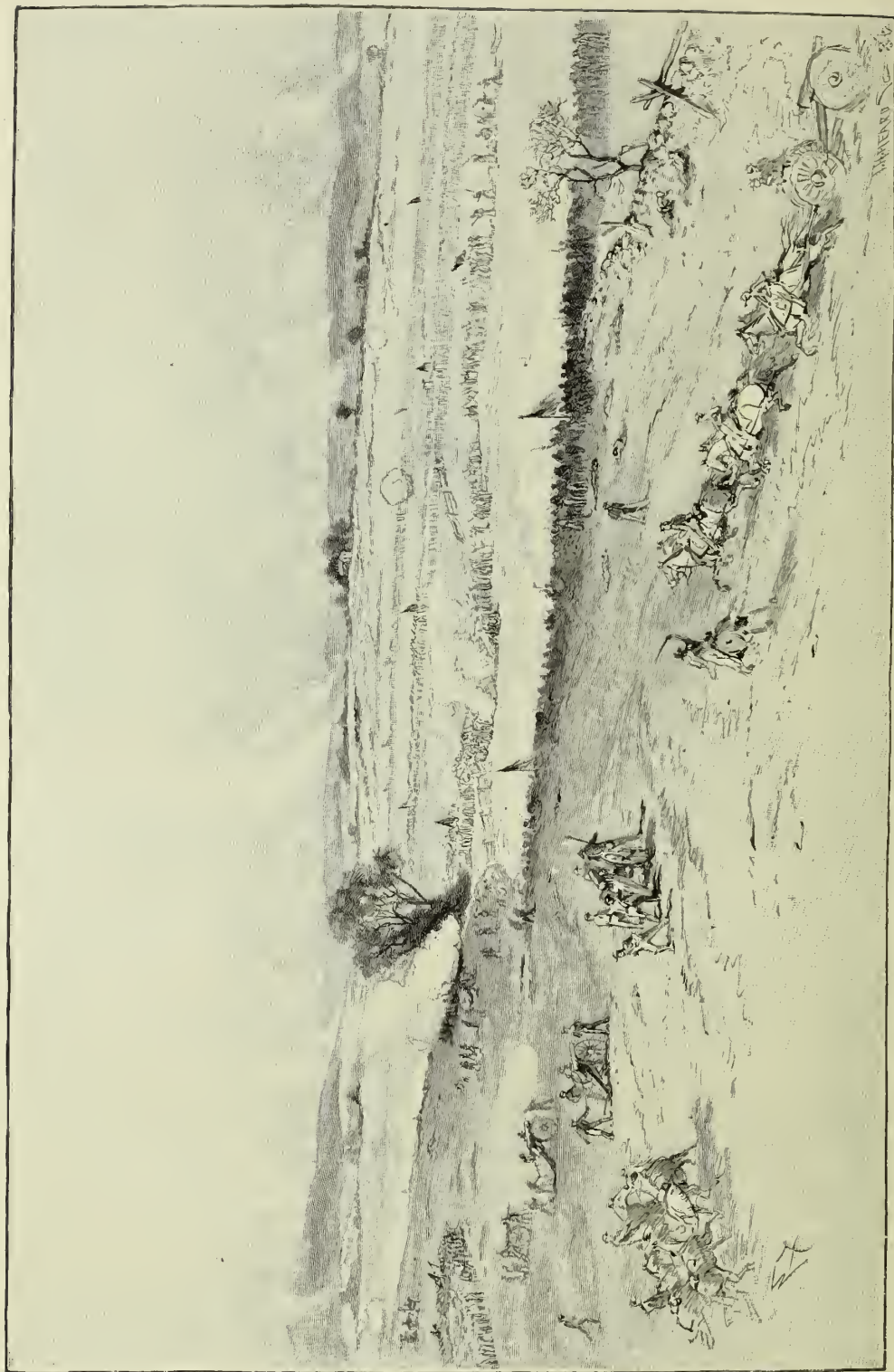
General Lee came up as our troops were falling back and encouraged them as well as he could; begged them to re-form their ranks and reorganize their forces, and assisted the staff-officers in bringing them all together again. It was then he used the expression that has been mentioned so often:

"It was all my fault; get together, and let us do the best we can toward saving that which is left us."

As our troops were driven back from the general assault an attack was made on my extreme right by several squadrons of cavalry, which succeeded in breaking through our line of pickets. They were met by a counter-move of the 9th Georgia and the well-directed fire of Captain Bachman's battery and driven back, the 11th and 59th Georgia joining in the counter-move.



BRIGADIER-GENERAL LEWIS A. ARMISTEAD, C. S. A.,
KILLED JULY 3. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.



THE CHARGE OF PICKETT, PETTIGREW, AND TRIMBLE. FROM A WAR-TIME SKETCH FROM THE UNION POSITION.

Finding that Meade was not going to follow us, I prepared to withdraw my line to a better defensive position. The batteries were withdrawn well over Seminary Ridge, and orders were sent to the right for McLaws's and Hood's divisions to be withdrawn to corresponding positions. The armies remained in position, the Confederates on Seminary Ridge extending around Gettysburg, the left also drawn back, the Federals on Cemetery Ridge, until the night of the 4th, when we took up the march in retreat for Virginia.

That night, while we were standing round a little fire by the roadside, General Lee said again the defeat was all his fault. He said to me at another time, "You ought not to have made that last attack." I replied, "I had my orders, and they were of such a nature there was no escape from them." During that winter, while I was in east Tennessee, in a letter I received from him he said, "If I only had taken your counsel even on the 3d, and had moved around the Federal left, how different all might have been."

The only thing Pickett said of his charge was that he was distressed at the loss of his command. He thought he should have had two of his brigades that had been left in Virginia; with them he felt that he would have broken the line.

While I was trying to persuade General Lee to turn the Federal left on the 1st of July, Halleck telegraphed Meade as follows:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., July 1st, 1863.

"The movements of the enemy yesterday indicate his intention to either turn your left, or to cover himself by the South Mountain and occupy Cumberland Valley. Do not let him draw you too far to the east."

Again on the same day:

" . . . Your tactical arrangements for battle seem good, so far as I can judge from my knowledge of the character of the country; but in a strategic view, are you not too far east, and may not Lee attempt to turn your left and cut you off from Frederick? Please give your full attention to this suggestion. . . . "

The next day, just thirty minutes before my assault, General Meade telegraphed General Halleck at 3 P. M.:

" . . . If I find it hazardous to do so [meaning to attack], or am satisfied that the enemy is endeavoring to move to my rear and interpose between me and Washington, I shall fall back to my supplies at Westminster. . . . "

From this we know that the ground of the Gettysburg cemetery could have been occupied without the loss of a man, yet even at this late day, some of the Virginians, not satisfied with the sacrifice already made, wish that I, who would and could have saved every man lost at Gettysburg, should now be shot to death.

If we had made the move around the Federal left, and taken a strong position, we should have dislodged Meade without a single blow; but even if we had been successful at Gettysburg, and had driven the Federals out of their stronghold, we should have won a fruitless victory, and returned to Virginia conquered victors. The ground they occupied would have been worth no more to us than the ground we were on. What we needed was a battle that

would give us decided fruits, not ground that was of no value. I do not think there was any necessity for giving battle at Gettysburg. All of our cavalry was absent, and while that has been urged by some as a reason why the battle should have been made at once, to my mind it was one of the strongest reasons for delaying the battle until everything was well in hand. The cause of the battle was simply General Lee's determination to fight it out from the position in which he was at that time. He did not feel that he was beaten on the second day, but that he was the victor, and still hoped he would be able to dislodge Meade; but he made a mistake in sending such a



MAJOR-GENERAL GEORGE E. PICKETT, C. S. A. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

small number of men to attack a formidable force in a position of great natural strength, reënforced by such temporary shelter as could be collected and placed in position to cover the troops. Lee's hope in entering the campaign was that he would be in time to make a successful battle north of the Potomac, with such advantages as to draw off the army at Vicksburg as well as the Federal troops at other points.

I do not think the general effect of the battle was demoralizing, but by a singular coincidence our army at Vicksburg surrendered to Grant on the 4th, while the armies of

Lee and Meade were lying in front of each other, each waiting a movement on the part of the other, neither victor, neither vanquished. This surrender, taken in connection with the Gettysburg defeat, was, of course, very discouraging to our superior officers, though I do not know that it was felt as keenly by the rank and file. For myself, I felt that our last hope was gone, and that it was now only a question of time with us. When, however, I found that Rosecrans was moving down toward Georgia against General Bragg, I thought it possible we might recover some of our lost prospects by concentrating against Rosecrans, destroying his army, and advancing through Kentucky.

General Lee evidently felt severely mortified and hurt at the failure, so much so that at times he was inclined to listen to some of those who claimed to be his friends, and to accept their proposition to find a scapegoat. He resisted them, however, and seemed determined to leave the responsibility on his own hands.

For several reasons I will take occasion here to answer some serious charges that have been made against me by men who claim to have been the friends of General Lee.

Mr. Jefferson Davis, in his "Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government" (p. 441, Vol. II.), quotes from a memorial address the old story of the Rev. W. N. Pendleton:

"The ground south-west of the town was carefully examined by me after the engagement on July 1st. Being found much less difficult than the steep ascent fronting the troops already up, its practicable character was reported to our commanding general. He informed me that he had ordered Longstreet to attack on that front at sunrise the next morning. And he added to myself, 'I want you to be out long before sunrise, so as to reëxamine and save time.'

"He also desired me to communicate with General Longstreet as well as with himself. The reconnoissance was accordingly made as soon as it was light enough on the 2d, and made through a long distance — in fact, very close to what there was of the enemy's line. No insuperable difficulty appearing, and the marching up — far off, the enemy's reënforcing columns being seen, the extreme desirableness of immediate attack there was at once reported to the commanding general; and, according to his wish, message was also sent to the intrepid but deliberate corps commander, whose sunrise attack there had been ordered. There was, however, unaccountable delay. My own messages went repeatedly to General Lee, and his I know was urgently pressed on General Longstreet until, as I afterward learned from officers who saw General Lee — as I could not at the time — he manifested extreme displeasure with the tardy corps commander. That hard-fighting soldier, to whom it had been committed there to attack early in the day, did not in person reach the commanding general and with him ride to a position whence to view the ground and see the enemy's arriving masses, until 12 o'clock, and his column was not up and ready for the assault until 4 P. M. All this, as it occurred under my personal observation, it is nothing short of imperative duty that I should thus fairly state."

Mr. Davis indorses the statement thus:

"For the reasons set forth by General Pendleton, whose statement in regard to a fact coming under his personal observation none who knew him will question, preparations for a general engagement were unfortunately delayed until the afternoon instead of being made at sunrise; then troops had been concentrated, and Round Top, the commanding position unoccupied in the morning, had received the force which inflicted such disaster on our assaulting columns. The question as to the responsibility for this delay has been so fully discussed in the 'Southern Historical Society Papers' as to relieve me from the necessity of entering into it."

As General Pendleton's lecture was the capital upon which it was proposed to draw funds for a memorial church, it was natural, perhaps, that Mr. Davis should, *as a sentiment*, claim the statements made as beyond question. Most Virginia writers on this subject have taken up and followed the false scent announced by General Pendleton. Outside that State, I believe Mr. Davis and General Wilcox are the only persons who do not spurn it as false. Facts connected with this battle have been so distorted and misrepresented that a volume of distinct maps must be written in order to make a demonstration, to the letter, of all its features.

General C. M. Wilcox, in an article in the number of the "Southern Historical Society Papers" for September, 1877, refers to the order for early attack, viz.:

"It has been asserted that General Longstreet was ordered to attack at daylight or early the next morning. Of this I have no knowledge personally, but am inclined to believe that he was so ordered."

But from the *official accounts* of Generals Pendleton and Wilcox [‡] we see that the right of General Lee's army was not deployed as far as the Fairfield road on the 1st of July, that General Pendleton did not pass beyond this road, and only noted the location of the ridge on the right from his position on the Fairfield road especially as likely to be important "toward a flank movement." With this idea in his mind he leaves us to infer that he left our right and moved over to our left to supervise the posting of artillery battalions just then coming up. Soon after General Pendleton passed from about the Fairfield road to our left, the division of General R. H. Anderson,—of the Third Corps,—led by the brigade of General C. M. Wilcox, filed off to the right from the Chambersburg road, marched in an oblique direction toward the Fairfield road, where it was halted for the night, lying in bivouac till the next day, the brigade of Wilcox being on picket or guard service during the night about a mile farther to the right. In the absence of other evidence, one might be at a loss to know which of these accounts was intended in a Pickwickian sense, but the account of General R. H. Anderson, who was guileless and truthful, supports the official reports. General A. A. Humphreys (of the other side), late chief of the United States Corps of Engineers, a man whose entire life and service were devoted to official accuracy, gives similar evidence in his official report. [‡]

All the subordinate reports on the Confederate side confirm the account by General Anderson, while the reports of subordinate officers on the Federal side conform to that of General Humphreys. It is conclusive therefore that the Confederates occupied no ground east of the Fairfield road till R. H. Anderson's division advanced on the morning of the 2d at 10 to find its position on the right of Hill's corps, after a clever fight between the 3d Maine and 1st U. S. Sharpshooters against the 10th and 11th Alabama regiments.

When it is remembered that my command was at the close of the first day's fight fifteen to twenty miles west of the field, that its attack as ordered was to be made along the east side of the Emmitsburg road, that no part of General Lee's army touched that road till 9 A. M. of the 2d, that up to that hour it was in possession of the Federals, and that their troops had been marching in by that road from early on the 1st till 8 A. M. on the 2d, it will be seen that General Pendleton's reconnoissance on the 1st was made, if made at all, by his passing through the Federal lines on the afternoon of the 1st and again on the morning of the 2d.

General Wilcox confesses want of personal information of the order for daylight or early attack, but expresses his confidence that the order was given. That is, he, occupying our extreme right on the 1st, on picket at a point considerably west of the Emmitsburg road, believes that General Lee ordered troops some fifteen or twenty miles off, and yet on the march, to pass his picket guard in the night to the point of attack, east of the Emmitsburg road, through the Federal lines, in order to make a daylight attack east of the road. While I am prepared to admit that General Lee ordered, at times,

[‡] "Official Records," Vol. XXVII., Part II., pp. 346, 616.

[‡] "Official Records," Vol. XXVII., Part I., p. 529.

desperate battles, I cannot admit that he, blindfold, ever led or ordered his next in rank, also blindfold, into night marches through the enemy's lines to gain position and make a battle at daylight next morning.

In articles formerly published on this charge of General Pendleton, masses of evidence were adduced showing that my column when ordered to the right, east of the Emmitsburg road, was conducted by General Lee's engineer officer; that when halted under the conduct of that officer I doubled the rear division on the leading one so as to save time; that my arrangements were promptly made, and that my attack was made many hours before any of our other troops were ready to obey their orders to coöperate. As I was the only one prepared for battle, I contended against the Federal army throughout the contest with two divisions and some misguided brigades sent to cover my left.

Colonel Taylor, of General Lee's staff, takes exception to the delay in the attack of Pickett on the last day under the impression that, had I attacked earlier and before Edward Johnson was driven from the Federal right, the latter might have held his ground longer and to some advantage to the Confederates. He seems to lose sight of the fact that General Lee, not I, was commanding our left under Johnson, and that he alone could order concert of action. On the 2d, notwithstanding his orders to move in concert with my attack at 4 p. m., Johnson did not go in till 8 at night, long after my battle was ended. Colonel Taylor thinks the forlorn-hope should have gone in sooner. The universal opinion now is that it should not have gone in at all; and, as already stated, that was the opinion General Lee expressed soon after the battle.

Some of our North Carolina troops seem to consider the less conspicuous part given them a reflection upon them as soldiers of true mettle and dash. This sensitiveness is not well founded. Every officer of experience knows that the best of veteran soldiers, with bloody noses from a fresh battle, are never equal to those going in fresh in their first stroke of the battle. Had Pickett's men gone through the same experience as the other troops on the 1st, they could not have felt the same zest for fighting that they did coming up fresh and feeling disparaged that the army had won new laurels in their absence. There is no doubt that the North Carolinians did as well as any soldiers could have done under the circumstances. I can truthfully attest that the old North State furnished as fine and gallant troops as any that fought in the Confederate ranks — and that is saying as much as can be said for soldiers. They certainly made sufficient sacrifice, and that was all we had left to do on that day.

During the Franco-Prussian war I kept a map of the field of operations with colored pegs, that were moved from day to day to indicate the movements of the two armies. Bazaine had been driven to shelter at Metz, McMahon had been driven back to the route leading from Paris to Metz and seemed in doubt whether he would go to Paris or to Bazaine's relief. He suffered himself to be forced north of the route between these points. On the morning that the wires brought us that information, two or three of the French Creoles of New Orleans visited my office to ask my views of the

movements then proceeding. I replied, "McMahon's army will be prisoners of war in ten days." They were very indignant and stated that I was a Republican and in sympathy with the Prussians. My reply was that I had only given them my solution of a military problem. The Prussians were on the shorter route to Paris or to Metz, so that if McMahon should attempt to move in either direction the Prussians, availing themselves of the shorter lines, would interpose and force McMahon to attack; but as he had already been so beaten and demoralized, that he could not be expected to make a successful attack and would therefore be obliged to surrender. If he had gone direct to Paris before giving up his shorter route, it is possible that he could have organized a succoring army for the relief of Metz.

Had we interposed between Meade and Washington our army in almost as successful prestige as was that of the Prussians, Meade would have been obliged to attack us wherever we might be pleased to have him. He would have been badly beaten like the French, and the result would have been similar. I do not mean to say that two governments would have been permanently established; for I thought before the war, and during its continuance, that the people would eventually get together again in stronger bonds of friendship than those of their first love.

THE CHARGE OF PICKETT, PETTIGREW, AND TRIMBLE.†

BY J. B. SMITH.

IN an address delivered by Colonel Andrew Cowan to his comrades at Gettysburg on the 3d of July, 1886, he, like nearly every other speaker and writer, ascribes all the praise of the Confederate charge of the third day to Pickett's division. He says: "Beyond the wall nothing but the gray-clad Virginians." He speaks of no other troops except Pickett's. Some writers have gone so far as to say Pickett made the immortal charge with five thousand Virginians, etc. Pickett's division was fresh, not having engaged the enemy on the first or second day, while the other troops of the assaulting body fought on the previous days with unsurpassed bravery, and some of the brigades were almost annihilated.

The grand assaulting column was formed in three divisions, and the divisions were commanded and led to the slaughter by Pickett, Pettigrew, and Trimble.

General George E. Pickett's division, composed of three brigades commanded by Generals Richard B. Garnett, Lewis A. Armistead, and James L. Kemper, was 4900 strong. Garnett fell during the progress of the charge while at the head of his column urging his men on. Armistead led his men through the terrific storm of battle to the base of the Federal works, and there he placed his cap on his sword and scaled the wall, appealing to his troops to follow him. A few of his disorganized men imitated his heroic example, and died at his feet. General Kemper was wounded in the charge.

General J. Johnston Pettigrew's command embraced the following brigades: Archer's Tennessee brigade, commanded by Colonel Fry, of the 13th Alabama; Pettigrew's North Carolina brigade, Jo Davis's Mississippi brigade, and Brock-enbrough's brigade of Virginians, aggregating five thousand troops. All were of Heth's division of A. P. Hill's corps. General Pettigrew was wounded in the charge, but he did not quit the field, and remained in command until he fell at Falling Waters.

I will now notice the conduct of Archer's Tennessee brigade. It opened the battle on the first day and lost its brave and gallant commander. While leading his men he was captured by a flank movement made by the enemy. The brigade suffered heavy losses in other ways on that day. When the grand assault was made on the 3d, the 1st and 7th Tennessee regiments made the first breach in the Federal works on Cemetery Hill, and they were the only organized regiments that entered into and beyond the enemy's walls.

The 14th Tennessee, after losing heavily on the first day, went into the grand charge with 375 men, and planted its colors on the stone wall and left them there. The heroic conduct of the 13th Alabama in that awful and trying scene has been carefully written up, and the record is in the archives of the Southern Historical Society, in its native State, and will be loved and admired as long as heroism is admired. It was Archer's worn, tattered, and bleeding brigade that fought the last

† From the "Bivouac" of March, 1887, and editorially revised.—EDITORS.

battle north of the Potomac — the battle of Falling Waters — where the lamented Pettigrew fell.

Davis's Mississippi brigade, that fought so gallantly on the first day, and crossed bayonets with the Iron Brigade, had a prominent part in the grand charge. The 2d Mississippi of that brigade lost half of its men on that day, but was still intact, ready and willing to fight, and its courage in the great charge has become a matter of history. Its battle-flag is in the possession of the old color-bearer, who lives at Blossom Prairie, Texas, and has the names of more than a score of battles stamped on it.

Seales's and Lane's North Carolina brigades, commanded by General Isaac R. Trimble, belonged to General W. D. Pender's division of A. P. Hill's corps, and were 2500 strong. General Pender was mortally wounded on the second day. When General Lee saw the men of Seales's brigade, bleeding from wounds received on the first day, he said, "Many of these poor fellows should go to the rear." When a brigade would fight under such circumstances as Seales's did, it ought not to be robbed of its military fame. General Trimble was wounded in the charge.

PRAIRIE GROVE, TEX.

A REPLY TO GENERAL LONGSTREET.

BY WILLIAM ALLAN, LIEUTENANT-COLONEL, C. S. A.

GENERAL LONGSTREET'S account of Gettysburg [see pp. 244, 339] is notable for its mistakes as well as for its attitude toward General Lee and others.

First. The statement that General Lee passed over more deserving officers from other States in order to give the command of his corps to Virginians is an unworthy attack upon a man who was as singularly free from such prejudices as he was from self-seeking, either during the war or after it. Lee said in a letter to President Davis, October 2d, 1862, at the close of the Antietam campaign:

"In reference to commanders of corps with the rank of lieutenant-general, of which you request my opinion, I can confidently recommend Generals Longstreet and Jackson, in this army. My opinion of the merits of General Jackson has been greatly enhanced during this expedition. He is true, honest, and brave; has a single eye to the good of the service, and spares no exertion to accomplish his object. Next to these two officers I consider General A. P. Hill the best commander with me. He fights his troops well and takes good care of them. At present I do not think that more than two commanders of corps are necessary for this army."

This was Lee's judgment after a campaign in which both the Hills and McLaws had served, and long before there was any question of making either of them a lieutenant-general. It would be about as just to accuse Lee of undue partiality to Georgia in making Longstreet his senior lieutenant, as it is to accuse him of partiality to Virginia in selecting A. P. Hill rather than D. H. Hill or McLaws for the command of his Third Corps.

Second. In regard to the battle of Gettysburg: The first day's fight was brought on unexpectedly to Lee. In the absence of Stuart he was not aware of the proximity of the Federal army. The first day's operations were very successful. Two of the seven infantry corps of the Federal army were virtually demolished, having been defeated and driven in disorder completely from the field, leaving many killed and wounded and several thousand prisoners to the victors.

Third. It was at the close of this day's work that General Lee, in view of its results, and of the indications it gave of the position of the Federal army, decided to follow up the fight. General Longstreet advised a movement across Meade's front

to threaten his left and rear. Such a movement would have been difficult in the absence of Stuart; it could not have been executed in the position then occupied by the army with sufficient promptness to surprise Meade; and if successful it simply would have forced the Federal army back to some position nearer Baltimore and Washington where the issue of battle was still to be tried. General Longstreet begs the question when he assumes that Meade would then have been obliged to attack at a disadvantage. General Lee decided that this plan did not promise as good results as to follow up the partial victory already gained. More than one-fourth of the Federal army was beaten. (Of the First and Eleventh corps that had numbered 20,931 on June 30th, not 5700 were in line on July 2d.) That army was not concentrated, and hours must elapse before its full strength could be marshaled for battle. The absent portions would reach the field jaded by forced marches, to meet the depressing news of the defeat of their comrades. Doubt and uncertainty would prevail, increased perhaps by the fact that the present Federal commander was so new in his place. Lee's troops were much more nearly up, only Pickett's division and Law's brigade being out of reach. Not to press the Union army was to lose the greater part of the advantage of the first day's victory. The Federals would soon recover from their depression if not pressed, and his own troops would be disappointed. Lee believed if he could attack early on the second day he would have but part of the Federal army to deal with, and that if he could repeat his success of the first day the gain would be great. He therefore determined upon attack. On the night of the 1st (not on the forenoon of the 2d, as General Longstreet has it) he decided, after a conference with Ewell and his division commanders, to make the attack early next day from his right with Longstreet's two divisions that were within reach, this attack to be supported by Hill and Ewell. (See Ewell's and Early's reports; Early's paper in "Southern Historical Society Papers," Vol. IV., p. 214; and Long's "Memoirs of Lee.")

Fourth. General Longstreet would have us infer that he was not ordered by General Lee to attack early on the second day; but that his memory is at

fault on this point has been abundantly shown by Generals Fitz Lee, Pendleton, Early, Wilcox, and many others. No testimony on this point is more direct and conclusive than that of General A. L. Long, then military secretary to General Lee. He says in his recently published "Memoirs of R. E. Lee" (page 277), that on the evening of the 1st, when General Lee had decided not to renew the attack on Cemetery Hill that day, he said (in Long's presence) to Longstreet and Hill: "Gentlemen, we will attack the enemy in the morning as early as practicable." Long continues: "In the conversation that succeeded he [Lee] directed them to make the necessary preparations and be ready for prompt action the next day." Long shows plainly that General Lee's design was to attack the troops in front before the whole Federal army could get up, and he describes graphically the impatience Lee showed next morning, as early as 9 A. M., at Longstreet's delay. General Longstreet is wrong, too, in giving the impression that his divisions were fifteen or twenty miles away on the night of the 1st, for in his official report he says that "McLaws's division . . . reached Marsh Creek, four miles from Gettysburg, a little after dark, and Hood's division [except Law's brigade] got within nearly the same distance of the town about 12 o'clock at night." Hood says he was with his staff "in front of the heights of Gettysburg shortly after daybreak" on the 2d, and his troops were close behind. Kershaw (of McLaws's division) says in his official report that on the 1st of July they "marched to a point on the Gettysburg road some two miles from that place, going into camp at 12 P. M."

General Longstreet, to explain his delay, besides the above reasons scrapes together a number of others,—such as the presence of some Federal scouts and pickets west of the Emmitsburg road, the movement of Sickles's rear-guard along that road, the presence of one of General Lee's engineers (who had been sent to give information, not to command his corps). No time need be wasted on these. The fact is that General Longstreet, though knowing fully the condition of things on the night of the 1st, knowing that Lee had decided to attack that part of the Federal army in his front, knowing that every hour strengthened Meade and diminished the chances of Confederate success, and knowing that his corps was to open the battle and deliver the main assault, consumed the time from daylight to nearly 4 P. M., on July 2d, in moving his troops about four miles, over no serious obstacle, and in getting them into battle. Meantime on the Federal side Hancock's corps, which had camped three miles from Gettysburg, reached the field by 6 or 7 A. M.; Sickles's two brigades that had been left at Emmitsburg came up by 9 A. M.; the rear of the Fifth Corps by midday, and the Sixth Corps, after a march of

thirty-two miles in thirty hours, by 2 P. M. Had Longstreet attacked not later than 9 or 10 A. M., as Lee certainly expected, Sickles's and Hancock's corps would have been defeated before the Sixth Corps and part of the Fifth arrived. Little Round Top (which, as it was, the Fifth Corps barely managed to seize in time) would have fallen into Confederate possession; and even if nothing more had been done this would have given the field to the Confederates, since the Federal line all the way to Cemetery Hill was untenable with Round Top in hostile hands.

Fifth. That Longstreet's attack when made was poorly seconded by the other corps may be true, and thus another chance of winning a complete victory on July 2d was lost, but this does not change the fact that the first and great opportunity of that day for the Confederates was lost by Longstreet's delay.

Sixth. Victory on the third day was for the Confederates a far more difficult problem than on the second, but it was still within their reach. But one need not be surprised at the failure of Pickett's attack after reading of the hesitation, the want of confidence and hearty coöperation, with which General Longstreet directed it. Lee never intended that Pickett, Pettigrew, and Trimble should fight unsupported by the remainder of the army. He expected "that with proper concert of action . . . we should ultimately succeed." (Lee's report.) Longstreet was directed to use his whole corps, and when he felt embarrassed by the Federal forces on or near the Round Tops he was given a division and a half from A. P. Hill's corps, with power to call for more. General Long says: "The original intention of General Lee was that Pickett's attack should be supported by the divisions of McLaws and Hood, and General Longstreet was so ordered." ("Memoirs of Lee," p. 294. See also statements of Colonels Venable and Taylor, "Four Years with General Lee," p. 108.) Lee's efforts for a concerted attack were ineffectual. Pickett was overwhelmed not by troops in front but by those on his flanks, especially by those on his right flank, where Wilcox was sent forward too late to be of use, and where he was too weak to have effected much at best. Yet Longstreet did not use any part of Hood's and McLaws's divisions to support Pickett, or to make a diversion in his favor, or to occupy the troops on his flank which finally defeated him. These divisions were practically idle, except that one of Hood's brigades was occupied in driving off the Federal cavalry which made a dash on that flank. Longstreet, in a word, sent forward one-third of his corps to the attack, but the remainder of his troops did not coöperate. And yet he reproaches Lee for the result!

MCDONOGH, MD., February 16th, 1887.



CHARGE OF
ALEXANDER'S ARTILLERY.
SEE PAGE 360.

THE GREAT CHARGE AND ARTILLERY FIGHTING AT GETTYSBURG.

BY E. PORTER ALEXANDER, BRIGADIER-GENERAL, C. S. A.

THE Reserve Artillery of Longstreet's corps, in the Gettysburg campaign, consisted of the Washington Artillery of New Orleans, then under Major Eshleman, nine guns, and my own battalion of twenty-six guns. Besides these, the artillery of the corps comprised Cabell's, Henry's, and Dearing's battalions of eighteen guns each. The latter battalions were usually attached, on the march, respectively to McLaws's, Hood's, and Pickett's divisions of infantry.

On the first of July, 1863, the Reserve Artillery was encamped near Greenwood, and we had no idea that the great battle of the campaign had already opened about eighteen miles away. Early in the night, however, rumors reached us that Hill's corps had been heavily engaged, and that Ewell's had come to his assistance; that the enemy had been driven some distance, but had finally made a stand in a very strong position. These rumors were soon followed by orders for the artillery to march at 1 o'clock for the front. There was little time for sleep before taking the road, and I think but few improved even that little. There was the usual lively interest, of course, to hear of the personal fortunes of friends in the two corps which had been engaged. Who was killed and who safe? Then there was no one so dull as not to appreciate the tremendous gravity to us of the results of the battle which the next day was to bring. We had penetrated farther into the enemy's country than ever before. Our only communication with our arsenals and depots was by an unguarded wagon-road to Staunton, Virginia, about two hundred miles, over mountains and across unbridged rivers; much of it through a hostile country, and all of it liable to cavalry raids by the enemy. But we felt that we were now, somehow, nearer the enemy's heart than we had ever been before,—within easy reach of some vital part,—and that a blow struck now must have many times the effect it would have if given in Virginia against only an invading army. Our confidence in Lee was, of course, supreme, and the opportune arrival of Ewell to Hill's aid gave fresh confirmation of

the skill that would direct our efforts. There seemed to be a prevalent feeling that fortune now favored us and that victory or defeat now depended solely on ourselves.

Except in equipment, I think a better army, better nerved up to its work, never marched upon a battle-field. But many of our infantry still carried smooth-bore muskets, and our artillery ammunition was inferior, especially that of the rifles. The Confederacy did not have the facilities for much nice work of that sort, and we had to take what we could get without rigid inspection. How our rifled batteries always envied our friends in the opposition their abundant supply of splendid ammunition! For an unreliable fuse or a rifle-shell which "tumbles" sickens not only the gunner but the whole battery, more than "misfires" at large game dishearten a sportsman. There is no encouragement to careful aiming when the ammunition fails, and the men feel handicapped. But for all our confidence that Providence had now at last consented to "come down and take a proper view of the situation," as one of our good chaplains used to pray, there was a very natural anxiety to know how the enemy had fought the day before at Gettysburg. As we met the wounded and staff-officers who had been in the action, I remember many questions asked on that subject. There was no great comfort to be derived from the answers, which were generally in profane simile. Indeed, I have heard survivors of the war say since that some of the Federal fighting that day equaled or surpassed any they ever saw from first to last.

We marched quite steadily, with a good road and a bright moon, until about 7 A. M. on the 2d, when we halted in a grassy open grove about a mile west of Seminary Ridge, and fed and watered. Here, soon afterward, I was sent for by General Longstreet, and, riding forward, found him with General Lee on Seminary Ridge. Opposite, about a mile away, on Cemetery Ridge, overlooking the town, lay the enemy, their batteries making considerable display, but their infantry, behind stone walls and ridges, scarcely visible. In between us were only gentle rolling slopes of pasture and wheat-fields, with a considerable body of woods to the right and front. The two Round Tops looked over everything, and a signal-flag was visible on the highest. Instinctively the idea arose, "If we could only take position here and have them attack us through this open ground!" But I soon learned that we were in no such luck — the boot, in fact, being upon the other foot.

It was explained to me that our corps was to assault the enemy's left flank, and I was directed to reconnoiter it and then to take charge of all the artillery of the corps and direct it in the attack, leaving my own battalion to the command of Major Huger. I was particularly cautioned, in moving the artillery, to keep it out of sight of the signal-station upon Round Top.†

†This suggests the remark that I have never understood why the enemy abandoned the use of military balloons early in 1863, after having used them extensively up to that time. Even if the observers never saw anything, they would have been worth all they cost for the annoyance and delays they caused us in trying to keep our move-

ments out of their sight. That wretched little signal-station upon Round Top that day caused one of our divisions to lose over two hours, and probably delayed our assault nearly that long. During that time a Federal corps arrived near Round Top and became an important factor in the action which followed.—E. P. A.



CONFEDERATE ARTILLERYMEN AT DINNER.

I immediately started on my reconnoissance, and in about three hours had a good idea of all the ground, and had Cabell's, Henry's, and my own battalions parked near where our infantry lines were to be formed and the attack begun. Dearing's battalion with Pickett's infantry was not yet up, and the Washington Artillery was left in reserve.

Through some blunder, part of our infantry had been marched on a road that brought them in sight of Round Top, and instead of taking to the fields and hollows, they had been halted for an hour, and then had been counter-marched and sent around by a circuitous road, via Black Horse Tavern, about five miles out of the way, thereby losing at least two hours.

We waited quite a time for the infantry, and I think it was about 4 o'clock when at last the word was given for Hood's division to move out and endeavor to turn the enemy's left, while McLaws awaited the development of Hood's attack, ready to assault the Peach Orchard. Henry's battalion moved out with Hood and was speedily and heavily engaged; Cabell was ready to support him, and at once went into action near Snyder's house, about seven hundred yards from the Peach Orchard.

The Federal artillery was ready for us and in their usual full force and good practice. The ground at Cabell's position gave little protection, and he suffered rapidly in both men and horses. To help him I ran up Hunger with 18 guns of my own 26, to Warfield's house, within 500 yards of the Peach Orchard, and opened upon it. This made fifty-four guns in action, and I hoped they would crush that part of the enemy's line in a very short time,

but the fight was longer and hotter than I expected. So accurate was the enemy's fire, that two of my guns were fairly dismounted, and the loss of men was so great that I had to ask General Barksdale, whose brigade was lying down close behind in the wood, for help to handle the heavy 24-pounder howitzers of Moody's battery. He gave me permission to call for volunteers, and in a minute I had eight good fellows, of whom, alas! we buried two that night, and sent to the hospital three others mortally or severely wounded. At last I sent for my other two batteries, but before they arrived McLaws's division charged past our guns, and the enemy deserted their line in confusion. Then I believed that Providence was indeed "taking the proper view," and that the war was very nearly over. Every battery was limbered to the front, and the two batteries from the rear coming up, all six charged in line across the plain and went into action again at the position the enemy had deserted. I can recall no more splendid sight, on a small scale,—and certainly no more inspiring moment during the war,—than that of the charge of these six batteries. An artillerist's heaven is to follow the routed enemy, after a tough resistance, and throw shells and canister into his disorganized and fleeing masses. Then the explosions of the guns sound louder and more powerful, and the very shouts of the gunners, ordering "Fire!" in rapid succession, thrill one's very soul. There is no excitement on earth like it. It is far prettier shooting than at a compact, narrow line of battle, or at another battery. Now we saw our heaven just in front, and were already breathing the very air of victory. Now we would have our revenge, and make them sorry they had staid so long. Everything was in a rush. The ground was generally good, and pieces and caissons went at a gallop, some cannoneers mounted, and some running by the sides—not in regular line, but a general race and scramble to get there first.

But we only had a moderately good time with Sickles's retreating corps after all. They fell back upon fresh troops in what seemed a strong position extending along the ridge north of Round Top. Hood's troops under Law gained the slope of Little Round Top, but were driven back to its base. Our infantry lines had become disjointed in the advance, and the fighting became a number of isolated combats between brigades. The artillery took part wherever it could, firing at everything in sight, and a sort of pell-mell fighting lasted until darkness covered the field and the fuses of the flying shells looked like little meteors in the air. But then both musketry and artillery slackened off, and by 9 o'clock the field was silent. It was evident that we had not finished the job, and would have to make a fresh effort in the morning. The firing had hardly ceased when my faithful little darkey, Charlie, came up hunting for me, with a fresh horse, affectionate congratulations on my safety, and, what was equally acceptable, something to eat. Negro servants hunting for their masters were a feature of the landscape that night. I then found General Longstreet, learned what I could of the fortunes of the day on other parts of the field, and got orders for the morning. They were, in brief, that our present position was to be held and the attack renewed as soon as Pickett arrived, and he was expected early.



CONFEDERATES WAITING FOR THE END OF THE ARTILLERY DUEL.

There was a great deal to do meanwhile. Our sound horses were to be fed and watered, those killed and disabled were to be replaced from the wagon-teams, ammunition must be replenished, and the ground examined and positions of batteries rectified. But a splendid moon made all comparatively easy, and greatly assisted, too, in the care of the wounded, many of whom, both our own and the enemy's, lay about among our batteries nearly all night. About 1 o'clock I made a little bed of fence-rails, as preferable to the trampled ground in the Peach Orchard, and got two hours' sleep. At 3 I began to put the batteries in position again and was joined by the Washington Artillery, which had been in reserve the day before. As daylight came I found I had placed about twenty guns so that the enemy's batteries on Cemetery Hill enfiladed the line, and I had a panic, almost, for fear the enemy would discover my blunder and open before I could rectify it. They could not, perhaps, see down into the valley as early as I could see them, and all was right before they opened. They never could have resisted the temptation to such pot-shooting. Apparently to feel us, they fired a few shots, and hit one or two men and some horses; but we did not respond, wanting to save our ammunition for the real work, and we were grateful to them for their moderation, our ground being very unfavorable as regarded shelter.

Early in the morning General Lee came around, and I was then told that we were to assault Cemetery Hill, which lay rather to our left. This necessitated a good many changes of our positions, which the enemy did not altogether approve of, and they took occasional shots at us, though we shifted about, as

inoffensively as possible, and carefully avoided getting into bunches. But we stood it all meekly, and by 10 o'clock, Dearing having come up, we had seventy-five guns in what was virtually one battery, so disposed as to fire on Cemetery Hill and the batteries south of it, which would have a fire on our advancing infantry. Pickett's division had arrived, and his men were resting and eating. Along Seminary Ridge, a short distance to our left, were sixty-three guns of A. P. Hill's corps, under Colonel R. L. Walker. As their distance was a little too great for effective howitzer fire, General Pendleton offered me the use of nine howitzers belonging to that corps. I accepted them, intending to take them into the charge with Pickett; so I put them in a hollow behind a bit of wood, with no orders but to wait there until I sent for them. About 11, some of Hill's skirmishers and the enemy's began fighting over a barn between the lines, and gradually his artillery and the enemy's took part, until over a hundred guns were engaged, and a tremendous roar was kept up for quite a time. But it gradually died out, and the whole field became as silent as a churchyard until 1 o'clock. The enemy, aware of the strength of his position, simply sat still and waited for us. It had been arranged that when the infantry column was ready, General Longstreet should order two guns fired by the Washington Artillery.† On that signal all our guns were to open on Cemetery Hill and the ridge extending toward Round Top, which was covered with batteries. I was to observe the fire and give Pickett the order to charge. I accordingly took position, about 12, at the most favorable point, just on the left of the line of guns and with one of Pickett's couriers with me. Soon after I received the following note from Longstreet:

"COLONEL: If the artillery fire does not have the effect to drive off the enemy or greatly demoralize him, so as to make our efforts pretty certain, I would prefer that you should not advise General Pickett to make the charge. I shall rely a great deal on your good judgment to determine the matter, and shall expect you to let General Pickett know when the moment offers."

This note rather startled me. If that assault was to be made on General Lee's judgment it was all right, but I did not want it made on mine. I wrote back to General Longstreet to the following effect:

"GENERAL: I will only be able to judge of the effect of our fire on the enemy by his return fire, for his infantry is but little exposed to view and the smoke will obscure the whole field. If, as I infer from your note, there is any alternative to this attack, it should be carefully considered before opening our fire, for it will take all the artillery ammunition we have left to test this one thoroughly, and, if the result is unfavorable, we will have none left for another effort. And even if this is entirely successful, it can only be so at a very bloody cost."

†In the "United Service Magazine" for August, 1885, Lieutenant-Colonel William Miller Owen, of the Washington Artillery, says:

"Returning to the position of the Washington Artillery, we all quietly awaited the order to open the ball. At 1:30 P. M. a courier dashed up in great haste, holding a little slip of paper, torn evidently from a memorandum-book, on which, written in pencil and addressed to Colonel Walton, was the following:

"HEADQUARTERS, July 3d, 1863. Colonel: Let the batteries open. Order great care and precision in firing. If the batteries at the Peach Orchard cannot be used against the point we intend attacking, let them open on the enemy on the

rocky hill. Most respectfully, J. LONGSTREET, Lieutenant-General Commanding."

"The order to fire the signal-gun was immediately communicated to Major Eshleman, commanding the Washington Artillery, and the report of the first gun rang out upon the still summer air. There was a moment's delay with the second gun, a friction-primer having failed to explode. It was but a little space of time, but a hundred thousand men were listening. Finally a puff of smoke was seen at the Peach Orchard, then came a roar and a flash, and 138 pieces of Confederate artillery opened upon the enemy's position, and the deadly work began with the noise of the heaviest thunder."

EDITORS.

To this presently came the following reply :

“COLONEL: The intention is to advance the infantry if the artillery has the desired effect of driving the enemy’s off, or having other effect such as to warrant us in making the attack. When the moment arrives advise General Pickett, and of course advance such artillery as you can use in aiding the attack.”

I hardly knew whether this left me discretion or not, but at any rate it seemed decided that the artillery must open. I felt that if we went that far we could not draw back, but the infantry must go too. General A. R. Wright, of Hill’s corps, was with me looking at the position when these notes were received, and we discussed them together. Wright said, “It is not so hard to *go* there as it looks; I was nearly there with my brigade yesterday. The trouble is to *stay* there. The whole Yankee army is there in a bunch.”

I was influenced by this, and somewhat by a sort of camp rumor which I had heard that morning, that General Lee had said that he was going to send every man he had upon that hill. At any rate, I assumed that the question of supports had been well considered, and that whatever was possible would be done. But before replying I rode to see Pickett, who was with his division a short distance in the rear. I did not tell him my object, but only tried to guess how he felt about the charge. He seemed very sanguine, and thought himself in luck to have the chance. Then I felt that I could not make any delay or let the attack suffer by any indecision on my part. And, that General Longstreet might know my intention, I wrote him only this: “GENERAL: When our artillery fire is at its best, I shall order Pickett to charge.”

Then, getting a little more anxious, I decided to send for the nine howitzers and take them ahead of Pickett up nearly to musket range, instead of following close behind him as at first intended; so I sent a courier to bring them up in front of the infantry, but under cover of the wood. The courier could not find them. He was sent again, and only returned after our fire was opened, saying they were gone. I afterward learned that General Pendleton had sent for a part of them, and the others had moved to a neighboring hollow to get out of the line of the enemy’s fire at one of Hill’s batteries during the artillery duel they had had an hour before.

At exactly 1 o’clock by my watch the two signal-guns were heard in quick succession. In another minute every gun was at work. The enemy were not slow in coming back at us, and the grand roar of nearly the whole artillery of both armies burst in on the silence, almost as suddenly as the full notes of an organ would fill a church. [See p. 371.]

The artillery of Ewell’s corps, however, took only a small part, I believe, in this, as they were too far away on the other side of the town. Some of them might have done good service from positions between Hill and Ewell, enfilading the batteries fighting us. The opportunity to do that was the single advantage in our having the exterior line, to compensate for all its disadvantages. But our line was so extended that all of it was not well studied, and the officers of the different corps had no opportunity to examine each other’s ground for chances to coöperate.

The enemy's position seemed to have broken out with guns everywhere, and from Round Top to Cemetery Hill was blazing like a volcano. The air seemed full of missiles from every direction. The severity of the fire may be illustrated by the casualties in my own battalion under Major Huger.

Under my predecessor, General S. D. Lee, the battalion had made a reputation at the Second Manassas and also at Sharpsburg. At the latter battle it had a peculiarly hard time fighting infantry and superior metal nearly all day, and losing about eighty-five men and sixty horses. Sharpsburg they



MAJOR-GENERAL CADMUS M. WILCOX, C. S. A.
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

called "artillery hell." At Gettysburg the losses in the same command, including the infantry that volunteered to help serve the guns, were 144 men and 116 horses, nearly all by artillery fire. Some parts of the Federal artillery suffered in the same proportion under our fire. I heard of one battery losing 27 out of 36 horses in 10 minutes.

Before the cannonade opened I had made up my mind to give Pickett the order to advance within fifteen or twenty minutes after it began. But when I looked at the full development of the enemy's batteries, and knew that his infantry was generally protected from our fire by stone walls and swells of the ground, I could not bring

myself to give the word. It seemed madness to launch infantry into that fire, with nearly three-quarters of a mile to go at midday under a July sun. I let the 15 minutes pass, and 20, and 25, hoping vainly for something to turn up. Then I wrote to Pickett: "If you are coming at all you must come at once, or I cannot give you proper support; but the enemy's fire has not slackened at all; at least eighteen guns are still firing from the cemetery itself." Five minutes after sending that message, the enemy's fire suddenly began to slacken, and the guns in the cemetery limbered up and vacated the position.

We Confederates often did such things as that to save our ammunition for use against infantry, but I had never before seen the Federals withdraw their guns simply to save them up for the infantry fight. So I said, "If he does not run fresh batteries in there in five minutes, this is our fight." I looked anxiously with my glass, and the five minutes passed without a sign of life on the deserted position, still swept by our fire, and littered with dead men and horses and fragments of disabled carriages. Then I wrote Pickett, urgently: "For God's sake, come quick. The eighteen guns are gone; come quick, or my ammunition won't let me support you properly."

I afterward heard from others what took place with my first note to Pickett.

Pickett took it to Longstreet, Longstreet read it, and said nothing. Pickett said, "General, shall I advance?" Longstreet, knowing it had to be, but

unwilling to give the word, turned his face away. Pickett saluted and said, "I am going to move forward, sir," galloped off to his division and immediately put it in motion. †

Longstreet, leaving his staff, came out alone to where I was. It was then about 1:40 P. M. I explained the situation, feeling then more hopeful, but afraid our artillery ammunition might not hold out for all we would want. Longstreet said, "Stop Pickett immediately and replenish your ammunition." I explained that it would take too long, and the enemy would recover from the effect our fire was then having, and we had, moreover, very little to replenish with. Longstreet said, "I don't want to make this attack. I would stop it now but that General Lee ordered it and expects it to go on. I don't see how it can succeed."

I listened, but did not dare offer a word. The battle was lost if we stopped. Ammunition was far too low to try anything else, for we had been fighting three days. There was a chance, and it was not my part to interfere. While Longstreet was still speaking, Pickett's division swept out of the wood and showed the full length of its gray ranks and shining bayonets, as grand a sight as ever a man looked on. Joining it on the left, Pettigrew stretched farther than I could see. General Dick Garnett, just out of the sick ambulance, and buttoned up in an old blue overcoat, riding at the head of his brigade passed us and saluted Longstreet. Garnett was a warm personal friend, and we had not met before for months. We had served on the plains together before the war. I rode with him a short distance, and then we wished each other luck and a good-bye, which was our last.

Then I rode down the line of guns, selecting such as had enough ammunition to follow Pickett's advance, and starting them after him as fast as possible. I got, I think, fifteen or eighteen in all, in a little while, and went with them. Meanwhile, the infantry had no sooner debouched on the plain than all the enemy's line, which had been nearly silent, broke out again with all its batteries. The eighteen guns were back in the cemetery, and a storm of shell began bursting over and among our infantry. All of our guns — silent as the infantry passed between them — reopened over their heads when the lines had got a couple of hundred yards away, but the enemy's artillery let us alone and fired only at the infantry. No one could have looked at that advance without feeling proud of it.

But, as our supporting guns advanced, we passed many poor, mangled victims left in its trampled wake. ‡ A terrific infantry fire was now opened upon Pickett, and a considerable force of the enemy moved out to attack the right flank of his line. We halted, unlimbered, and opened fire upon it. Pickett's men never halted, but opened fire at close range, swarmed over the fences and among the enemy's guns — were swallowed up in smoke, and that

† See General Longstreet's statement on pp. 344, 345.—EDITORS.

‡ I remember one with the most horrible wound that I ever saw. We were halted for a moment by a fence, and as the men threw it down for the guns to pass, I saw in one of the corners a man sitting

down and looking up at me. A solid shot had carried away both jaws and his tongue. I noticed the powder smut from the shot on the white skin around the wound. He sat up and looked at me steadily, and I looked at him until the guns could pass, but nothing, of course, could be done for him.—E. P. A.

was the last of them. The conflict hardly seemed to last five minutes before they were melted away, and only disorganized stragglers pursued by a moderate fire were coming back. Just then, Wilcox's brigade passed by us, moving to Pickett's support. There was no longer anything to support, and with the keenest pity at the useless waste of life, I saw them advance. The men, as they passed us, looked bewildered, as if they wondered what they were expected to do, or why they were there. However, they were soon halted and moved back. They suffered some losses, and we had a few casualties from canister sent at them at rather long range.

From the position of our guns the sight of this conflict was grand and thrilling, and we watched it as men with a life-and-death interest in the result. If it should be favorable to us, the war was nearly over; if against us, we each had the risks of many battles yet to go through. And the event culminated with fearful rapidity. Listening to the rolling crashes of musketry, it was hard to realize that they were made up of single reports, and that each musket-shot represented nearly a minute of a man's life in that storm of lead and iron. It seemed as if 100,000 men were engaged, and that human life was being poured out like water. As soon as it appeared that the assault had failed, we ceased firing in order to save ammunition in case the enemy should advance. But we held our ground as boldly as possible, though we were entirely without support, and very low in ammunition. The enemy gave us an occasional shot for a while and then, to our great relief, let us rest. About that time General Lee, entirely alone, rode up and remained with me for a long time. He then probably first appreciated the full extent of the disaster as the disorganized stragglers made their way back past us. The Comte de Paris, in his excellent account of this battle, remarks that Lee, as a soldier, must at this moment have foreseen Appomattox—that he must have realized that he could never again muster so powerful an army, and that for the future he could only delay, but not avert, the failure of his cause. However this may be, it was certainly a momentous thing to him to see that superb attack end in such a bloody repulse. But, whatever his emotions, there was no trace of them in his calm and self-possessed bearing. I thought at the time his coming there very imprudent, and the absence of all his staff-officers and couriers strange. It could only have happened by his express intention. I have since thought it possible that he came, thinking the enemy might follow in pursuit of Pickett, personally to rally stragglers about our guns and make a desperate defense. He had the instincts of a soldier within him as strongly as any man. Looking at Burnside's dense columns swarming through the fire of our guns toward Marye's Hill at Fredericksburg, he had said: "It is well war is so terrible or we would grow too fond of it." No soldier could have looked on at Pickett's charge and not burned to be in it. To have a personal part in a close and desperate fight at that moment would, I believe, have been at heart a great pleasure to General Lee, and possibly he was looking for one. We were here joined by Colonel Fremantle of Her Majesty's Coldstream Guards, who was visiting our army. He afterward published an excellent account of the battle in "Blackwood," and described

many little incidents that took place here, such as General Lee's encouraging the retreating stragglers to rally as soon as they got back to cover, and saying that the failure was his fault, not theirs. Colonel Fremantle especially noticed that General Lee reproved an officer for spurring a foolish horse, and advised him to use only gentle measures. The officer was Lieutenant F. M. Colston of my staff, whom General Lee had requested to ride off to the right and try to discover the cause of a great cheering we heard in the enemy's lines. We thought it might mean an advance upon us, but it proved to be only a greeting to some general officer riding along the line.

That was the end of the battle. Little by little we got some guns to the rear to replenish and refit, and get in condition to fight again, and some we held boldly in advanced positions all along the line. Sharpshooters came out and worried some of the men, and single guns would fire on these, sometimes very rapidly, and manage to keep them back; some parts of the line had not even a picket in front. But the enemy's artillery generally let us alone, and I certainly saw no reason to disturb the *entente cordiale*. Night came very slowly, but came at last; and about 10 the last gun was withdrawn to Willoughby Run, whence we had moved to the attack the afternoon before.

Of Pickett's three brigadiers, Garnett and Armistead were killed and Kemper dangerously wounded. Fry, who commanded Pettigrew's brigade, which adjoined Garnett on the left, and in the charge was the brigade of direction for the whole force, was also left on the field desperately wounded. Of all Pickett's field-officers in the three brigades only one major came out unhurt. The men who made the attack were good enough: the only trouble was, there were not enough of them.

Next day, July 4th, we took a pretty fair position, except that it had no right flank, and awaited the enemy, who we thought would be inspired by the day to attack us. Meanwhile the wounded and the trains were started back to the Potomac, and at night, in a pouring rain and over roads that were almost gulfs of mud, the army followed. Providence had evidently not yet taken a "proper view of the situation." We had not finished the war, but had to go back to Virginia and start afresh. Yet the *morale* of the army seemed not at all affected. The defeat was attributed entirely to the position, and, if anything, it rather gave to the men confidence in what position could do for them if they had it on their side. Had Meade attacked us at Downsville, where we were stopped for several days by high water in the Potomac, I believe we should have repulsed him easily, barring exhaustion of ammunition.

The retreat was a terrible march for the artillery, crippled as we were by the loss of so many horses in battle, and the giving out of many more on the stony roads for the lack of horseshoes. We were compelled to trespass on the reluctant hospitality of the neighboring farmers, and send squads in every direction to get horses. Wherever found they were to be bought, whether the owner desired to sell or not. Of course our only money was Confederate bills, but we explained to the farmers that these would be as good as greenbacks if only they would make their own Government stop

fighting us. Such transactions we called "pressing" for short; and, by the way, we often practiced it both at home and abroad, but our own people took it more complacently than did the "Dutch" farmers of Pennsylvania.

Near Hagerstown I had an experience with an old Dunkard which gave me a high and lasting respect for the people of that faith. My scouts had had a horse transaction with this old gentleman, and he came to see me about it. He made no complaint, but said it was his only horse, and as the scouts had told him we had some hoof-sore horses we should have to leave behind, he came to ask if I would trade him one of those for his horse, as without one his crop would be lost.

I recognized the old man at once as a born gentleman in his delicate characterization of the transaction as a trade. I was anxious to make the trade as square as circumstances would permit. So I assented to his taking a foot-sore horse, and offered him besides payment in Confederate money. This he respectfully but firmly declined. Considering how the recent battle had gone, I waived argument on the point of its value, but tried another suggestion. I told him that we were in Maryland as the guests of the United States; that after our departure the Government would pay all bills that we left behind, and that I would give him an order on the United States for the value of his horse and have it approved by General Longstreet. To my surprise he declined this also. I supposed then that he was simply ignorant of the bonanza in a claim against the Government, and I explained that; and, telling him that money was no object to us under the circumstances, I offered to include the value of his whole farm. He again said he wanted nothing but the foot-sore horse. Still anxious that the war should not grind this poor old fellow in his poverty, I suggested that he take two or three foot-sore horses which we would have to leave anyhow, when we marched. Then he said, "Well, sir, I am a Dunkard, and the rule of our church is an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, and a horse for a horse, and I can't break the rule."

I replied that the Lord, who made all horses, knew that a good horse was worth a dozen old battery scrubs; and after some time prevailed on him to take two, by calling one of them a gift. But that night, about midnight, we were awakened by approaching hoofs and turned out expecting to receive some order. It was my old Dunkard leading one of his foot-sores. "Well, sir," he said, "you made it look all right to me to-day when you were talking; but after I went to bed to-night I got to thinking it all over, and I don't think I can explain it to the church, and I would rather not try." With that he tied old foot-sore to a fence, and rode off abruptly. Even at this late day it is a relief to my conscience to tender to his sect this recognition of their integrity and honesty, in lieu of the extra horse which I vainly endeavored to throw into the trade. Their virtues should commend them to all financial institutions in search of incorruptible employees.

